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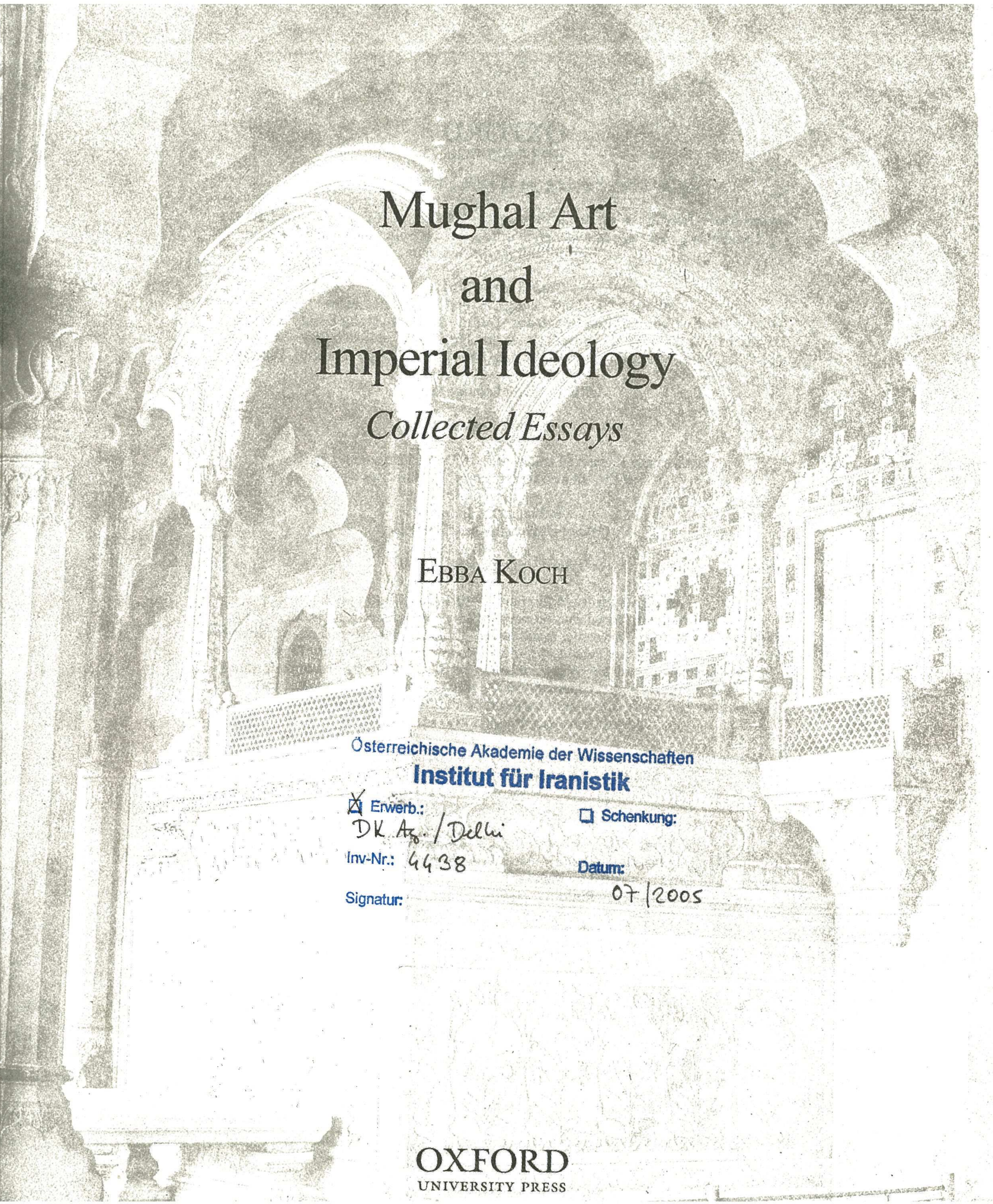
MUGHAL ART AND IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY

COLLECTED ESSAYS

EBBA KOCH



Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology

Collected Essays

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For
Dr. Yunus Jaffery

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'The Baluster Column: A European Motif in Mughal Architecture and Its Meaning.' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45, 1982, pp. 251–62.

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'The Delhi of the Mughals Prior to Shahjahanabad as Reflected in the Patterns of Imperial Visits.' *Art and Culture: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Professor S. Nurul Hasan*, edited by A.J. Qaisar and S.P. Verma, Jaipur: Publication Scheme: 1993, pp. 3–20.

'The Mughal Waterfront Garden.' *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, edited by Attilio Petruccioli, Leiden: Brill, 1997, pp. 140–60.

'Mughal Palace Gardens from Babur to Shah Jahan (1526–1648).' *Muqarnas*, 14, 1997, pp. 143–65.

'Diwan-i 'Amm and Chihil Sutun: The Audience Halls of Shah Jahan.' *Muqarnas*, 11, 1994, pp. 143–65.

'The Lost Colonnade of Shah Jahan's Bath in the Red Fort of Agra.' *The Burlington Magazine*, 124/951, 1982, pp. 331–9.

'The Copies of the Qutb Minar.' *Cultural Interaction in South Asia: A Historical Perspective*, edited by S.A.I. Tirmizi, New Delhi: Hamdard Institute of Historical Research, 1993, pp. 30–41, (with a few additional illustrations).

Note on the Transliteration and the Edition

As the essays in this volume were published in different places they follow no uniform system for the transliteration of Persian and Arabic terms into English. The same is true for the stylistic conventions, although some editorial changes have been carried out to facilitate, and to achieve greater unity in the volume in accordance with the conventions of Oxford University Press. Thus all endnotes have been converted into footnotes, footnotes in essay 4 have been renumbered, illustrations have been renumbered in essays 3, 4, 5, 10, 11 and references to the essays have been substituted by cross references. In some cases I have also provided different photographic views of a building to minimize repetition in the illustrations.

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Abbreviations

ARASI	see ASIAR
ASIAR	Archaelogical Survey of India, Annual Report
ASI, Ann. Rep.	see ASIAR
ASIM	Archaelogical Survey of India, Memoir
ASINIS	Archaelogical Survey of India, New Imperial Series
ASIR	Archaelogical Survey of India, Report
BL	British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections
EI^2	Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtland Institutes
KOW	M.C. Beach, Ebba Koch, and Wheeler Thackston, *King of the World: The Padshahnama: An Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle*, London: Smithsonian Institution, 1997.

Introduction

The idea of assembling a selection of my essays in a single volume arose from discussions with Sunil Kumar, who has long complained about my predilection for publishing in—from an Indian point of view—'esoteric, expensive places', such as western art history journals and Austrian and German publishing houses. As an historian he impressed upon me the realization that, even though in recent times art historians have increasingly addressed broader cultural issues than in the past, art history is not yet sufficiently appreciated by political, social, and economic historians dealing with Mughal India.

This disciplinary schism has also been of concern to Sanjay Subrahmanyam who points out that,

> Most writers on art-history and architectural history accept in a relatively unquestioning manner the basic postulates on the nature and history of the Mughal state set out for them by political and social historians, on the basis of chronicles and documents; political and social historians, for their part seem to have disdain for art-history and allied disciplines.[1]

I have in a number of essays sought new insights into the ideological and social relevance of imperial Mughal art by combining purely art-historical methods, such as the analysis of forms, with the information generated from literary sources. Collecting these papers together in a volume may help to bridge the gap between the two disciplines.

An integrative approach is particularly appropriate for Mughal studies because it seems to coincide with the Mughal state of mind. Mughal artists, guided by imperial patrons, increasingly used the visual arts to express themes that were not addressed or were only sketchily alluded to in writing. Court historians and poets were clearly more restricted than the artists in the selection of topics by the stylistic and thematic conventions of their genre, which they seem to have been incapable of or prohibited from breaking. That these literary conventions were, at times, entirely self-serving becomes apparent when we test them against the visual evidence. The standard formula of Shah Jahan's historians and poets for praising a building was to extoll its 'sky touching height', even though the actual palace architecture of the period consisted typically of rather low and wide buildings.[2] Praising the height of a building was a time honoured eulogistic formula to be used even when it contradicted the actual appearance of the structure being praised. A building or a work of art will thus always be a more reliable source than a literary reference.

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[1] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'The Mughal State-Structure or Process? Reflections on Recent Western Historiography', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 29/3 (July–September 1992), pp. 292–3. However, despite Subrahmanyam's call for a work of synthesis, *The Mughal State 1526–1750*, eds. Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Muzaffar Alam (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), concentrates on economic and administrative subjects.

[2] See, for instance, the audience hall or Diwan-'Amm in the Red Fort of Agra of which 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhaurī *Bādshāh nāma*, Persian text eds. Kabīr al-Dīn Ahmad and 'Abd al-Rahīm (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1866–72), pp. 235–6; trans. Nur Bakhsh, 'The Agra Fort and Its Buildings', *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903–4, p. 176) says:

The curve of its lofty arch, like the new moon,
owing to its height touches the sky.

This observation also applies to the cause celebre generated by Wayne Begley's interpretation of the Taj Mahal as the throne of God.[3] The fact that the Taj—like several other buildings of Shah Jahan—was compared eulogistically to the throne of God (*'arsh*), does not necessarily mean that the mausoleum was actually modelled on Islamic concepts of what the throne of God looked like. When we examine the building in this context—which I do in 'The Mughal Waterfront Garden'—we realize that the throne-of-God metaphor has been overemphasized at the expense of other textual references which describe the mausoleum as an earthly replica of the abode of Mumtaz in the gardens of heavenly paradise.[4] From the analysis of its forms, it is evident that the Taj Mahal was conceived precisely as that; its layout is entirely within the tradition of Mughal residential gardens whose characteristic plan is here brought to the monumental scale of imperial funerary architecture. The decoration of the architecture with plants and flowers supports the paradise-garden metaphor, in addition to the inscriptional programme dedicated to eschatological themes.

Because of the independence of literary themes and their unreliable degree of relevance, which is particularly pronounced in eulogistic phraseology, each textual reference needs to be carefully evaluated and tested against the visual record before it can be used as historic evidence.

This requirement should not, however, deter us from turning to the genre of eulogy when we are in search of the meaning of a work of art. More often than not, it is the only literary evidence we have, because analytical writing about the intentions of art was not a genre of Mughal literature. Comments on art and architecture may be embedded in general historical works, but—as I argue in the essay, 'Diwan-i 'Amm and Chihil Sutun'—the historians may not always be inclined to give us the full truth. In the case of Shah Jahan's audience halls, they tell us unanimously that the emperor erected the halls out of a philanthropic motive, to protect his nobles from the sun and rain. However, the designation of the halls as *chihil sutūn* (forty pillared) as well as the eulogistic references, but above all the architecture itself, suggest that the halls owed their construction to a much more ambitious motive: they were intended as a copy of the multicolumned halls of Persepolis, then known as Chihil Sutun; in this way Shah Jahan sought to associate himself with the pre-Islamic Persian concepts of kingship.

This dialectic relationship between the textual and visual expression can also be found in those instances when an author is not restricted by the thematic or stylistic requirements that fettered court historians and poets. A case in point is when the author is the emperor himself. Jahangir expressed himself very freely in his autobiography *Jahāngīr nāma* (*Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*), the history he wrote of himself and his reign. However, when he writes about his concepts and practices of rulership, his tone becomes formal and self-congratulatory, in tune with the style of his panegyrists. For example, when he describes the revival of an ancient royal practice, the fastening of a chain of justice at a tower of the Agra Fort, he says:

> After my accession, the first order I gave was for the fastening up of the Chain of Justice, so that if those engaged in the administration of justice should delay or practise hypocrisy in the matter of those seeking justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and shake it so that its noise might attract [the emperor's] attention.[5]

An illustration then shows how the institution of the chain of justice was actually handled: the petitioners are checked by guards (Fig. 0.1).[6] Jahangir himself seems to have found no fault with this unflattering but realistic

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When its roof raised up its head
For the earth it became another heaven.

The actual architecture, with a height of 11.55 metres and a length of 61.48 metres, produces the effect of a wide rather than a high building.

[3] Wayne E. Begley, 'The Myth of the Taj Mahal and a New Theory of Its Symbolic Meaning', *The Art Bulletin*, 61 (1979), pp. 7–37.

[4] See, for example, Lāhaurī, *Bādshāh nāma*, vol. 2, p. 323; trans. in *Taj Mahal: The Illumined Tomb: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Mughal and European Documentary Sources*, compiled and trans. W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai (Cambridge, MA: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1989), p. 66.

[5] Jāhāngīr, *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī or Memoirs of Jahangir* (now preferably called the *Jahāngīr nāma*), trans. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge (1909–14; rpt. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968), 2 vols. in one, vol. 1, p. 7.

[6] The painting is in the collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan at Geneva; it has often been reproduced. For its most comprehensive analysis, see Anthony Welch and Stuart Cary Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book: The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan* (Ithaca, N.Y., and London: Published for the Asia Society by Cornell University Press, 1982), cat. no. 69.

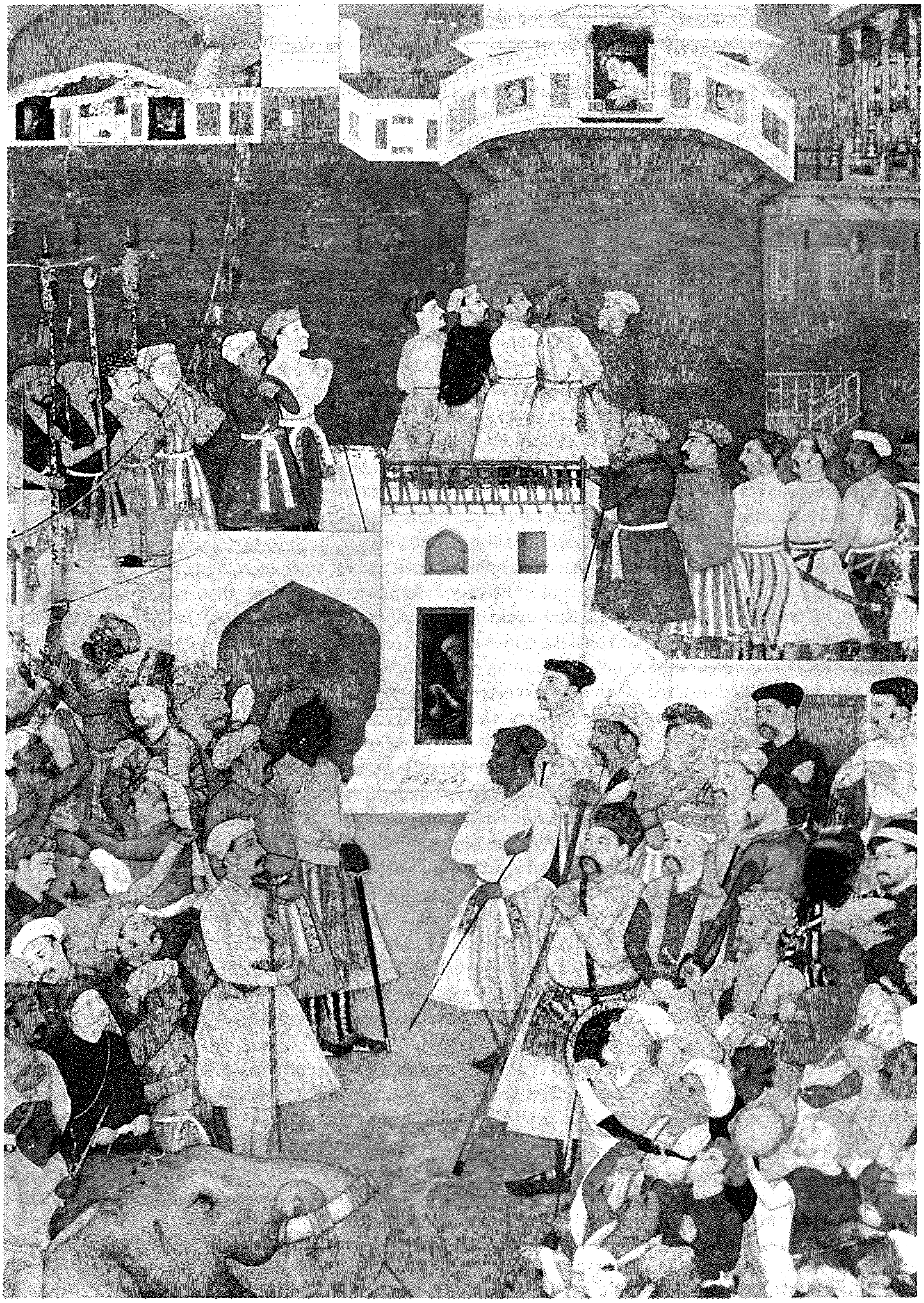

Fig. 0.1 Ascribed to Abu' l Hasan, Jahangir at the *Jharoka* Window. C. 1620. Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Geneva.

rendering of his own description, since he obviously approved of the painting as an illustration of the *Jahāngīr nāma*. This seems to confirm that the written word was governed by different standards of realism than the visual image.

In some instances the literary sources fail us completely, and we have to rely on the art. Such is the case for Jahangir's attitude towards Europe. In his *Jahāngīr nāma* Jahangir has very little to say about Europe, and does not even mention Sir Thomas Roe, the envoy of King James I of England, although Roe spent all of two and a half years (1615–18) at Jahangir's court and provided us with vivid descriptions of his intimate meetings with the emperor.[7] Jahangir's interest in Europe is, however, expressed in pictorial terms. James I is included in an allegorical painting in which Jahangir prefers a Sufi shaikh to various rulers of the world;[8] wall paintings of European dignitaries and Christian figures formed a distinct decoration in Jahangiri palaces, and Jahangiri painting is generally characterized by a comprehensive adaption of European modes of artistic expression, a subject investigated here in the essays, 'The Influence of the Jesuit Missions', and 'Jahangir and the Angels'.

Another topic about which texts have very little to say and where we have to rely mainly on art is art itself. Artistic theory, as already pointed out, was not a topic of interest to Mughal writers, to the point where one wonders how the Mughals remained so unaffected by the shastric texts of India. In contrast to the prominent position of art, there is very little writing on painting. The most detailed text comes from Akbar's historian, Abu'l Fazl, but even he devotes only a few pages of his encyclopaedic work, the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, to it. He comments in tantalizing brevity on the relevance of this art and its orientation towards European painting, and makes only a few remarks about the activities of the imperial painting studio.[9] When Abu'l Fazl weighs painting against writing and declares 'pictures as much inferior to the written letter', he is voicing a traditional prejudice of treatises on calligraphy and painting, where painting—because of its controversial status in Islamic thinking—is treated as a lesser art.[10] Jahangir, too, despite his personal involvement in painting, has not very much to say about it in his *Jahāngīr nāma*, where he comments in by far greater detail on his non-artistic interests, such as zoology, botany, and hunting.

In Shah Jahan's reign, there are even fewer literary references to painting than in earlier times, and the involvement of the imperial patron is glossed over, undoubtedly to avoid tainting his self-propagated image as a *mujaddid* (a religious renewer). This does not mean that the emperor was not an active patron of painting. In 'The Hierarchical Principles of Shahjahani Painting', I attempt to show that from the circumstances in which pictures were created and from the paintings themselves it can be deduced that the emperor acted as his own artistic director who, together with the painters of the imperial studio, laid down strict rules for pictorial representation. These principles were used so consistently that they can be easily extracted by looking at the pictures themselves; painting thus takes on the task of serving as its own theoretical commentator.

While painting in Shah Jahan's time had to explain itself entirely in its own terms, architecture became a major theme of the court chronicles and poetic works of the period. Their authors provide us with detailed descriptions of the imperial building projects, unparallelled in length, detail and exact terminology by earlier or later Mughal texts, with the exception perhaps of Khwandamir's description of the buildings of Humayun. Shah Jahan's authors are obviously following the dictates of their imperial patron who supported architecture as the most prestigious and useful art, untainted by orthodox reservations towards painting. These detailed comments on architecture make a study of Shahjahani buildings particularly rewarding but still, with the exception of a few isolated remarks, there is no theorizing about architecture. We are, however, not left without Mughal architectural theory, because like Shahjahani painting, Shahjahani architecture explains itself very clearly and systematically on its own terms. The Taj is 'built architectural theory' which can be read almost like a literary text, once we have mastered the grammar and the vocabulary of the architectural language.

The studies assembled in this book form a coherent group in that they all discuss how ideas of rulership were expressed in Mughal art. They have been left as they were originally written. I have, however, carried out small amendments and corrections, and also added bibliographical references, to bring the volume up to date. The essays reflect my own development as a Mughal art historian. Before I became interested in Mughal art in 1976, I had studied European art. In the beginning, therefore, I was particularly intrigued by the interest the Mughals had for European art and the way they explored, even exploited it for their own artistic purposes and ideological formulations. The first three essays trace the gradual introduction of Europeanizing forms of artistic expression into painting, wall painting, architecture, and the decorative arts in the process of creating a realistic iconography of Mughal kingship. The development culminated in the *Gesamtkunstwerk* of Shah Jahan's throne in the audience hall at Delhi, which emerges from the discussion in 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus' as an artistic manifesto of Shah Jahan's imperial ideology. 'The Hierarchical Principles of Shah-Jahani Painting' concludes this group with a 'deconstruction' of Shahjahani history painting which reveals that realistic Europeanizing forms were set against and integrated into abstract compositions in order to use painting as a specific form of imperial expression. Earlier ideas of the *Jahāngīr nāma* were here organized into a representational system, testifying to the visual concerns of the society in which it was created.

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[7] Sir Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615–19*, ed. William Foster (1899; rev. edn., London: Oxford University Press, 1926).

[8] For the painting, see Richard Ettinghausen, 'The Emperor's Choice', *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), pp. 99–120.

[9] Abu'l Fażl Allāmī, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, trans. H. Blochmann, vol. 1, 2nd edn. revised and ed. D.C. Philott (1927; 3rd. rpt., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1977), pp. 102–15.

[10] See, for example, the well-known work of Qāżī Aḥmad, *Gulistān-i hunar*, in *Calligraphers and Painters: A Treatise by Qāḍī Aḥmad, Son of Mīr-Munshī (circa AH 1015/AD 1606)*, trans. V. Minorsky, *Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers*, vol. 3, no. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1959).

The chapters that follow investigate various architectural and urbanistic themes, tracing their evolution over time and space, and examining the manner in which they were variously treated under each of the 'Great Mughals'—the first six rulers of the dynasty—with special emphasis on the architecture of Shah Jahan's reign. 'The Delhi of the Mughals' deals with urbanistic assertion, as does 'The Mughal Waterfront Garden', which also considers the contextual and ideological use of a garden type, specifically developed for the geographical conditions of Hindustan. 'Mughal Palace Gardens' investigates the development and the meaning of the Mughal palace garden and continues the discussion of the new naturalistic plant decoration of Shahjahani architecture, first examined in 'The Baluster Column'. Individual buildings are analysed in 'Diwan-i 'Amm and Chihil Sutun', the study looks in particular at the establishment of a central ceremonial building type and at its programme. I have also included 'The Lost Colonnade of Shah Jahan's Bath in the Red Fort of Agra', though the circumstances of its disappearance from India have to do, not with Mughal ideology, but with the ideological attitudes of the British Raj. Finally, 'The Copies of the Qutb Minar' traces the afterlife of the Qutb Minar in Indian architecture up to modern times, suggesting why its fullest reconstruction was undertaken for Shah Jahan.

From these investigations, the reign of Shah Jahan emerges as a time when the visual arts were most consistently and most systematically explored as a means of promulgating imperial ideology. The written texts and the arts were equally seen as necessary means to represent the ruler and his state for a wider public and of providing a lasting memorial to his fame. Strict formal principles served to express within each work of art and each building the hierarchy and the timeless order of the Shahjahani rule. Noteworthy in particular is Shah Jahan's own involvement in the organization of history, art, and architecture to create his own personal ideology of power.

The reigns of Shah Jahan and Jahangir have been the least studied periods of Mughal history; the attention of scholars has been directed mainly to the reigns of Akbar and Aurangzeb. One of the reasons for this neglect seems to be that the major historical texts of the reign of Shah Jahan, written, as all Mughal historiography, in Persian, are still untranslated and exist to a large extent only in a manuscript form which considerably limits access to them. But there also seems to be a more deeply rooted bias, especially against the reign of Shah Jahan. In contrast to the reign of Akbar, which is considered to be the grand phase of Mughal state building, and the reign of Aurangzeb, which is regarded as marking the beginning of Mughal decline, historians see the reign of Shah Jahan as a static and thus uninteresting phase which simply preserved the status quo established by Akbar.[11] This view tells us perhaps more about the effectiveness and longevity of Shahjahani propaganda, which emphasized the continuity and everlastingness of the emperor's rule, than about the actual historical situation. But when history and art history combine their findings, the reign of Shah Jahan emerges as a highly assertive and innovative phase when imperial authority assumed absolute and central power never before and never after reached in Mughal history. The Shahjahani concept of continuity was strongly linked to ideas of a new beginning. Shah Jahan claimed to be a renewer, a *mujaddid* whose rule ended an era of decline.[12] The arts played a key role in the propagation of his imperial claims, and their aesthetic appeal should not induce us to underrate their historical significance.

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[11] For an analysis of and a challenge to this view, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Muzaffar Alam, eds., 'Introduction', *The Mughal State 1526–1750* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[12] See Milo Beach, Ebba Koch, and Wheeler Thackston, *King of the World: The Padshahnama: An Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle* (London: Azimuth Editions and Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1997), pp. 166–7.

1

The Influence of the Jesuit Missions on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors*

On 5 March 1580, when the Jesuits of the First Mission to the court of Akbar presented the emperor with a set of the *Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, they were conscious of having marked, with this act, the formal beginning of the Mission.[1] It is doubtful, however, whether they realized the extent to which the illustrations of this Bible, together with the other pictorial material they had brought as a means of evangelization, would contribute to initiate an intensive dialogue between Mughal art and European forms of representation.

European and Christian influences on Mughal art have been studied to a certain extent.[2] This essay attempts to examine in detail some aspects of the role the Jesuits played as transmitters of new ideas, and it hopes to analyse how these ideas, in turn, took shape in Mughal painting.

The ultimate cause for the Mission was Akbar's universal approach towards religion. A little known letter addressed in 1582 probably to Philip II of Spain attests to the emperor's serious quest for religious truth:

> As most men are fettered by the bonds of tradition, and by imitating the ways followed by their fathers, ancestors, relatives and acquaintances, everyone continues, without investigating the arguments and reasons, to follow the religion in which he was born and educated, thus excluding himself from the possibility of ascertaining the truth, which is the noblest aim of the human intellect. Therefore, we associate at convenient seasons with learned men of all religions, and thus derive profit from their exquisite discourses and exalted aspirations.[3]

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*Reprinted from *Islam in India; Studies and Commentaries, Vol. I, The Akbar Mission and Miscellaneous Studies*, edited by C.W. Troll, 1982.

[1] *The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J.*, trans. J.S. Hoyland, ann. S.N. Banerjee (Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1922), pp. 36 f., gives the date erroneously as 3 March. The Latin text has 5 March, *Quinto nonas Martij*. See *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius or the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar* by Fr. Anthony Monserrate, S.J., ed. Rev. H. Hosten in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, III, no. 9 (1914), p. 562.

[2] See especially Edward Maclagan, 'The Missions and Mogul Painting', in *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne Ltd., 1932); and Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Grand Mogul* (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1978), with further literature. Apart from general remarks none of the research done so far deals with the influence of the *Polyglot Bible* on Mughal painting. Its study was even discouraged by scholars like Basil Gray, *Painting of India* (Skira, 1963), p. 87: 'This Bible is illustrated only with frontispieces by Jan Wierix and other engravers, and the Western influence must have been obtained from other sources.'

[3] The full text of this letter which in some versions is also presented as addressed to the 'European scholars' is given together with its English translation in E. Rehatsek, 'A Letter of the Emperor Akbar Asking for the Christian Scriptures', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XVI (1887), pp. 135–9. For a discussion of its different editions, see Maclagan, p. 44, note 57. See also *Mukātabāt-i-Allāmī*, pp. 8–12.

About two years prior to the arrival of the Mission, Akbar, in his letter to the authorities of Goa, had asked for 'two learned priests, who should bring with them the chief books of the Law and the Gospel'.[4] Only too eager to comply with the imperial wish in a fitting way, the Jesuits (Ridolfo Acquaviva, Antonio de Monserrate and Francisco Henriques) had taken with them seven of the eight volumes of the latest and most prestigious Bible edition then available in Europe: the famous *Royal Polyglot Bible*, sponsored by King Philip II of Spain (1556–98). It had been edited by Dr Benito Arias Montanus, the King's personal chaplain, in collaboration with renowned scholars and had been printed by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp (1568–72).[5] The various volumes of the set contained title pages engraved by different Flemish artists,[6] out of which the three title pages of the first volume have a particularly complex genesis. They seem to have been invented by the Lord High Almoner of Spain, Don Luis Manrique, designed by Pieter van der Borcht and engraved by Pieter van der Heyden. The first title page and its reverse engraving—allegoric representations with allusions to the royal patron Philip II—have acquired a particular significance for the symbolism of Mughal court painting.[7]

The first title page shows the full title of the Bible (*Biblia Sacra Hebraice Chaldaice Graece & Latine Philippi II Reg. Cathol. Pietate et Studio ad Sacrosanctae Ecclesiae Usum*), arranged on and between an architectural frame (Fig. 1.1). It encloses also, a landscape and four animals—ox, lion, lamb and wolf—illustrating symbolically the peace among the animals under the Messianic rule as prophesied by Isaiah:

> The wolf lies with the lamb,
> the panther lies down with the kid,
> calf and lion cub feed together
> with a little boy to lead them,
> The cow and the bear make friends,
> their young lie together.
> The lion eats straw like the ox.
> The infant plays over the cobra's hole;
> into the viper's lair
> the young child puts his hand.
> They do no hurt, no harm,
> on all my holy mountain,
> for the country is filled with the knowledge of Yahweh
> as the waters swell the sea. (Isaiah 11: 6–9).

In this particular context, the companionship of the animals stands—according to Max Rooses—for *Pietatis Concordiae*, the union of the nations in the Christian faith, and for the four languages in which the Old Testament appears in the *Polyglot Bible*.[8] The second title page shows an allegoric representation of the piety of Philip II—*Pietas Regia*, a woman crowned with a laurel wreath by a putto and surrounded by various attributes: symbolic arrangements and inscriptions explaining and amplifying the qualities of Philip II as protector of the Catholic faith (Fig. 1.2).

Joining rhetoric to art, the Jesuits taught the Mughal court the meaning of these images: 'Then the Priest, at the King's command, unrolled the books, and seizing the opportunity, explained the pictures.'[9]

We are on safe ground in assuming that the Mughals would have found hardly any difficulty in reading the symbolic representation on the first title page of the Bible. Animals enacting a particular event in a landscape to illustrate a written text with a moral message, belong to one of the oldest pictorial traditions in Islamic painting and were also a favourite subject with the Mughal court. Illustrations to collections of stories like the *Anwar-i Suhayli*, and *Iyar-i Danish*, Abul Fazl's version of the famous *Kalilah wa Dimnah* (completed in 1588), are part of the early productions of Akbar's court atelier.[10]

Further, we find the idea of peace among the animals brought about by the justice of the ruler in the earliest Mughal writing: Khwandamir in his *Qanun-i Humayuni* written in 1533–34, uses metaphors similar to the Biblical ones:

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[4] Maclagan, p. 24.

[5] For the genesis of the Bible, see, especially, Max Rooses, *Christophe Plantin Imprimeur Anversois*, 2nd edn. (Antwerp, 1896), pp. 111–48; and Colin Clair, *Christophe Plantin* (London, 1960), pp. 57–86. Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 37, mentions only seven volumes. The eighth was apparently omitted as it contained several treatises of a non-dogmatic content which were probably not considered necessary for the instruction of a Muslim ruler. The Bible was considered to bring about the conversion of 'masses of Jews and Muslims', as one of the scholars who were engaged in the edition puts it (Rooses, p. 118).

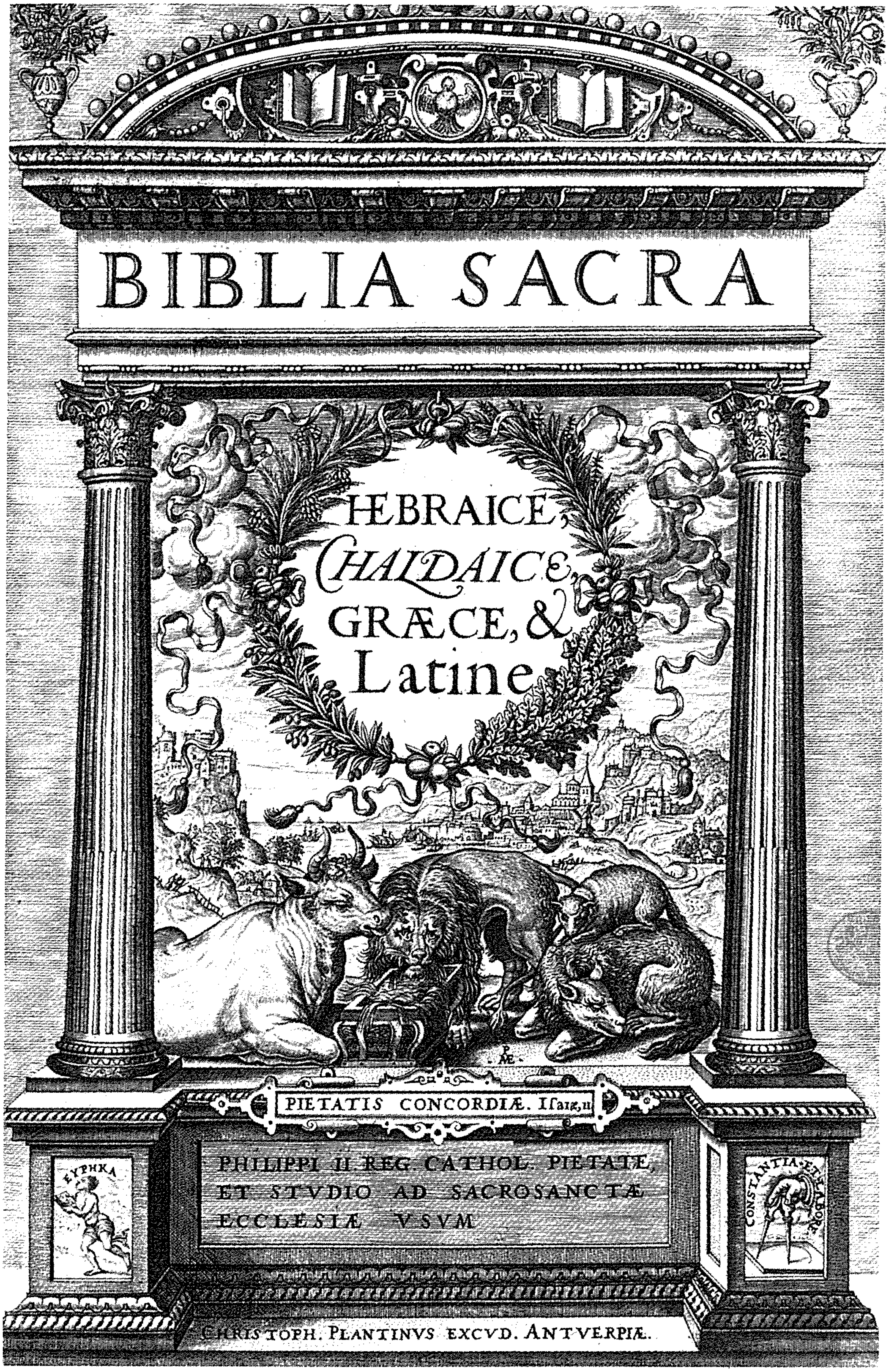
[6] Pieter van der Heyden, Jan Wierix, Philipp Galle, and Gerard van Kampen.

[7] The third title page contributed to the acceptance of one of the most popular forms of Mughal architecture. See 'The Baluster Column—a European Motif in Mughal Architecture and Its Meaning', this volume.

[8] Rooses, p. 126.

[9] Monserrate, *Commentary*, p. 138. See also p. 9 of this volume.

[10] See Abul Fazl Allami, *The A'in-i Akbari*, trans. H. Blochmann, 2nd rev. edn., Lt. Col. D.C. Philott, vol. I



BIBLIA SACRA

HEBRAICE,
CHALDAICE,
GRÆCE, &
Latine

PIETATIS CONCORDIÆ. Iſaiæ,11

PHILIPPI II REG. CATHOL. PIETATE,
ET STVDIO AD SACROSANCTÆ
ECCLESIÆ VSVM

CHRISTOPH. PLANTINVS EXCVD. ANTVERPIÆ.

Fig. 1.1 Pieter van der Borcht, *Pietatis Concordiae* or The peace among the animals under the rule of the Messiah, first title page of volume I of the *Royal Polyglot Bible*, published in Antwerp by C. Plantin, 1568–72, British Library, London.

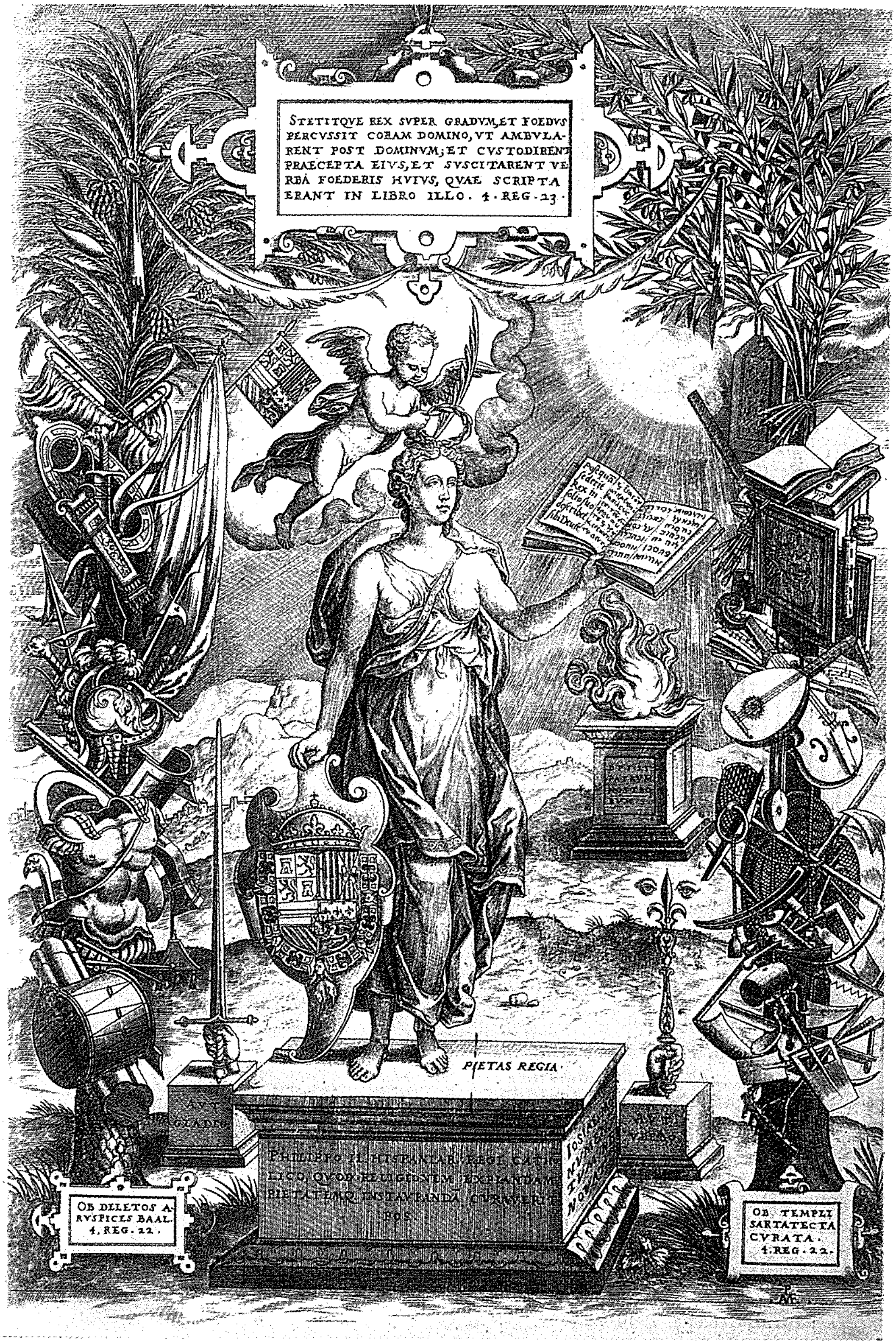

STETITQVE REX SVPER GRADVM, ET FOEDVS PERCVSSIT CORAM DOMINO, VT AMBVLARENT POST DOMINVM; ET CVSTODIRENT PRAECEPTA EIVS, ET SVSCITARENT VERBA FOEDERIS HVIVS, QVAE SCRIPTA ERANT IN LIBRO ILLO. 4. REG. 23.
PIETAS REGIA.
PHILIPPO II. HISPANIAR. REGI CATHOLICO, QVOD RELIGIONEM EXPIANDAM PIETATEMQ. INSTAVRANDA CVRAVERIT
OB DELETOS ARVSPICES BAAL. 4. REG. 22.
OB TEMPLI SARTATECTA CVRATA. 4. REG. 22.

Fig. 1.2 Pieter van der Borcht, *Pietas Regia* or The piety of Philip II as protector of the Catholic faith, second title page of volume I of the *Royal Polyglot Bible*, published in Antwerp by C. Plantin, 1568–72, British Library, London.

> Under the protection and shelter of his justice deer sleep carelessly in the lap of panthers, and fish fearlessly take rest near crocodiles; pigeons become friends of falcons and sparrows chirp fearlessly in front of eagles.
>
> Under his just administration deer in the forest
> Go abreast with the male lion;
> The waterfowl tells its secrets to the hawk;
> The pigeon relates its story to the falcon;
> If injustice is indicated in the actions of any government officers,
> They receive from the hands of the subjects a slap [on the face].[11]

A similar connotation carries the peaceful assembly of his animal subjects around the throne of Solomon in Persian and Mughal paintings. Like for other Islamic rulers too, comparisons with Solomon—the archetypal ruler of the Quran—were a favourite theme of the eulogies written for the Mughal emperors. On the lines of these traditions it was not difficult for the animals of the *Pietatis Concordiae* to enter with their symbolic meaning the artistic scene of the Mughal court. They seem to have worked, in fact, as an incentive for the Mughals to link these pictorial expressions with literary metaphors from their own tradition. It seems that first the animals of the *Pietatis Concordiae* were introduced individually in the assembly of the Solomonic animals. This is exemplified by the 'European' sheep lying near a lion at the feet of Solomon's throne in an illustration of the *Diwan-i Hafiz* of 1600/05 of the British library.[12] (Fig. 1.3)

Later, in Jahangir's reign, out of the four, lions associating with sheep, goats or oxen became the favourite symbol for the peace guaranteed by the just rule of the Mogul: 'Through the justice of Shah Nur al-din Jahangir the lion has sipped milk from the teat of the goat.[13] In many instances they had to leave their landscape and enter globes placed under the feet of the 'World-holder' *(jahan gir)* and the 'World-ruler' *(shah jahan)* to express universal aspirations of the dynasty. (Figs. 1.4, 6)

While the Mughal court, from its own context, could thus easily relate to an animal symbolism meant to reproduce visually a written text, it was confronted with a more complex category of symbolic representation on the second title page of the *Polyglot Bible:* the personification of an abstract idea learnedly combined with distinctive emblems and inscriptions, each loaded with allegorical meaning. A sixteenth-century European allegory was already in its own tradition, linked with interpretations, comments and explanations. Could it therefore be understood and assimilated at all by an alien cultural milieu?

Dissimilar as the painting of Jahangir standing on a globe and shooting at the at the head of Malik Anbar[14] may be at first glance (Fig. 1.4), in our view it owes a lot to the *Pietas Regia*, in concept as well as content. The place of the female personification of regal virtue in the central axis of the composition is taken by Jahangir, thus himself personifying ideal rulership. He too, like the *Pietas Regia*, is supported by amplifying emblems, attributes and inscriptions. The animals populating the globe are a free improvization of the Isaiah-Khwandamir-Solomon scene. The vertical assemblage of weapons to the left—culminating in the imagined trophy of the head of his enemy Malik Anbar between his twice-represented symbol, the owl—corresponds to the instruments of war suspended on a palm tree to the left of the *Pietas Regia.* They illustrate in both representations the martial or terrible aspect of the ruler. In both cases the inscriptions explain the intended use of the weapons; in Jahangir's painting the destruction of his enemy

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(rpt: New Delhi, 1977), pp. 112 and 115. The earliest Mughal illustrations dated 1570/71 to the *Anwar-i Suhayli* are found in the manuscript of the School of Oriental and African Studies. See Barrett and Gray, *Painting of India*, pp. 80 ff. See also J.V.S. Wilkinson, *The Lights of Canopus* (London, 1929); and for *Iyar-i danish*, Thomas W. Arnold and J.V.S. Wilkinson, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty, A Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures* (London, 1936), vol. I, pp. 12 ff.; vol. II, pls. 38–47; Linda Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Painting from the Chester Beatty Library* (London, 1995), I, pp. 74–105.

[11] Trans. Baini Prasad, Calcutta, 1940, p. 7.

[12] Grenville, XLI, fol. 14a.

[13] Inscription under the pair of scales on Fig. 1.4 in this article. Cf. Arnold and Wilkinson, *Chester Beatty Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 31. Cf. Leach, I, cat. no. 3.25, p. 398. For further examples see, for instance, Beach, *Grand Mogul*, pls. 29 and 45; or Richard Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India* (New Delhi: Lalit Kala Akademi, 1961), pl. 12.

Jahangir in his *Tuzuk*, goes so far as to present the symbol as a historical fact: 'As in the time of my reign wild beasts have abandoned their savagery, tigers have become so tame that troops of them without chains or restraint go about amongst the people, and they neither harm men nor have any wildness or alarm', trans. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge, 2nd edn. (1909–14; rpt: Delhi, 1968), vol. I, p. 240.

[14] For a detailed description and interpretation of this painting see Arnold and Wilkinson, *Chester Beatty Catalogue*, pp. 31–2; R. Skelton, 'Imperial Symbolism in Mughal Painting', pp. 177–83; Leach, I, cat. no. 3.25, pp. 398–405.

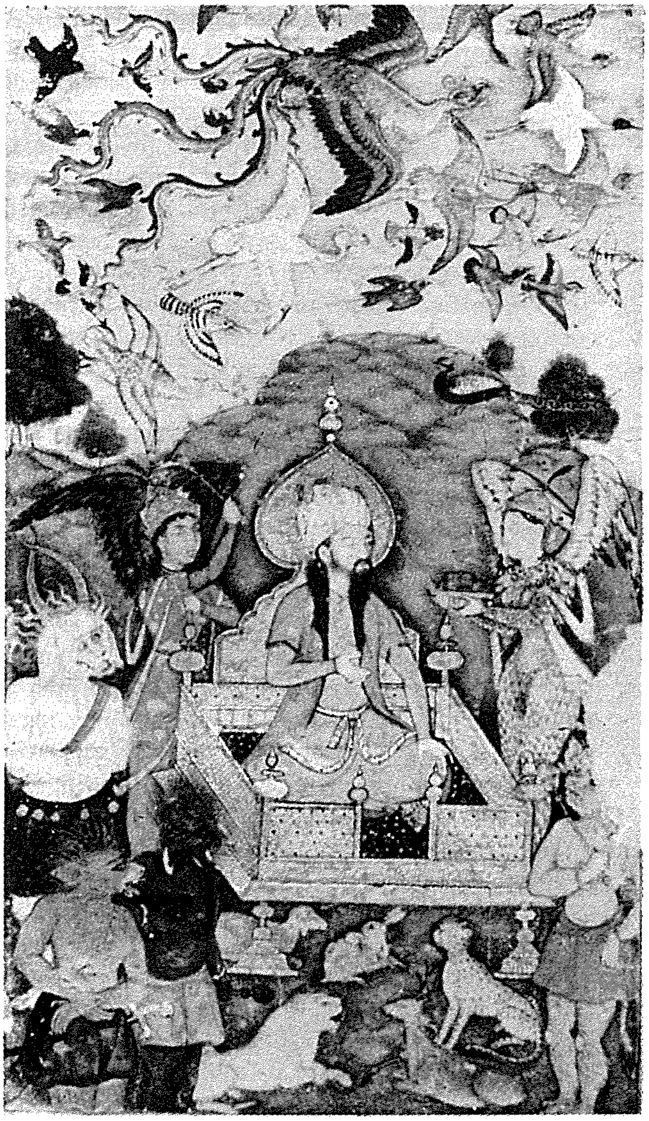

Fig. 1.3 Solomon Enthroned, from a *Diwan* of Hafiz. C. 1600–05. British Library, London.

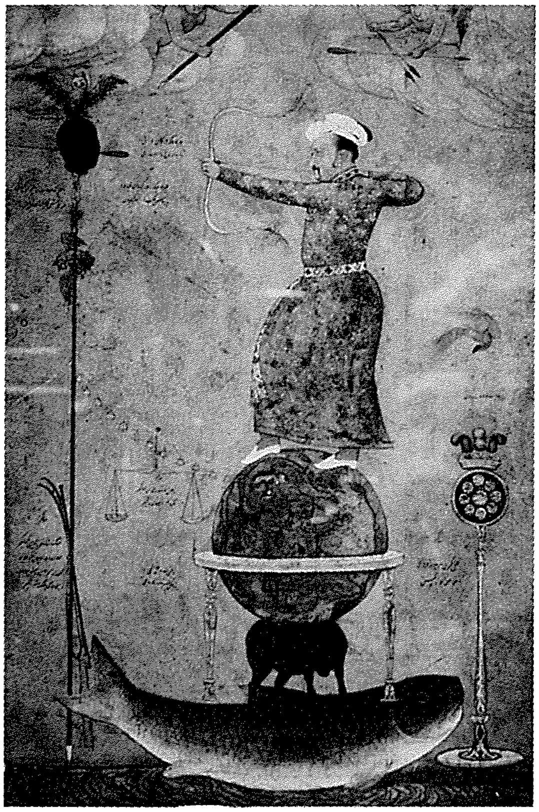

Fig. 1.4 Abu'l Hasan, Jahangir Standing on a Globe and Shooting at the Head of His Enemy Malik Anbar. C. 1620. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

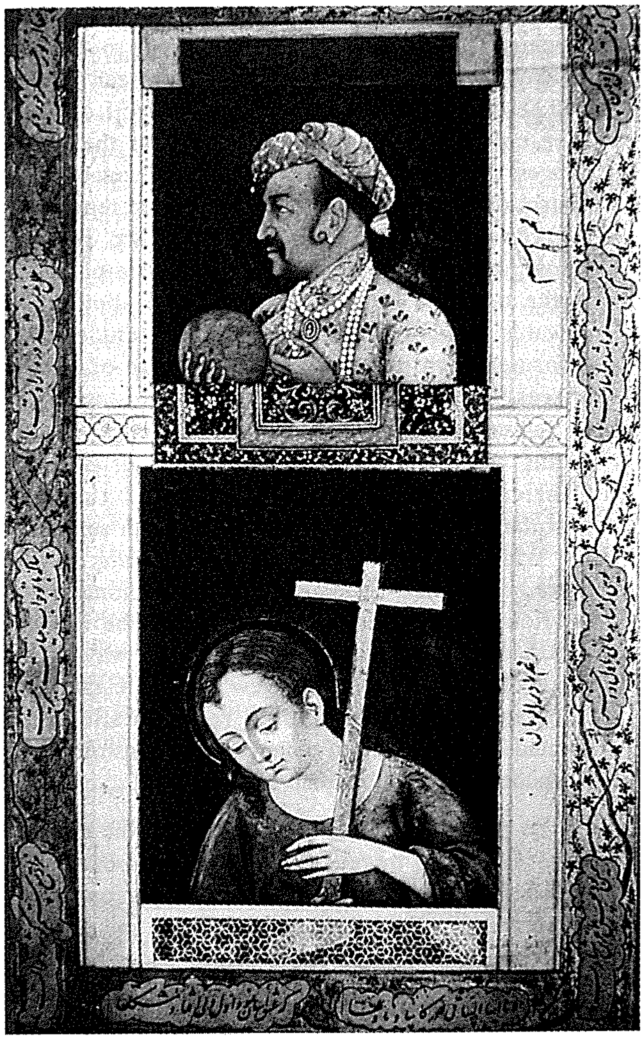

Fig. 1.5 Jahangir and Christ, by Hashim (Jahangir) and Abu'l Hasan (Christ). C. 1610–20. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

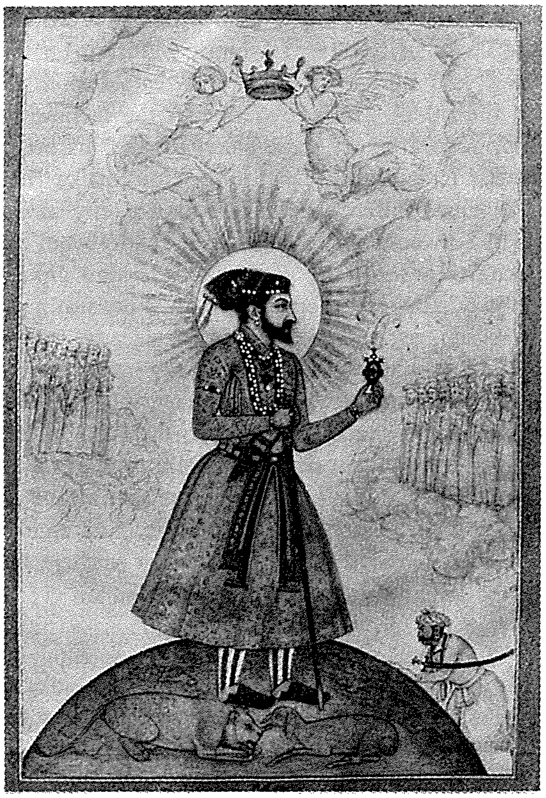

Fig. 1.6 Bichitr, The Emperor Shah Jahan Standing on a Globe. C. 1630. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

('Thy arrow that lays the enemy low, sent out of the world Anbar, the owl who fled from the light'), and in the *Pietas Regia* the annihilation of the heretics (*'Ob Deletos Aruspices Baal.* 4. Reg. 22'). Similarly, in both pictures the right side is taken by the 'good side' of the ruler:[15] on Jahangir's painting vertically arranged objects represent his God-legitimated lineage from Timur ('Thy ancestors are crownbearers from God'). To the right of the *Pietas Regia* instruments of arts and crafts are suspended on an olive tree—in accordance with the arrangement on the left side. They symbolize the care of the ruler for the establishment of religion (*'Ob Templi Sartatecta Curata* 4. Reg. 22'). Noteworthy is the identical baluster shape of the sceptre in the *Pietas Regia* held in an upright position and the stand carrying the seals of Jahangir's ancestors.[16] In both representations corresponding putti rush through clouds with imperial attributes: sword and laurel wreath. Little scribblings in Jahangir's painting fulfil the explanatory function of the formal inscriptions of the *Pietas Regia.*

This comparison clearly shows that in the case of the allegorical composition of the *Pietas Regia* the Mughal artist did not simply copy but rather adapted the whole concept. The European model became, in fact, subject to an *interpretatio Mongolica.* In other words, its content and meaning were translated into the pictorial language of the Mughals. The process of assimilation was made possible by the inherent kinship—in their quality as word illustrations between the basic principle of Islamic painting on the one hand, and European allegory of the sixteenth century on the other. The knowledge of the technique of a European allegory gave Jahangir and his artists the means to express, in painting, concepts of rulership which had hitherto been formulated only in writing, as by Khwandamir for Humayun and by Abul Fazl for Akbar. In fact, the *Pietas Regia* and Jahangir's political allegory exemplify the two ends of a process in which, as we have indicated already, the Jesuits played an important role, so to say, as catalysts.

The didactic value of the image, as it captures the visual senses and leads man to the recognition of a higher truth, was one of the main arguments for the use of images put forward by the theologians of the Council of Trent (1545–63) in defence against the iconoclastic movements of Protestant northern Europe. In the twenty-fifth session of this Council (1563) the use of images had been clearly defined and sanctioned 'because the honour which is shown to them is referred to the original which they represent'.[17]

The official documents of the Council of Trent gave only general recommendations for the use of images. Contemporary theological commentators and writers on their part elaborated norms and regulations towards a precise discipline of sacred art. The first theological treatises of this kind had been published in the north of Europe, already from about 1542 onwards, as a response to the hostile attitude of the reformers against the religious value of sacred images.[18]

Summing up these earlier treatises in an encyclopaedic manual, the learned archbishop of Bologna, Gabriele Paleotti, published in 1582 the most important interpretation of the twenty-fifth session of the Tridentinum, the *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane.*[19] He emphasized the legitimacy and religious value of sacred pictures—'If the ears are admitted to the narration of the Passion why should the eyes be prohibited its view'[20]—and established rules and norms for pictorial representations. He pointed out the utility of pictures for the instruction of the people in the Christian faith:

> The pictures are like a book open to the capacity of everyone because they are composed in a language common to all kinds of persons, men, women, small and big ones, learned and ignorant persons, and therefore they can be understood... by all nations and intellects, without any teacher or interpreter.[21]

This kind of theological and pastoral argument regarding the use of sacred pictures, was no doubt in the mind of the Jesuits when they took these with them to the Mughal court. Most of the pictures were like the illustrations of the *Polyglot Bible* engravings from the great publishing houses of Antwerp. They were produced on special order by the Jesuits who were making ample use of such pictorial material throughout their post-tridentine apostolic endeavours.

Proceeding to the court and country of a ruler who professed at least officially the Islamic faith, the Jesuit missionaries were expecting to meet with an iconoclastic attitude. After their arrival they were truly surprised and pleased to note that the reaction to the sacred images they had brought with them was better than they had expected.[22] Father Monserrate came to the conclusion: 'In other respects they may be no better than those Christian revolutionaries, the 'iconoclasts'; but in this respect at least they are certainly their superiors.'[23]

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[15] I am indebted to Robert Skelton for pointing out the polarity between the symbolic 'columns' on either side of Jahangir which I interpret as the constructive and the destructive aspects of the ruler.

[16] See 'The Baluster Column', this volume.

[17] *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church*, eds. J. Neuner, S.J., and J. Dupuis, S.J. (Bangalore: TPI, 1972), p. 343.

[18] See *Trattati d'Arte del Cinquecento*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Bari, 1961), vol. II, pp. 521 ff.

[19] Ibid., vol. II.

[20] Ibid., p. 225 (my trans.).

[21] Ibid., p. 221 (my trans.).

The Mughals, on their part, were well able to understand the priests' theological argument regarding the pictures because they were caught up in a comparable tension between the Islamic prohibition of pictorial representation and their own inclination to depict the visual world. Abul Fazl, 'the voice of the court', repeatedly alludes to this conflict:

> I have to notice that the observing of the figures of objects and the making of likenesses of them, which are often looked upon as an idle occupation, are for a well regulated mind a source of wisdom and an antidote against the poison of ignorance. Bigotted followers of the letter of the law are hostile to the art of painting; but their eyes now see the truth.[24]

But even the liberal Abul Fazl seems to concede a certain superiority to the world of letters when he writes:

> But though it is true that painters, especially those of Europe, succeed in drawing figures expressive of the conceptions which the artist has of any of the mental states, so much so, that people may mistake a picture for a reality: yet pictures are much inferior to the written letter, inasmuch as the latter may embody the wisdom of bygone ages, and becomes a means to intellectual progress.[25]

These hesitating statements reflect the ambivalent attitude of the court in this regard. The emperor himself, however, was clearly an iconophil.[26] His interest in the European images was certainly enhanced by the theoretic justification of their use provided by the priests. The argument they put forward was well fitted to recommend the pictures to his own environment. The sources confirm that, in the discussions at court about the use of sacred pictures, the Jesuits had recourse to the treatises of the Counter-Reformation:

> Then the priest, at the king's command, unrolled the books and seizing the opportunity, explained the pictures. He told the meaning of the Ark of the Covenant[27] and of what was kept in it. He explained the golden candlestick and the golden table of unleavened bread. All this he did in a simple manner suited to the understanding of his hearers. The Musalmans hate idolatry; and hence he discoursed at some length on the images of angels on the ark and in the shrine. He pointed out that God had only prohibited the making and worship of images of false gods—not the making of statues of saints. For He who said 'Thou shalt make thyself no graven image', also commanded that the figures of angels should be painted and carved in His tabernacle and temple. And, since He is God and cannot change or forget, it is blasphemous to believe that He gives inconsistent and contradictory commands. Religious men, inspired by the divine will, explain by the right interpretation passages of Scripture which appear to conflict. These men declare that the words 'graven image' and 'idol' denote only the images of demons and false Gods; and God, the Creator of the universe, forbade both in law and Gospel the worship of such images. Wherefore it is wrong to accuse of idolatry Christians who do reverence to the painted or carven image of God and divine beings.[28]

The authoritative teaching of Scripture regarding the use of images was one of the major points of the relevant treatises, and in Paleotti's *discorso*, which we take to be their most comprehensive and important representative, we find passages to corresponding literally to Monserrate's argument.[29]

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[22] According to Monserrate (*Commentary*, pp. 9, 60, 176), the exhibition of the pictures drew enthusiastic crowds of people who showed all signs of reverence to them—including the emperor. See Maclagan, pp. 227 ff. Jahangir especially took a particular interest in collecting Christian pictures in his *muraqqa*'s (albums) and in having them copied by his artists. See Maclagan, pp. 236 ff.; or Milo Beach, 'The Gulshan Album and Its European Sources', *Museum of Fine Arts Boston Bulletin*, LXIII, no. 332 (1965), pp, 63–91.

[23] *Commentary*, p. 60.

[24] *A'in-i-Akbari*, trans., vol. I, pp. 114 f.

[25] Ibid., pp. 102 f.

[26] Ibid., p. 115. Fernão Guerreiro, *Relaçam Annual das Coisas que Fizeram...*, vol. III, *1606–9*, ed. Artur Viegas (Lisboa: Impresa Nacional, 1942), p. 15, informs us about a similar attitude of Jahangir: 'In all these conversations in which the above mentioned objects were dealt with, the king displayed always much love for Christ our Lord; he even defended the use of images which are not at all accepted by the Moors . . .'.

[27] It is quite possible that the depiction discussed here was one of the illustrations to the *Polyglot Bible*. The title page of the second volume, *The Traversing of the Jordan*, by Jan Wierix includes a depiction of the Ark of the Covenant. This subject is also found in the engravings of the eighth volume but as we indicated in note 5, above it is doubtful if this volume reached the Mughal court.

[28] *Commentary*, p. 138.

As we see from later developments, the emperor seems to have been impressed deeply by this Tridentine teaching expounded by the priests—that sacred pictures are an ideal means to attract the attention and to draw the veneration of the believer towards the holy object they represent.

And yet, at the same time, the Mughals seem to have given this argument their own twist. At the first stage they allowed themselves to be publicly represented in the company of these pictures. Thus, they associated themselves with the veneration which, according to the Jesuits, was due to such sacred pictures. During the Nauruz celebration in March 1582, the following event was reported by Monserrate:

> [. . .] a certain noble, a relation of the King, secretly asked the officer in charge of the royal furniture for the beautiful picture of the Virgin which belonged to the King, and placed it (unknown to the King himself) on a bracket in the wall of the royal balcony at the side of the audience chamber, where the King was wont to sit and show himself to the people and to give audience to those who desired it. The aforementioned noble surrounded and draped the picture with the most beautiful hangings of cloth and gold and embroidered linen. For he thought this would please the King. Nor was he mistaken: for the King warmly praised the idea, which also gave great pleasure to the priests, who perceived that non-Christians were worshipping and reverencing the picture, and—as if compelled by the unaided force of the truth—were not denying veneration to the image of her whom the morning stars extol, and whose beauty amazes the Sun and Moon (though some, who vainly claim to follow Christ and to be ministers of the Gospel, impudently abuse her and are thus worse than the very Musalmans).[30]

Accidental as this arrangement may have been, it generated nevertheless a new iconographic tradition for the representation of the Mughal emperors: the emperor in the company of Christian pictures.

Later, during the reign of Jahangir, this motif appears in two ways. First, as the rendering of a real scene, as for instance the painting of Jahangir in durbar (*circa* 1620, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), with the picture of the Virgin above his head.[31] (Fig. 5.3) The scene depicted looks like an illustration to the above-mentioned event as narrated by Monserrate. This and other comparable depictions are complemented by literary accounts of Jahangir's appearance in the *jharoka* of his outer palace wall covered with paintings of predominantly religious subjects.[32] The wall appears like an iconostasis from which the emperor stands out as a living image.

This playing with two realities is reversed in the second version of the motif where the sacred person is depicted on the same level of reality as the living emperor. In the Chester Beatty Library painting dated about 1615, Jahangir and Christ appear in the respective windows of the same building before the same background, their heads surrounded by the same halos (Fig. 1.5). The halo of Jahangir, however, is much more distinctive than that of Christ, and his bejewelled appearance in the window richly decorated with textiles stands in sharp contrast to the simply-clad Christ in his undecorated window.

The representation is surrounded by a calligraphic frame of Persian couplets, among them the famous one by Hafiz: *ala ya ayyuha al-saqi adir kasan wa nawilha/kih ishq asan namud awwal wali aftad mushkilha* (Come, cupbearer, take a cup around and let everyone partake, for love seemed so easy at first but then came problems). These express in their *majazi* meaning the desire of the lover for his beloved, and in their *haqiqi* meaning the longing of the soul for God. An interpretation assuming the direct pictographic procedure of the Mughal artists suggests that the picture should be read as promoting the Mughal emperor 'above' the European Christ as a 'richer' visual object to the mystic quest of the soul, whose movement would be somehow enhanced as well as guided by the couplets of Persian poetry in the frame.[33]

Again, and now with full chronological support, we are led back to Paleotti, though at this point he would certainly have refused to lend his argument in justification of what was taking place: 'And further the image embraces in little space, without having recourse to volumes and folios, extensive and deep concepts . . .'[34]

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[29] *Trattati d'Arte*, II, p. 237.

[30] *Commentary*, p. 176.

[31] For illustration, see Beach, *Grand Mogul*, pl. 14.

[32] Maclagan, p. 238 ff.

[33] It seems that here again the European form was used to express visually a literary metaphor already familiar to Mughal thinking. Comparisons with the Quranic Christ are not unusual in Mughal writing. Thus Mulla 'Abd al-Baqi Nahavandi quotes the following verses from Maulana Farid al-din's treatise on Jahangir: 'By [his] breath he [Jahangir] is Christ, the brightest moon . . .' (This alludes to the life-inspiring breath of Christ mentioned in Q 5:110), *Ma'asir-i Rahimi*, ed. M. Hidayet Hosain (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927), p. 12. I thank Dr. Yunus Jaffery from Delhi College for having drawn my attention to this verse.

Was the picture of the emperor meant, like the picture of Christ, to elicit veneration of the original? Yes, so it seems, because at the next stage the Mughal emperor allowed himself to be actually represented like the subject of the sacred pictures.

Thus Shah Jahan appears in the painting of Bichitr like an icon[35] (Fig. 1.6). He stands on a globe with the unavoidable lion and sheep under his feet as symbols of the eschatological character of his rule. Flying angels, surrounded by clouds, hold a crown over his head which is encircled by a great halo. On the human level a raja kneels in the right corner of the picture as if in adoration, and in the heavenly sphere the divinized ruler is flanked by two groups of spiritual persons standing on clouds. This exchange of the sacred protagonist of a Christian painting for the person of the emperor has an interesting literary parallel reported by an indignant Jesuit:

> The King at great expense had built a most magnificent city to which he gave the name Ganabad [Shahjahanabad, completed in 1648]; in praise therefore of the vast city he had founded, the King asked Mirza [Mirza Dhu 'l-Qarnayn], by far the best poet of these Regions, to write a suitable piece of poetry. Mirza summoned up all the power of his talent; he wrote in verse that was perfect; but in it he sang, not the praise of the King, but the power of God alone. Mirza's only object was to show the King that the glory of the city and its perfection was attributable to God alone. The King, who in his greed for flattery, expected his own praise, indignantly rejected the panegyric. *Afterwards, he substituted his name where that of God came in, so that what was said to God's praise would be attributed to him.* In this you see how the Mirza's intrepid piety came into conflict with the intolerable arrogance of the King.[36]

The intermingling of the imperial and religious aspect of the ruler's role was, in the last analysis, the result of the Mogul's ambition to be legitimized as ruler of the two worlds—the visible *('alam-i suri)* and the spiritual one *('alam-i ma'nawi)*, if we may use Akbar's, the imperial *mujtahid*'s[37] own terms, as in his letter of 1582 to the king of Spain.[38] In what seems to be a direct reference to the representation of Philip II, in the *Polyglot Bible* as Instaurator of the Catholic faith (*quod religionem expiandam pietatemque instauranda curaverit*), he addresses the Spanish king in this same letter as *muhyi-i marasim-i 'Isawi* (lifegiver to the Christian laws) and *maurid-i tajalliyat-i ma'nawi* (recipient of spiritual illuminations),[39] playing thus on what he considered to be in their respective frame of reference, comparable qualities. The Mughal emperor, therefore, quite clearly perceived that the *'alam-i suri-i 'Isawi* (the world of the Christian forms) could also serve the purpose of *'alam-i suri-i mughali* (the world of the Mughal forms).

The Jesuit priests had taken along the pictures as a means to make the emperor perceive the realities of the Christian faith and the duties of the Christian ruler, to bring about eventually the Moghul's conversion to Christ—the great aim of the Mission. The Mughals accepted the means eagerly but used them as vehicles to represent the reality and the glory of their own dynasty and rule. The pictures, in the end, were used not *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, but *ad maiorem Moguli gloriam.* Yet, in this peculiar way, they gave a great impetus to Mughal art.

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[34] *Trattati d'Arte*, II, p. 222.

[35] Cf. Arnold, *Chester Beatty Catalogue*, vol. I, p. 32, who comes to a similar conclusion, 'The composition of this painting is undoubtedly copied from a European picture, probably of the Virgin in glory with attendant saints and angels, the Raja occupying the place of the kneeling donor.' See also Leach, I, cat. no. 3.26, p. 504, who identifies the raja as Jajhar Singh Bundela.

[36] *Jesuit Annual Letter from Mogor* (*May 1648–August 1649*), trans. from the Latin by the Rev. L. De Vos, S.J., ed. Rev. H. Hostens, S.J., in *Journal of Indian History* (1922), I, p. 238. My italics.

[37] Akbar was fascinated by the figure of the Pope whom Badauni calls *Mujtahid-i kamil* (perfect authority in religious decisions), quoted in Maclagan, p. 29. He had long discussions with the Jesuits on the nature of his status (*Commentary*, pp. 172 f.). Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar: the Great Mogul, 1542–1605*, 2nd edn. (Delhi: S. Chand and Co., 1962), p. 128, goes so far to suggest that Akbar's 'infallibility' decree of September 1579 was suggested 'by the information then becoming available concerning the position of the Pope in Western Europe'.

[38] See above, note 3.

[39] Rehatsek, p. 139.

2

Jahangir and the Angels: Recently Discovered Wall Paintings under European Influence in the Fort of Lahore*

I

The student of Mughal painting is well aware of the contemporary literary evidence for Mughal wall paintings depicting European and, in particular, Christian subjects. This literary documentation—especially prominent in the reign of Jahangir (1605–27)—is provided by European sources as, for example in the descriptions of Jerome Xavier, William Finch, Sir Thomas Roe or Fra Sebastian Manrique.[1] The evidence of these authors ties up with that in Mughal painting where European and Christian subjects appear as a favourite architectural decoration on the walls of secular buildings, especially of palaces.[2]

However, so far no wall painting was known to exist matching undisputedly any of these descriptions and representations. Though we learn from Montserrate that Akbar had hung up pictures of Christ, Mary, Moses and Muhammad in his dining hall,[3] none of the surviving wall paintings in Fatehpur Sikri have so far been identified with certainty to depict Christian themes.[4] The frescoes in the gateway

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*Reprinted from *India and the West: Proceedings of a Seminar Dedicated to the Memory of Hermann Goetz*, edited by Joachim Deppert (New Delhi, 1983).

[1] All quoted by Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932), pp. 237 ff. with further references.

[2] Examples are discussed by Richard Ettinghausen, 'New Pictorial Evidence of Catholic Missionary Activity in Mughal India (Early XVIIth Century)', in *Perennitas* (Münster, 1963), pp. 385–96, esp. figs. 1, 2; see also the representation of Jahangir in darbar, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *c.* 1620, where angels are painted on the brackets of the *jharoka* and a picture of the Virgin on the wall behind. Illus. in Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Grand Mogul, Imperial Painting in India 1600–1660* (Williamstown, MA, 1978), cat. no. 14. See also fig. 5.3.

[3] The *Commentary of Father Montserrate, S.J.*, trans. J.S Hoyland, ann. S.N. Banerjee (Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 29.

[4] The question arose with regard to the unidentified subjects of the wall paintings of the so called Maryam ki Kothi or Sunahra Makan, in particular the so-called Annunciation above the northernmost doorway of the west front. See Edmund W. Smith, *The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri*, Part 1 (1894; rpt. Delhi, 1973), pp. 33 ff; S.K. Banerjee, 'Mariam-ki-Kothi or Sunahra Makan of Fatehpur Sikri', *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, XVII (1944), pp. 103–10; and Athar A. Rizvi and Vincent Flynn, *Fatehpur-Sikri* (Bombay, 1975), pp. 54–6. The scene, better preserved in the sketch of Smith (see pl. CIX, Fig. 1), certainly does not depict the Annunciation but two winged beings, one of them seated on a throne. For a short discussion of related subjects in Iranian art, see Ingeborg Luschey-Schmeisser, 'Engel aus Qazvin', Frühsafavidische Kachelbilder, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, NF, Band 9 (1976), pp. 299–311, esp. Tafel 56. The Fatehpur Sikri representation does show some European influence in regard to the seated figure. A similar winged being derived from a European model

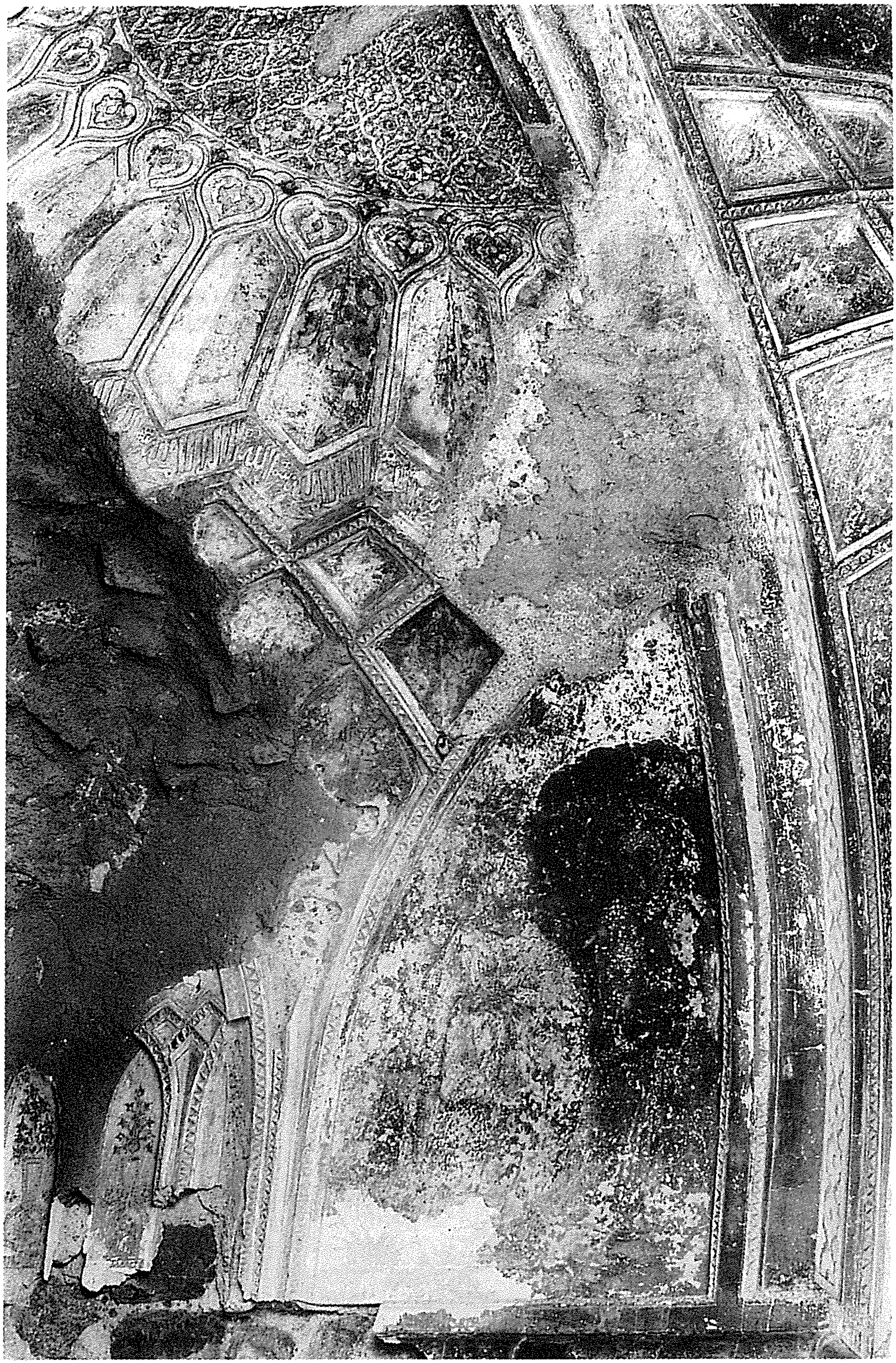


Fig. 2.1 Wall painting after a European model in the north-east corner of the transition zone of the gate of the *sarai* of Mehr Banu Agha, south-west of Humayun's tomb, Delhi, 1021/1612.

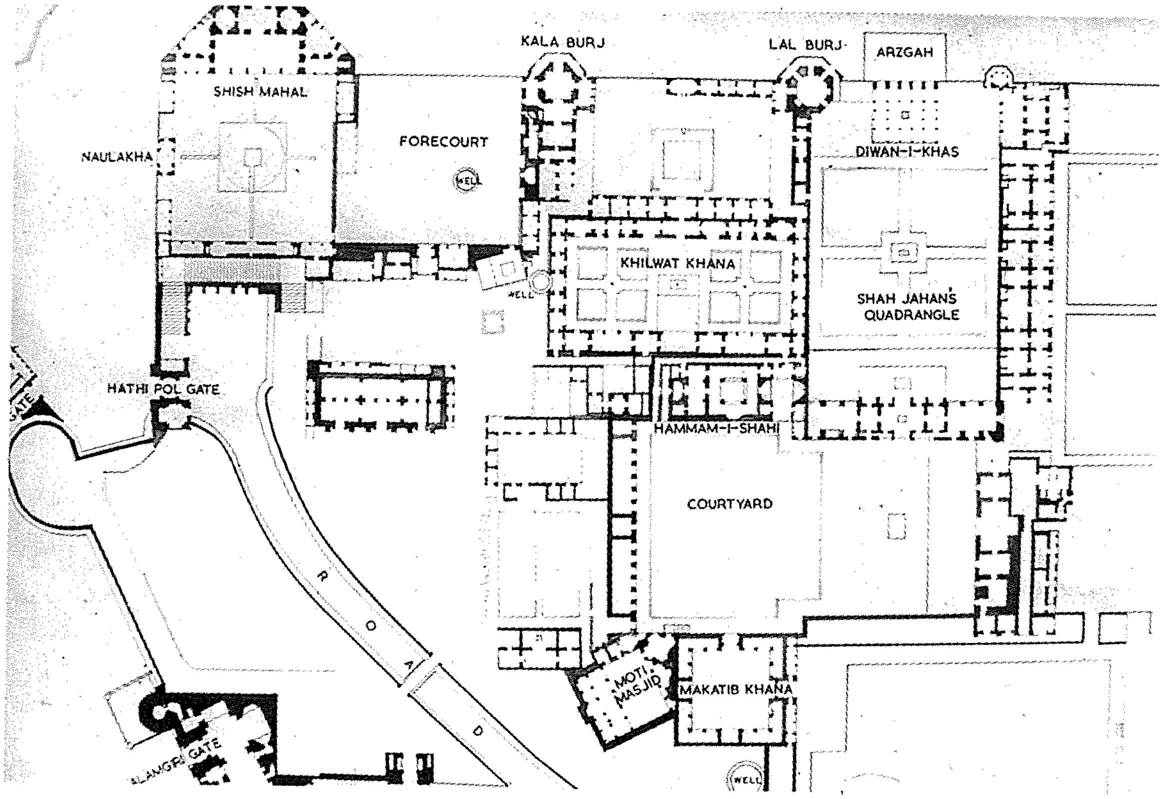
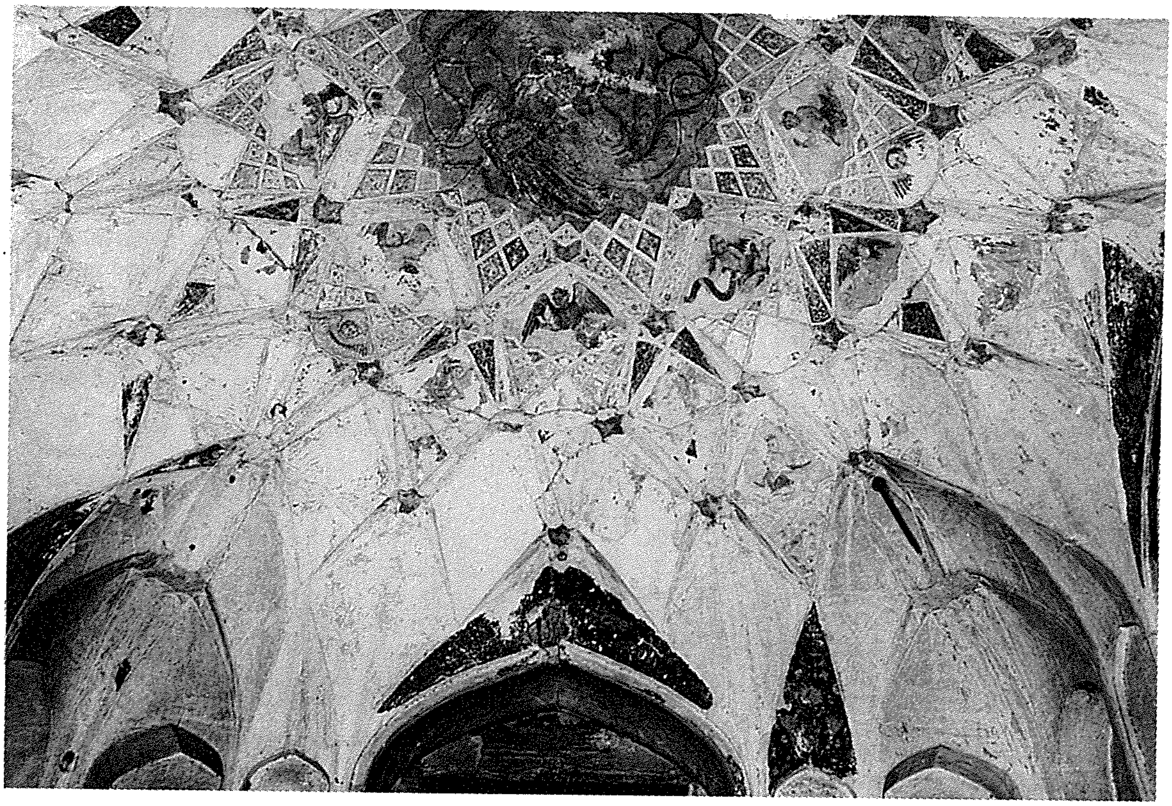


Fig. 2.2 Plan of Lahore Fort.

Fig. 2.3 Vault of the Kala Burj, Lahore Fort, from south, period of Jahangir (1605–27).



of Mehr Banu (Agha) near Humayun's tomb in Delhi according to his inscription 'an old [servant] of Jahangir Shah'[5]—are not preserved well enough to allow us to make any definite statement about their iconography, although in one of the painted panels of the transition zone a male figure with a halo and a female figure can still be made out (Fig. 2.1). These fragments have even occasioned the misinterpretation of this building as a Christian church[6] in spite of its clear Muslim orthodox inscriptions and its obvious function as a gateway to the adjoining *sarai.*

Thus, it was with considerable excitement that I saw during my visit to the Fort of Lahore[7] in December 1980 the wall paintings on the vault of the Kala Burj which had been uncovered recently from their British white-wash by the Department of Archaeology.[8] These wall paintings—depictions of angels, birds and stars—show indisputably European–Christian influences in style of representation and in the choice of the figures. They confirm the literary accounts of contemporary European observers, and show that the representations in Mughal miniature paintings were not merely a convention of architecture in painting but a reflex of the architectural decoration in real buildings.

We shall, however, see that the European forms were given the liberty to escape from their original context in order to express a concept deeply rooted in the Islamic tradition of rulership.

II

The so-called Kala Burj, the second residential tower from the west, projects as a half-octagon from the northern front of the Fort[9] (Fig. 2.2). The palace buildings originally overlooked the river Ravi on this side. The fort wall and its projecting towers are here decorated with the famous figurative tilework in accordance with the north part of the west front.[10]

As to the interior of the palace, the Kala Burj forms the head of a residential wing that separates two courtyards. The central room of the tower, a vaulted chamber 7.7m high, is not octagonal as the outer appearance of the tower suggests but square, about 6.33m by 6.33m. It is enclosed by double-storied, partly open galleries that give the tower its polygonal outer appearance. The interior organization of the central vaulted room reflects its double storied encasement in such a way that its wall is divided horizontally by an uninterrupted cornice. Above the cornice rises the vault like a baldachin from the transition zone that is formed by eight deep arched niches and squinches (Fig. 2.3). The brick structure of

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appears in a painting of the collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd, *Indian Miniature Painting from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd, The Mughal and Deccani Schools* (Portland, Oregon, 1973), cat. no. 29c, p. 54.

[5] The inscription is in the arch of the eastern front with *bismillah* and *kalimah* in the same *nasta'liq* characters, and reads *'Mehr Banu qadimi-i Jahangir Shah'.* It has been translated inexactly by Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi* (1876; rpt. Delhi: Ashish Publishing House, n.d.), p. 199, as '[His] kind [*miharban*] and old patron [is] Jahangir Shah'. The gate bears no date but was probably erected at the same time as the bridge of Mehr Banu Agha, called Barahpulah about 1.5 km to its south-east, dated by the *tarikh* of its inscription according to *abjad* reckoning to 1021/1612. The inscription is lost but preserved as a drawing published by Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Athar al-Sanadid* (Urdu text), ed. Khalid Nasir Hashmi (Delhi: Central Book Depot, 1965), p. 426. The chronogram there gives 1021 but the date is indicated erroneously as 1030.

[6] K.A. Thomas 'Christian Paintings on a Mughal Monument', *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, May 10, 1981, p. 30.

[7] The Lahore Fort was completed by Akbar in about 1580 and altered during Mughal rule by Jahangir and Shah Jahan (1628–58). For the history of the Fort see especially Nur Bakhsh, 'Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and Its Buildings', *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1902–3*, pp. 218–24; Md 'Abdullah Chaghtai, *A Brief Survey of the Lahore Fort* (Lahore, 1973), (in Urdu); Muhammad Wali Ullah Khan, *Lahore and Its Important Monuments*, 3rd edn. (1961; Karachi, 1973), pp. 7–39.

[8] The work was carried out in 1974/75 as projected by Md Ishtiaq Khan, in *Master Plan for Preservation and Restoration of Lahore Fort*, (Department of Archaeology Government of Pakistan, 1973), pp. 46, 58. I thank Dr. Syed Mohammad Ashfaque, Superintendent of Archaeology, for the permission to study and photograph the so far unpublished wall paintings. Since then, Ilay Cooper, 'Sikhs, Saints and Shadows of Angels: Some Mughal Murals in Buildings along the North Wall of Lahore Fort', *South Asian Studies* 9 (1993), pp. 11–28, has published further instances of Europeanizing wall paintings in the Lahore Fort.

[9] A complete plan of the Lahore Fort is given for instance by Nur Bakhsh, 'Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort', pl. XXXIII; or Md Wali Ullah Khan, *Lahore and Its Important Monuments*, p. 7. See also the plan published by Major H.H. Cole, *Preservation of National Monuments, India: Buildings in the Punjab* (1884), pl. 1. Cole's plan is derived 'from a drawing furnished by Syad Fakir Kamr-ud-Din, Honorary Magistrate Lahore' that shows the Fort buildings in the time of Ranjit Singh. It is kept today in the Department of Archaeology, Western Pakistan Circle, Lahore.

[10] J.Ph. Vogel, *Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort* (1920; rpt. Karachi: Pakistan Publications, n.d.).

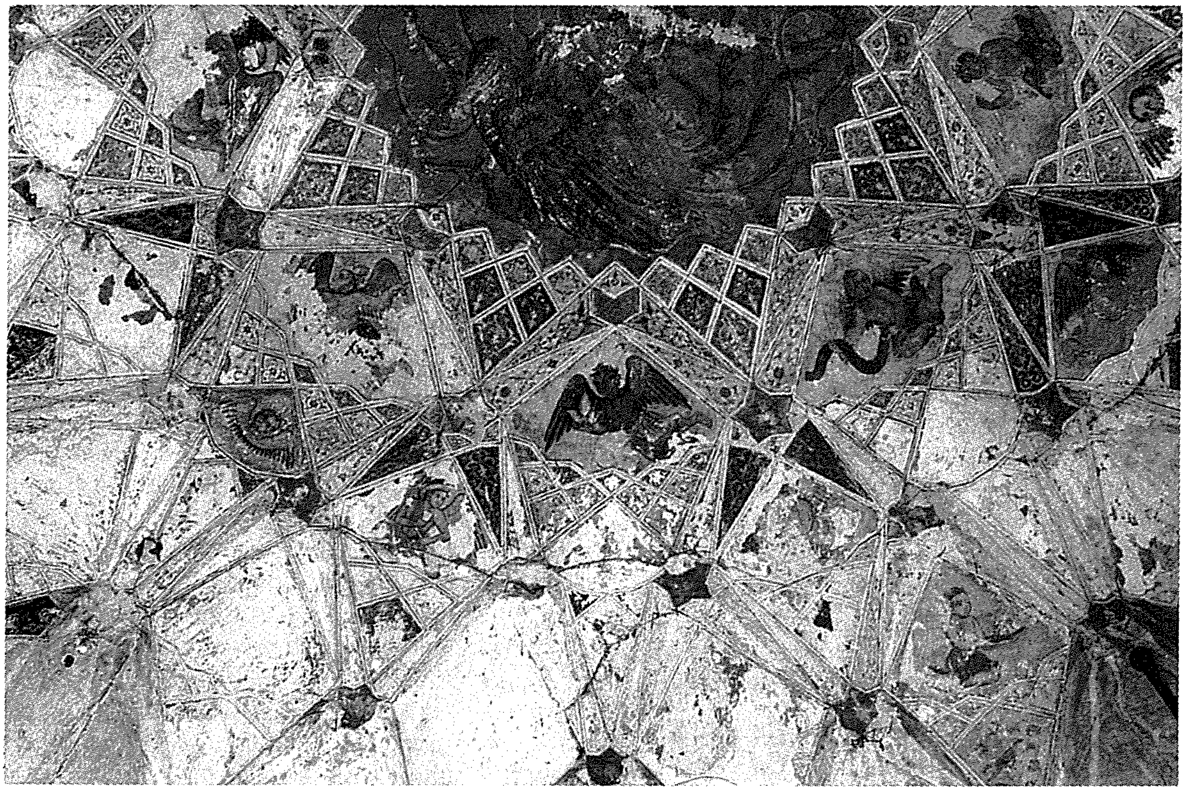
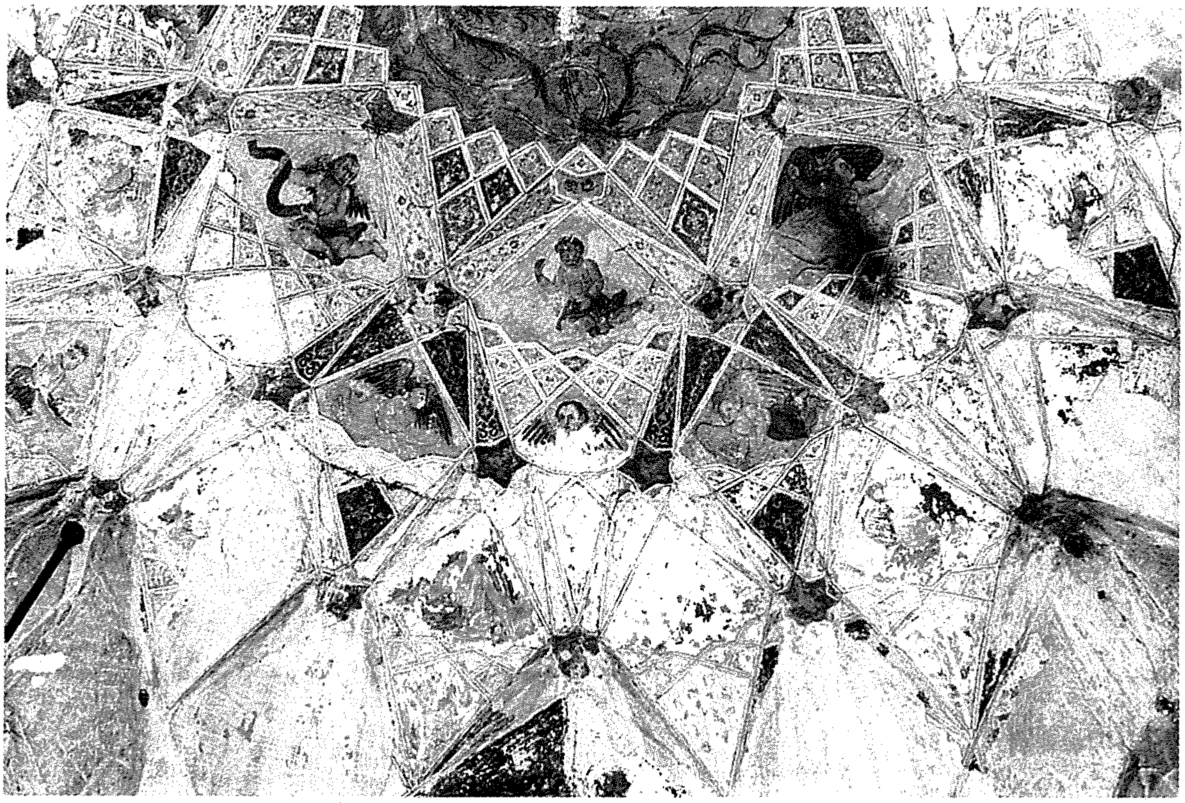


Fig. 2.4 Vault of the Kala Burj, northern part, detail.

Fig. 2.5 Vault of the Kala Burj, eastern part, detail.



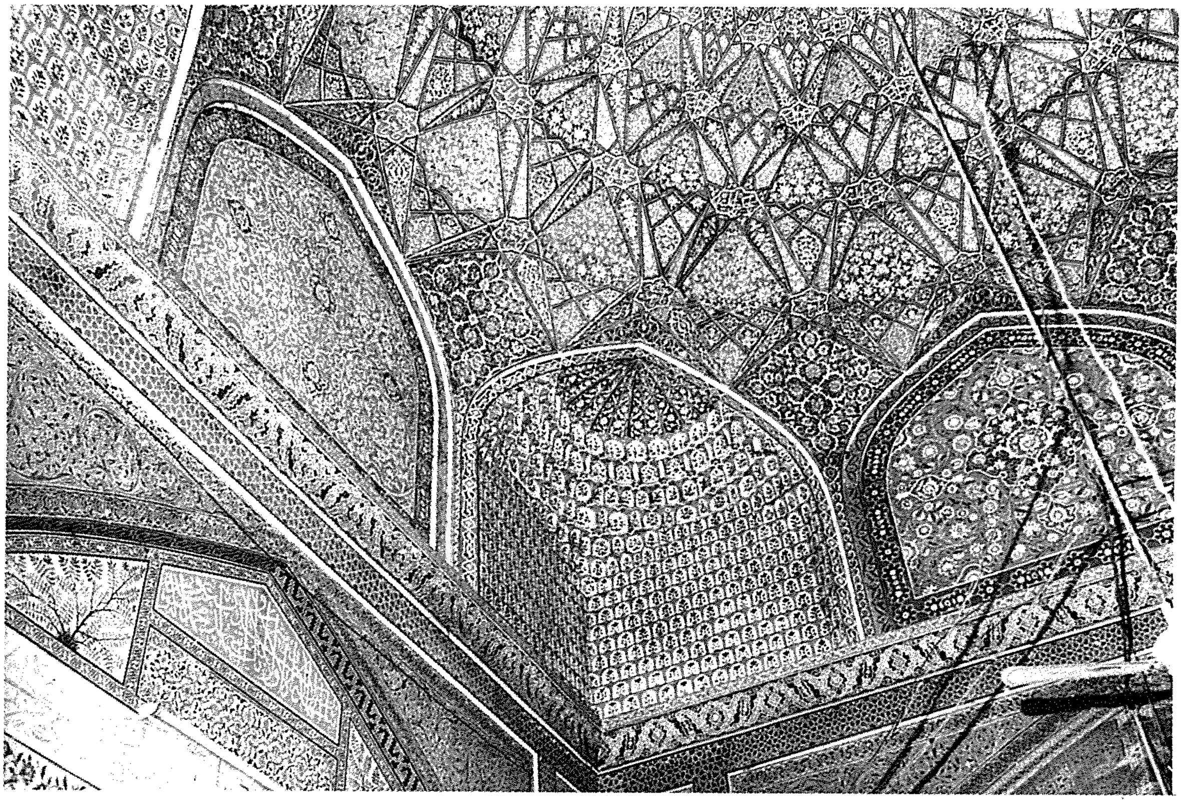
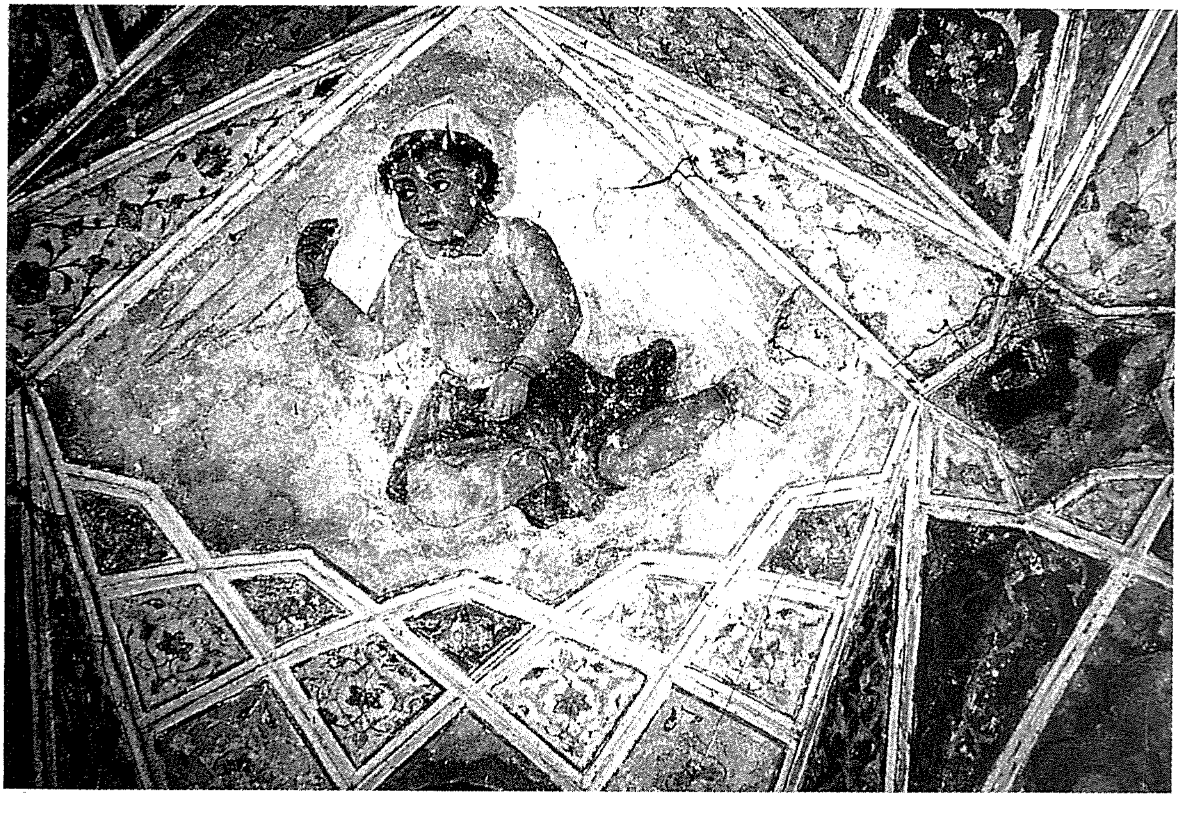


Fig. 2.6 North-west corner of the central vault of Begam Shahi Masjid or mosque of Maryam al-Zamani, Lahore, 1020/1611.

Fig. 2.7 Angel with raised arm, vault of the Kala Burj, innermost circle.



the actual vault is completely concealed behind a complex decorative plaster shell. Above the points of the squinches and the spherical triangles over the niches of the transition zone—all structured in themselves by arched panels and fragmentary faceted vaults—rises a system of stars arranged in concentric circles. These stars form the knots of the complicated network of the vault that consists of straight lines cutting out fan- and kite-shaped concave compartments of different sizes (about 40–60 cm). In the centre of this concentric system is a medallion (about 2 m in diameter) of the figure of an eight-pointed star formed by a network of intersecting arched ribs (Fig. 2.9). It appears like an ornamental reduction of an early Mughal vault form, namely the flat saucer dome sitting on an identical network of intersecting arched ribs that integrates the arches of the transition zone.[11] This earlier vault form has been reduced and inserted as the central figure in the design of the vault of the Kala Burj.

Originally, the whole vault, including the transition zone, was covered with paintings which survive only as fragments in the central area of the vault. The programme of the paintings corresponds to the concentric organization of the vault: it consists of birds in the stars that form the knots of the network, angels in the fan-shaped compartments arranged in circles and two fighting *simurgh*s (mythical Persian birds) in the central medallion. The facets that enframe these figurative paintings are filled with arabesques, flowers, and flowery ornaments.

The structure and painting of the vault are conceived as a unified whole in which only the bigger concave forms are actually modelled out of the plaster. The details of the network are indicated by slightly incised painted lines. The paintings and the plaster vault, therefore, must be contemporary.[12]

I have not been able to discover a date on the paintings, and the Kala Burj belongs to those buildings of the Lahore Fort for which no convincing chronology has been established so far. Therefore, before we deal with the paintings in detail, it will be useful to compare the structure of the vault with dated vaults related in character in order to use every available evidence to assign a date to the paintings.

The earliest dated Mughal example of such a painted net vault developed from fixed points in concentric circles is found in Lahore itself. It is the central vault of Mosque of Maryam al-Zamani, now called Begam Shahi Masjid (Fig. 2.6). This mosque lies outside the eastern gate of the fort, and, according to the inscriptions over its eastern and northern gate, was constructed in 1020/1611. This vault represents a simplified version of the vault of the Kala Burj with a less complex transition zone of eight clearly defined arches. Its central medallion[13] appears like a reduction of the central star figure of the Kala Burj, which itself, as we have seen, can be interpreted as a reduction form. The paintings of this vault are not figurative but ornamental. The polylobed medallions that take the place of the stars are, however, inscribed with several of 'the most beautiful names of Allah'. It seems that here, by means of calligraphy, the same intention is realized as in the Kala Burj by means of figural painting, namely 'to let the vault speak'. The paintings which cover the vault have been restored lately to the extent that the original colours are lost. The motifs of the flowery ornaments on the facets are, however, similar to the corresponding facets of the vault of the Kala Burj.

The later development of this vault type can be observed in the central ground floor chamber of the tomb of I'timad al-Daulah at Agra, dated by inscription to 1036–37/1626–27.[14] The general structure is similar to the vault of the Kala Burj but the network is divided into a greater number of facets which are, therefore, flatter and smaller. The introduction of curvilinear lines in the central figure is new. These features point towards the future development of this type of vault in the architecture of Shah Jahan's reign where a thin network of stucco is spread over the whole vault between the fixed points in such a way that the connecting lines create the impression of continuous curves.[15]

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[11] See, for example, the central vault of Humayun's tomb in Delhi, about 1565–9, where the transition zone is formed by 16 arches. Reproduced by Andreas Volwahsen in *Islamisches Indien* (Munich, 1969), p. 70.

[12] Because of the height of the vault I could not examine the paintings from close. The fresco technique possibly employed is described by Ahmad Nabi Khan in *Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore: History and Architecture* (Karachi, 1972, rpt. from *Pakistan Archaeology*, no. 7, 1972–3), pp. 10–12.

[13] Ibid, pl. LIa. The vault covers a room that is with 6.30 m by 6.30 m, of the same size as the room of the Kala Burj.

[14] The date 37 is found together with the name of the calligrapher Abd al-Nabi al-Qarshi on the inscription band of the south west corner *burj*. The date 1036 appears on the inscription band of the north wall in the upper chamber. A. Führer, in *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (1891; rpt. Varanasi, 1969), p. 55, records an inscription in the central ground floor chamber dated 1027/1617, the existence of which is doubtful. He does not mention the two other inscriptions read by Dr Yunus Jaffery from Dr. Zakir Husain College (formerly Delhi College). The central ground floor chamber is 5.65 m × 5.65 m, slightly smaller than the room of the Kala Burj, the vault is 4.8 m in height, much lower. For a drawing of the vault, see Volwahsen, *Islamisches Indien*, p. 129.

The features of the Kala Burj vault, in other words, the plastic modelling of the structure, the big facets, the archaic centrepiece and the straight lines connecting the fixed points, place it early in this group of vaults. We can, therefore, date it as contemporary or slightly earlier than the vault of the Begam Shahi Masjid of 1611.

III

This date coincides approximately with Jahangir's statements about his alterations in the Lahore Fort. He mentions these in the *Tuzuk* for the first time in 1612 AD when he remarks that he sent Khwaja Jahan Khwaja Dust Muhammad to Lahore *'ba-jihat tarh-i 'imarat-i daulat khanah-i Lahaur'*.[16] This has been translated by Alexander Rogers as 'in order to lay the foundation of a palace of Lahore'[17] but, according to Mughal terminology, it clearly means 'for the design of the building of the Lahore palace'.[18] The building activities in the Lahore Fort are again mentioned later in 1612, 1617 and 1619.[19] On 5th Muharram 1030 AH (30 November, 1620) the emperor solemnly entered the palaces which had been brought to completion by Ma'mur Khan.[20] Jahangir approved greatly what had been done. He mentions, especially, that the buildings were all painted (*munaqqash*) and decorated with pictures (*musawwar*) by outstanding masters (*ustadan-i nadirah-kar*). The dates given there are corroborated by the only inscription of Jahangir so far traceable in the Lahore Fort on the gate of a little courtyard now called Makatib or Maktab Khanah which served, apparently, as a forecourt to the palaces north of it (Fig. 2.2). The inscription commemorates the completion of the *daulat khanah* in 'the twelfth year of the blessed accession of His Imperial Majesty [1617] the shadow of God, a Solomon in dignity, Kayomarth in state, Alexander in arms, the asylum of the caliphate, the emperor Nuru-d-din Jahangir . . .'[21] Yet, it seems that Jahangir's alterations of the palace of Lahore were begun prior to his mentioning them for the first time in the *Tuzuk*. William Finch who visited Lahore in February 1611, gives a detailed account of wall paintings in different parts of the palace, representing Jahangir, his ancestors, sons, *mansabdar*s and also some Christian subjects.[22]

So far the only wall paintings discovered to tally with this description are the angels of the vault of the Kala Burj. It is difficult to bring Finch's description of the Lahore Fort in accordance with the surviving buildings.[23] He seems, however, to be clearly referring to the Kala Burj when he speaks of a 'small Gallery, at the end of which, next the River, through a small window, the King looks forth at his Dersanee [*darshan*] to behold the fights of wild beasts on the meadow by the River . . . at the end is a small Devoncan [*diwan khanah*], where the King useth to sit [Fig. 2.2] . . . In the Gallery where the King useth to sit, are drawne over head many Pictures of Angels, with Pictures of Banian Dews, or rather Divels, intermixt in most ugly shape, with long hornes, staring eyes, shagge haire, great fangs, ugly paws, long tailes, with such horrible difformity and deformity, that I wonder the poor women are not frightened therewith . . .'[24]

Part of the 'many Pictures of Angels' which Finch had seen 'drawne overhead' survive in the central area of the vault, but for the moment we are left to wonder what he meant with the 'Banian Dews' of which presently nothing is visible. They are going to play an important role in our later argument.

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[15] See for example the vault of the *hammam* in the Red Fort of Delhi (1639–48), reproduced by J. Burton Page, 'The Red Fort', in *Splendours of the East*, ed. Sir Mortimer Wheeler (1965; Spring Books, 1970), p. 136.

[16] *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, (Persian text) ed. Sayyid Ahmad Khan (Aligarh, 1864), p. 107.

[17] *The Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, trans. A. Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge, 2nd edn. (1909–14; rpt. 2 vols in one, Delhi, 1968), I, p. 219.

[18] '*Tarh*' is used by the Mughal writers for 'design' in regard to painting as well as architecture. See Abu'l Fazl's well-known statement in the *A'in -i Akbari*, (Persian text), I, p. 441, about the five hundred buildings erected by order of Akbar in the Agra Fort in 'the fine designs (*tarha*) of Bangala, Gujarat' and others.

[19] *The Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, trans., I, pp. 225, 376; II, p. 114.

[20] *Tuzuk*, (Persian text), see above, p. 318. A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, trans., II. p. 183, calculate the Christian equivalent of 5th Muharram 1030 as 20 November 1620. They follow in the translation, apparently, the unreformed or Julian Calendar that was given up in England only in 1752 while the rest of Europe except Russia and Sweden had adopted the Calendar reformed by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582. My conversion of the Muslim dates is based on G.S.P. Freeman Grenville, *The Muslim and Christian Calenders*, 2nd edn. (London, 1977).

[21] Nur Bakhsh, 'Historical Notes on Lahore Fort', p. 219.

[22] Finch in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. IV, pp. 53–6.

[23] The alterations done afterwards by Jahangir himself, Shah Jahan and in later times have changed the architecture of the Lahore Fort considerably. See A. Chaghtai, *Brief Survey of Lahore Fort*; Md Wali Ullah Khan, *Lahore and Its Important Monuments*.

[24] Finch, p. 54.

We can, therefore, deduct from the description of Finch that the paintings date earlier than 1611. This would still accord with the evidence we have gathered from stylistic comparisons regarding the structure of the vault. They must have been executed sometime between 1605, when Jahangir entered the Lahore Fort for the first time as emperor after the successful pursuit of his rebellious son Khusrau, and February 1611, when Finch saw them.[25]

IV

As noted earlier, only fragments of the paintings survive in the central area of the vault. The theme of the paintings is in correspondence with the surrounding architecture. They interpret the vault of the room as a heavenly vault of concentric spheres demarcated by stars and populated by winged beings of the celestial regions. The golden stars contain different flying birds, most of them only partly preserved. In the area of the three innermost circles, ten flying angels and two winged angel-heads are still recognisable in various states of preservation. Their fan-shaped compartments are set off by blue colour and by little clouds as sections of heaven. In the central medallion two *simurgh*s, partly damaged, are engaged in fighting with a definite touch of reality.

What is left of the paintings impresses by its quality. The angels belong to the most original and lively creations that Mughal art has brought forth in this genre. They do not follow the traditional Iranian-Mughal type of the winged being dressed in a long floating garment[26] but are clearly derived from a European prototype, namely the boyish (half) nude putto image which had been revived in the Italian Quattrocento in conscious imitation of classical models[27] (Figs. 2.14, 15). In the sixteenth and seventeenth century art of Europe it was a popular image as angel in religious and as putto in secular representations. The latter were mostly of an allegoric or symbolic nature. The putto angel had been introduced into Mughal art through the pictorial material brought to the court by the Jesuit missions from about 1580 onwards, mainly engravings from the Antwerp printers specially produced for Jesuit requirements in Counter Reformation and missionary activities.[28]

The winged child-angel head, a form derived from the concept of the cherubim who has wings instead of arms, entered Mughal art for the first time through the same sources.[29]

The European type of the adolescent angel which goes back to early Christianity and the Middle Ages, was also taken over from these engravings.[30] Similar in concept, he was particularly qualified to fuse with or to supplant the traditional Iranian-Mughal version which, as a matter of fact, largely gave way to the three European types in the reign of Jahangir. First the European angels were copied in their original context (Fig. 2.14).[31] Later, they either took the place of the Iranian-Mughal angel or *pari* figure in traditional programmes,[32] or, they appeared especially as puttos in a Mughal pictorial environment modelled upon the pattern of their original ambiente. This new genre—the Mughal allegory—was created by Jahangir and his artists.[33] I have shown elsewhere that it is a characteristic Mughal hybrid expressing visually Jahangir's literary concepts of rulership by means of composition techniques derived from European allegories.[34] To this end European forms are used which have undergone a Mughalization together with Mughal forms realized with European stylistic techniques.

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[25] Therefore the frescoes are more or less contemporary with Jahangir's wall paintings in the Agra Fort. These are not preserved but recorded in a letter of Jerome Xavier of September 24, 1608, the main substance of which is reproduced by Fernão Guerreiro, *Relaçam . . . V, 1607–08* (Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1611), pp. 13b–14b. Maclagan, *Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, pp. 238–40, translates apparently from the original letter, note 76, p. 261, because his translation differs slightly from Guerreiro's text. The following abstract is based on Maclagan's translation. The subjects of the representations were similar to the ones in the Lahore Fort described by Finch, but contained more Christian themes. The ceiling of an inner verandah behind the outer verandah where Jahangir used to show himself seems to have been painted with a Christian version of the ceiling of the Kala Burj, namely a picture of Christ in glory surrounded by angels. Jerome Xavier also gives an interesting description of the procedure of the painting. The models of the paintings were chosen by Jahangir from his collection of prints and he decided also where they were to be placed. Then his painters made large-size sketches on paper that were transferred to the wall. The Jesuit fathers were consulted in regard to the colours.

[26] Examples can be seen among the wall paintings of Fatehpur Sikri, see Smith, vol. I, pls. XVb; CIX, fig. 2; CXX.

[27] Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascenses in Western Art* (1965; London, 1970), pp. 147–50.

[28] For the influence of Jesuit prints on Mughal painting, see especially Maclagan, 'The Jesuit Missions and Mogul Painting', in *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, pp. 222–67; Aśok Kumar Das, 'The Impact of Europe' in *Mughal Painting During Jahangir's Time* (Calcutta, 1978), pp. 22–56; Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, pp. 155–7, with further literature; and 'The Influence of the Jesuit Missions on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors', this volume.

[29] Karl-August Wirth, 'Engel', in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. V, cols. 462–4.

[30] Ibid., cols. 353 ff.

[31] For a further example, see the engraving of The Birth of the Virgin by Cornelis Cort, dated 1581, and it's Mughal copy of *c.* 1610 in Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, nos. 54 and 54A.

[32] An example of Jahangir's time is discussed in note 49.

The angel cycle of the Kala Burj is a vivid demonstration of this process. It shows, simultaneously, all the above mentioned stages of angel depiction, from the only slightly transformed Mughal copy of European models to Europeanized Mughal images, all characteristic products of the creative dialogue between Mughal and European art in the time of Jahangir.

Among the preserved angels, the most faithful copy of a European model is the angel holding a red scroll with *nasta'liq* characters in the innermost circle (Fig. 2.12). The type of the putto angel with bent legs is close to the one flying in the top centre of the Mughal copy of a Descent from the Cross (1598 AD) (Fig. 2.14).

According to Robert Skelton, it is based on a Flemish print that combines scenes from the Last Judgement with a missing composition of a Descent from the Cross by Raphael preserved through an engraving of Marcantonio Raimondi.[35] The angel has retained the chubbiness of his European prototype. His body is strongly modelled and his short green skirt flies in soft folds around his thighs. The carefully observed naturalistic details of the feathers of his wings, though only partly preserved, recall the best creations of this genre in Mughal painting, namely the bird studies of *ustad* Mansur and his circle.[36] Even without knowing the exact European prototype, we realize that his large eyes and their intense look are also a Mughal contribution to the original concept as are the *nasta'liq* characters on the scroll. So far the text could not be deciphered by any of the authorities consulted.[37] Apparently, it gives no coherent meaning and, as Dr. Ziyauddin A. Desai suggests, was intended only to indicate the character of the scroll as a carrier of writing, since pseudo-writing is a common practice of calligraphic decoration in Islamic art. (The height of the vault and the size of the letters would have made a reading impossible in any case.)

Clearly, based on the same model in regard to the position and treatment of their legs and skirts, but departing from this prototype in the upper part of their bodies, are two more angels. One is to the right of the angel with the scroll (Figs. 2.7, 16), the other beneath him. He is the only one surviving in a recognizable shape in the third circle (Figs. 2.3, 4, 5). He flies in the opposite direction and carries a bowl with eatables that cannot clearly be identified but look like fruits.

Closely patterned after a European original but more estranged by his accessories than the angel with the scroll is, in the second circle, the angel with earrings and a European hat (Fig. 2.13). This headgear though European is not used by his European counterparts. A potential source for this angel is found on an engraving known to have been in the possession of the Mughal emperors, namely the second frontispiece of the famous *Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, presented to Akbar (1556–1605) by the first Jesuit Mission in 1580. It is the flying putto who holds a laurel wreath and a palm branch over the head of the Pietas Regia, the personification of the piety of Philip II of Spain, the sponsor of this Bible edition[38] (Fig. 2.15).

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[33] The political allegories of Jahangir painted by Abu'l Hasan and Bichitr are discussed by Richard Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India* (New Delhi, 1961), pls. 11, 12, 13, 14; id., 'The Emperors Choice', in *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), vol. I, pp. 98–120; and Aśok Kumar Das, 'Abu'l Hasan, Bichitr and the Iconographical [sic] Drawings', in *Mughal Painting*, pp. 213–28.

[34] See 'The Influence of the Jesuit Missions' this volume, pp. 5, 8, where I analyse in particular the depiction of Jahangir standing on a globe and shooting at the head of his enemy Malik 'Ambar, of about 1620, by Abu'l Hasan, in the Chester Beatty Library (Fig. 1.4).

[35] The whole painting is reproduced by Robert Skelton, 'Two Mughal Lion Hunts', in *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook*, no. 1 (1969), p. 44, pl. 12. This painting comprehends a whole compendium of European angel representations, i.e. puttos, angel heads and adolescent angel figures.

[36] For the work of *ustad* Mansur see *inter alia* Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, pp. 137–43; and Aśok Kumar Das, *Mughal Painting*, pp. 195–9, pls. 56, 57, 58, 61.

[37] I thank Professor Annemarie Schimmel and Dr. Desai for their help.

[38] The *Polygot Bible* had been edited by Dr Benito Arias Montanus, personal chaplain of King Philip II, and was printed by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp from 1568 to 1572. For the genesis of the Bible, see especially Max Rooses, *Christophe Plantin Imprimeur Anversois*, 2nd edn., (Antwerp, 1896), pp. 111–48. The complete second frontispiece is reproduced in 'The Influence of the Jesuit

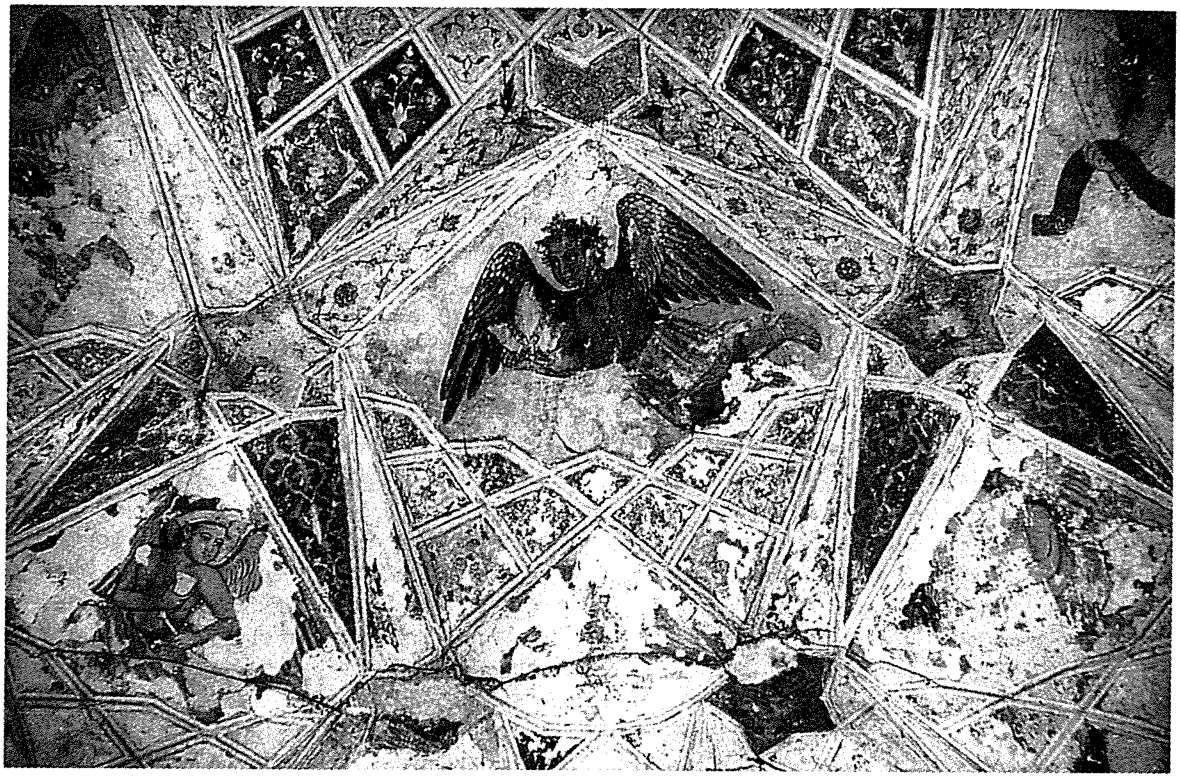
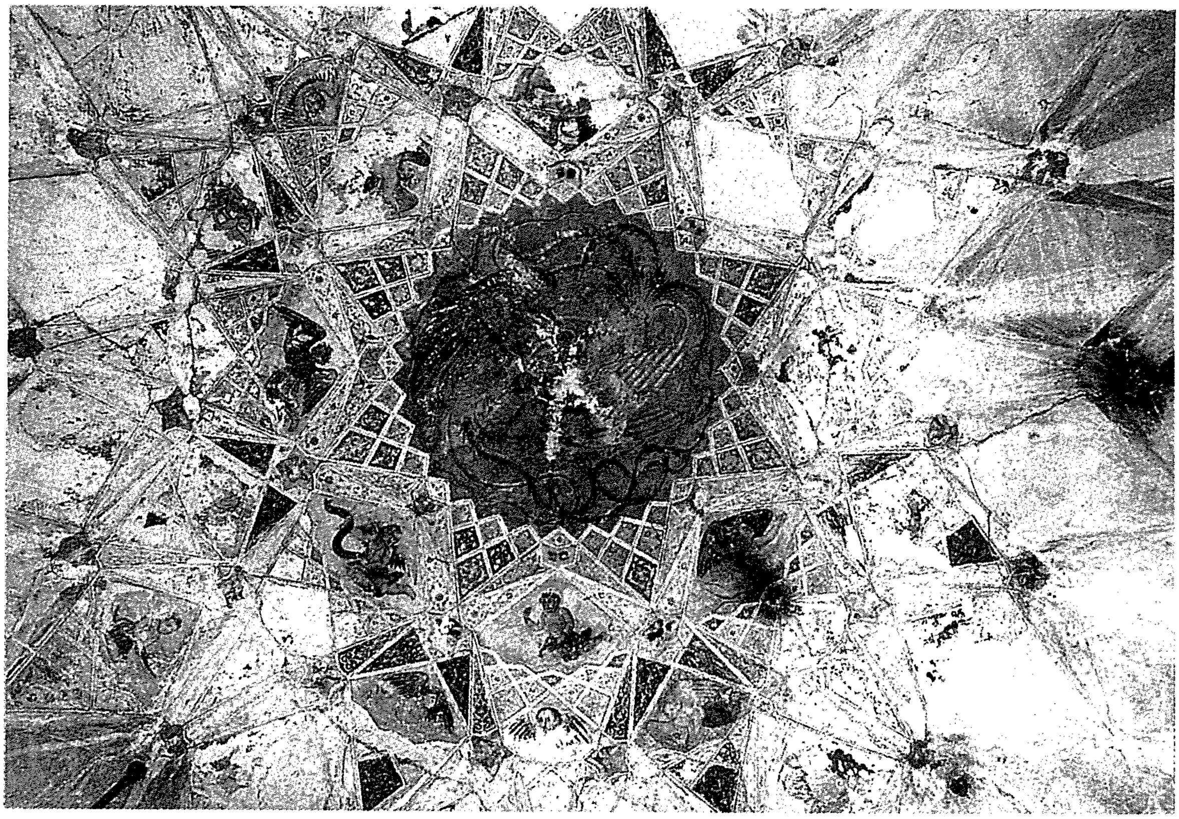


Fig. 2.8 *Saqi* angel and Hindu angel with a flower wreath holding a Humayuni turban, vault of the Kala Burj, innermost circle.

Fig. 2.9 Central part of the vault of the Kala Burj, Lahore Fort.



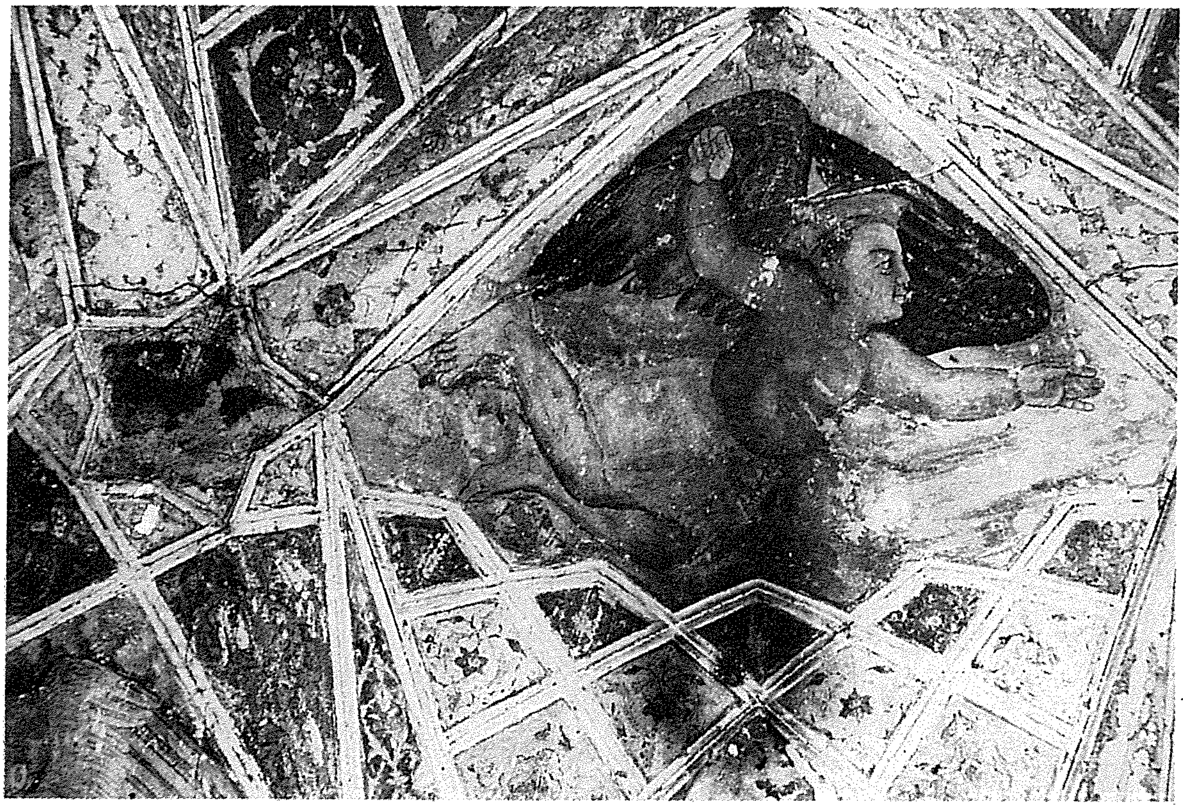
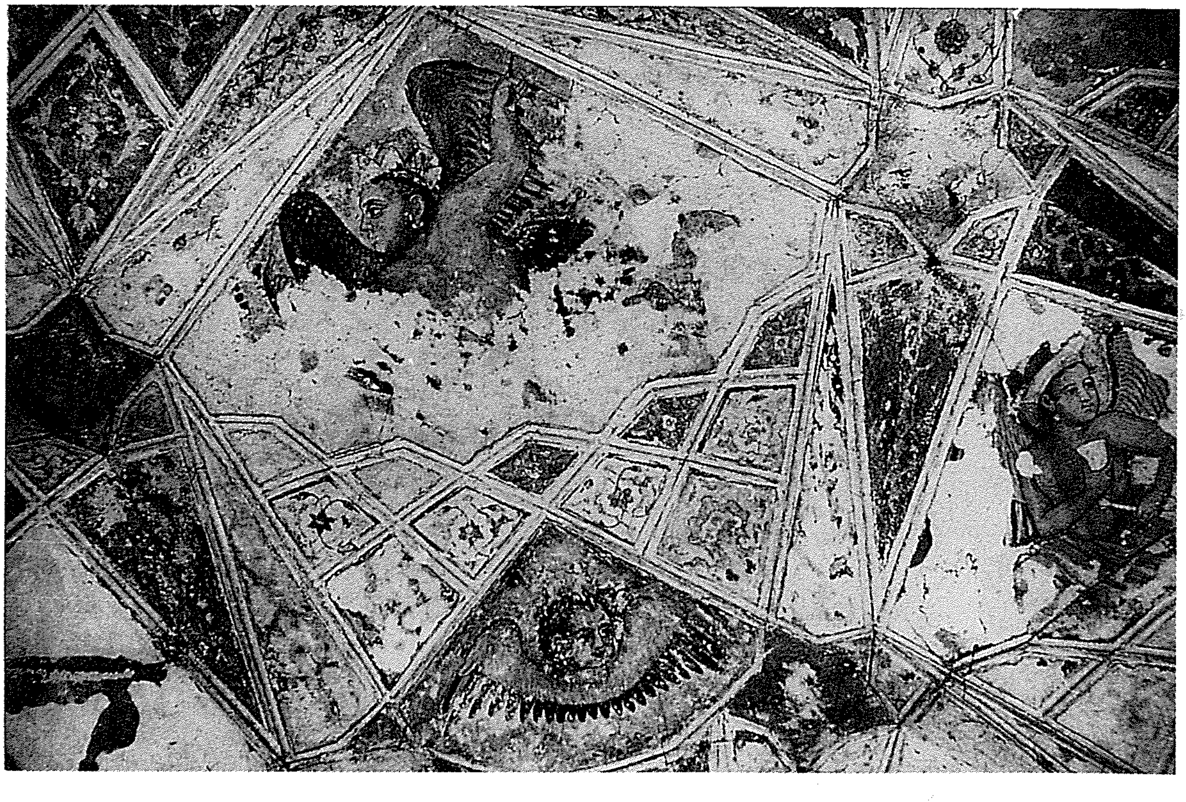


Fig. 2.10 Angel with raised arm, earrings and pointed cap, vault of the Kala Burj, innermost circle.

Fig. 2.11 Angel with raised arm, earrings and crown-like cap; winged angel head and *saqi* angel, vault of the Kala Burj, innermost circle.



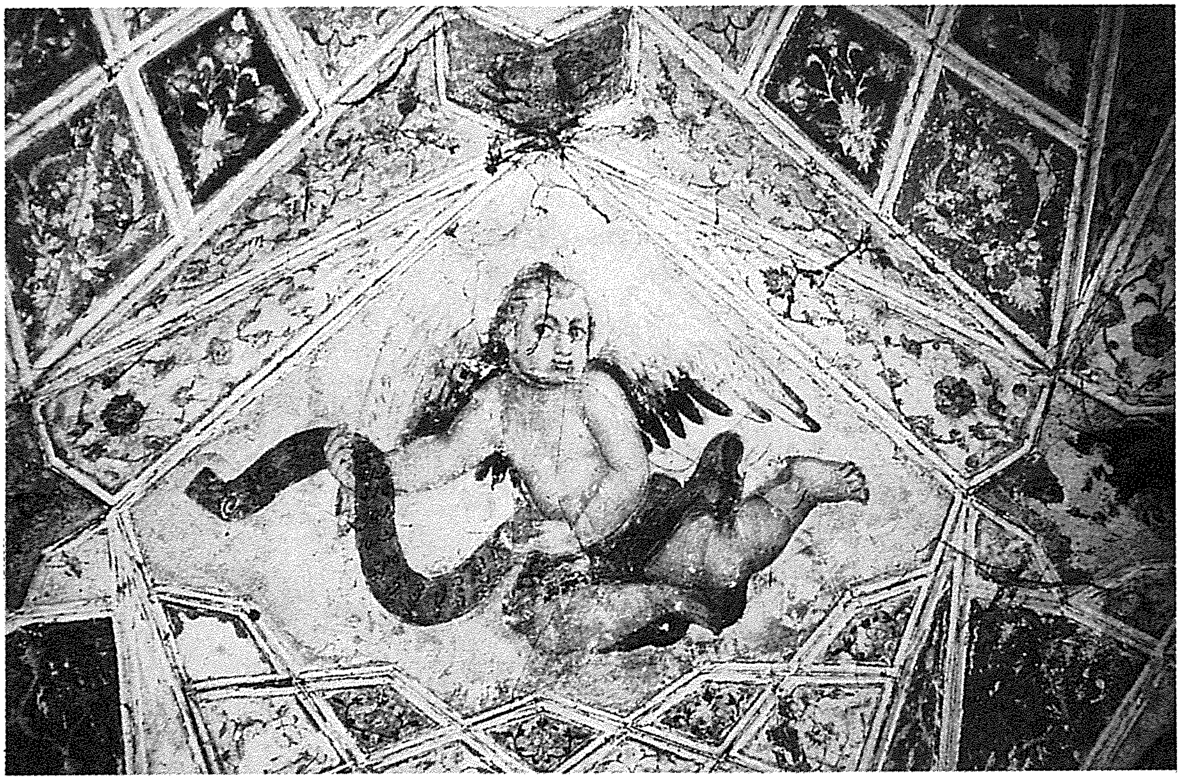
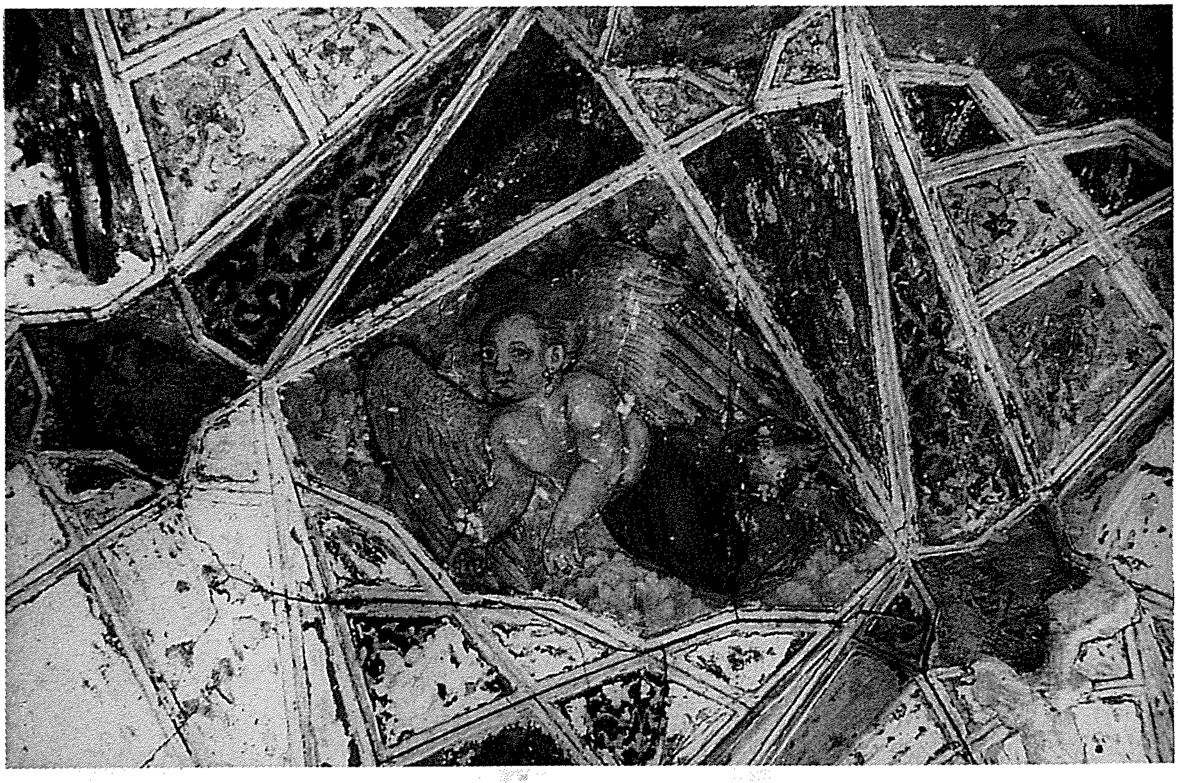


Fig. 2.12 Angel holding a scroll with *nasta'liq* characters, vault of the Kala Burj, innermost circle.

Fig. 2.13 Angel with earrings and European hat, and partly preserved hoopoe in the star to the left, vault of the Kala Burj, second circle.



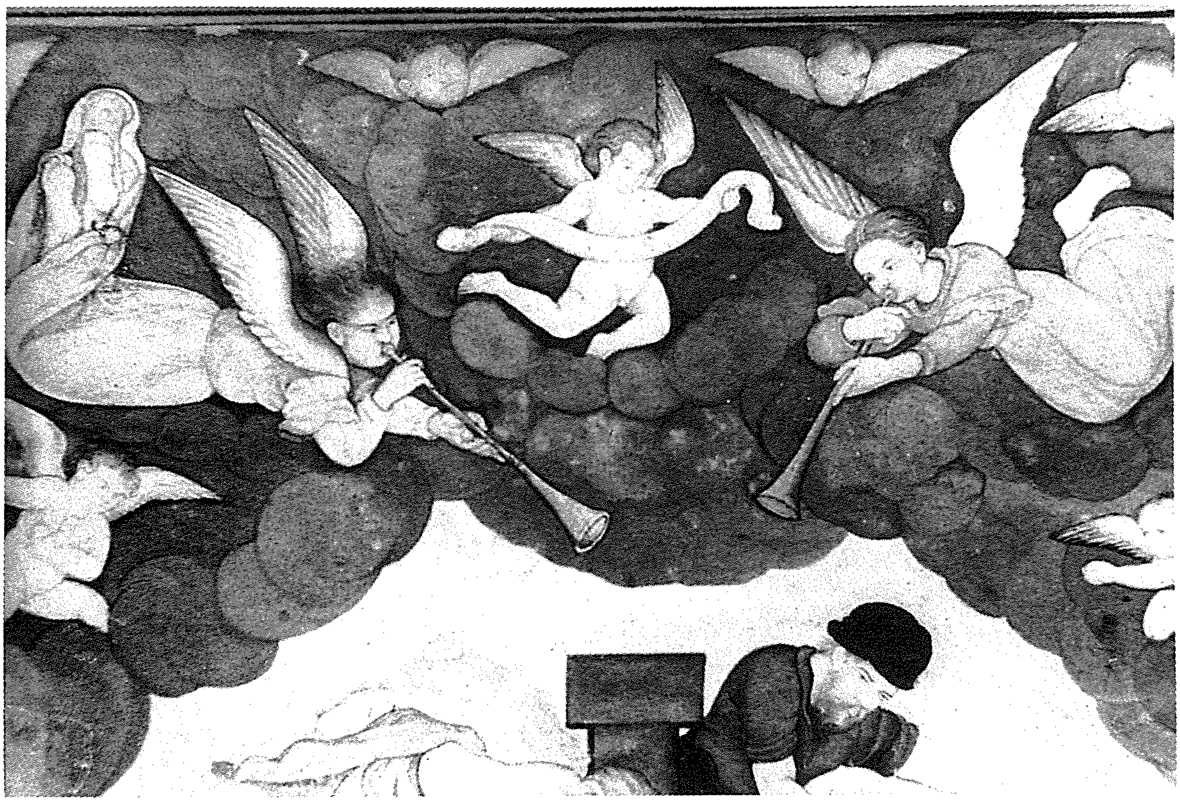
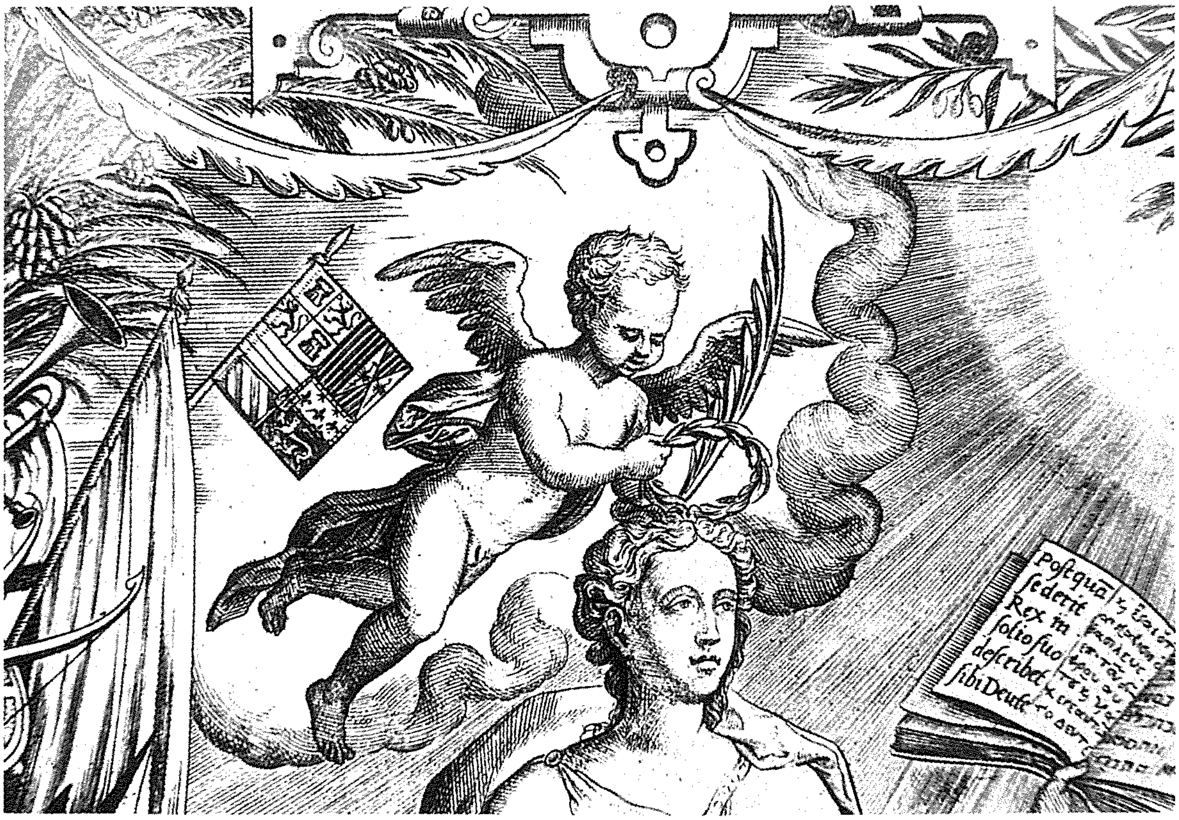


Fig. 2.14 The Descent from the Cross, detail. 1598. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Fig. 2.15 Putto holding a laurel wreath and a palm branch over the head of *Pietas Regia*, the personification of the piety of Philip II of Spain, detail of Fig. 1.2.



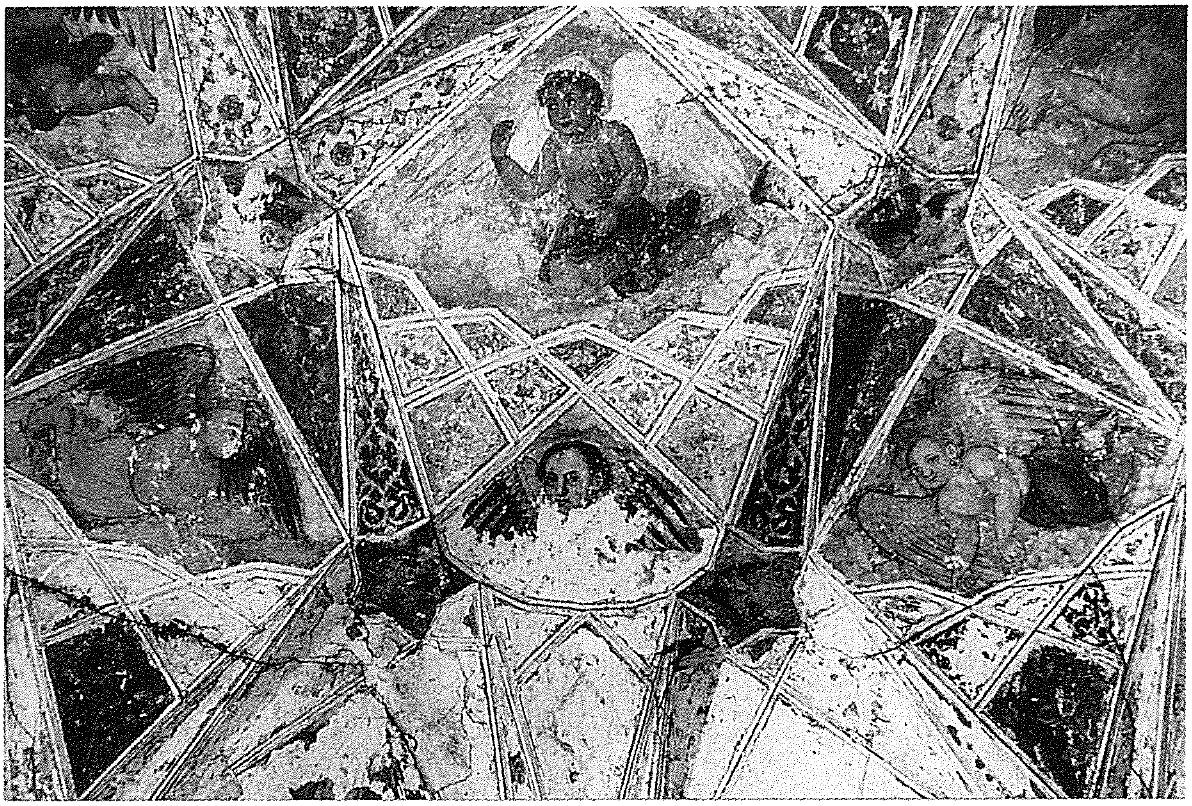


Fig. 2.16 Vault of the Kala Burj, eastern part, detail.

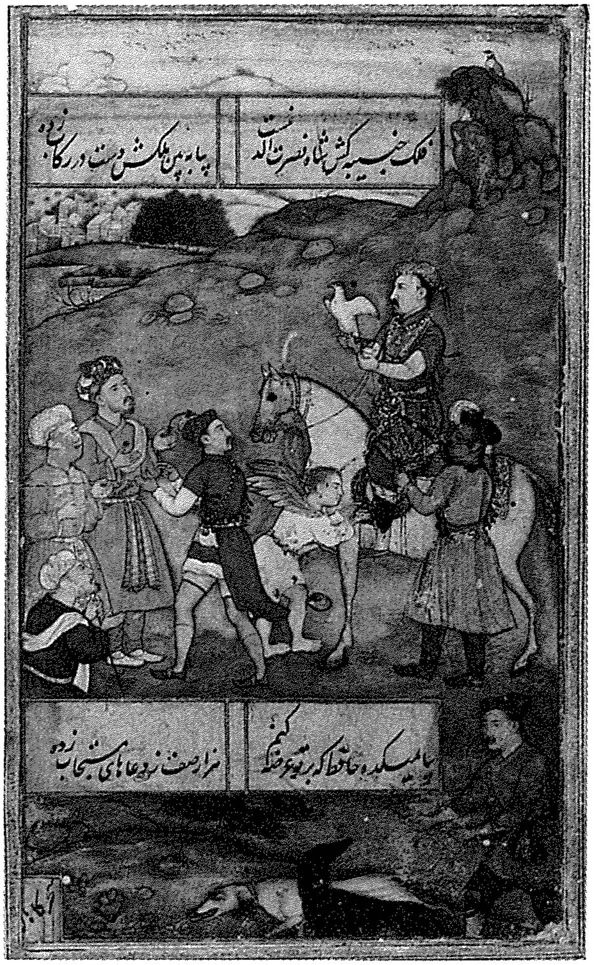


Fig. 2.17 Jahangir whilst out Hawking Meeting an Angel, illustration to a *Diwan-i Hafiz*. C. 1610. British Library, London.

The Mughal version of this putto is however more athletic, the upper part of his body being modelled even stronger than that of the angel with the scroll. The enormous pink wings show minute distinctions in texture and in the pattern of the different feathers.

The angel's arms in front of his body and the position of his fingers indicates that he was supposed to hold something like a string. This original design, however, has apparently not been carried out as his hands are empty. The composition is very fine and the most complete among those which are preserved. The whole background with the sky and the little clouds is still visible. The sophisticated palette uses different shades of pink and grey for the body, the clouds and the wings; purple for the skirt and the ruby of the earring that is set between two pearls. The complimentary colour to this purple appears in the sharp green of the angel's hat.

This angel served as a basic model for a group of four other angels in different states of preservation. In each case, however, the pattern was used only for the pose of the body (in particular the legs) upon which angel images of a different character were grafted. One is juxtaposed to the angel with the European hat but separated from it by a compartment with a winged angel head (Fig. 2.16). He alone among the surviving angels wears a thin garment in soft folds reaching down to his ankles. The original colours of this angel can still be seen on the head in profile covered by a red cap and on the black wings. The rest of the body survives only as drawing. He carries an object that seems to be similar to the (fruit) bowl carried by the fragmentary angel in the third row.

The other fully preserved angel who adopts the posture of the angel with the European hat but abandons the original nature of his model completely, is the dark angel with the flower wreath in the innermost circle (Fig. 2.8). In his hands he holds a turban of the distinctive shape worn by emperor Humayun and his royal brothers.[39] This 'Hindu-angel', as we might call him[40] is dressed in a diaphanous *jamah* indicated in brownish-red lines, hardly visible against the dark body. It is tied over the short skirt out of which stick out the legs that have kept the chubbiness of their European source. The wings are shaded in grey, black and white. Two fragments, one at the lower right of the 'Hindu angel', the other in the western part of the innermost circle, seem to have been derived also from the model of the angel with the European hat.

The two remaining angels in the innermost circle vary from this pattern in the pose of their arms. Instead of holding an object with both arms in front of their bodies, they raise the right arm to the height of their heads. Their fingers clutch something that looks like green feathers or stems. Both angels represent again the athletic type with strongly modelled bodies. One wears a crown-like cap (Fig. 2.11), the other a pointed cap with a wide brim (Fig. 2.10).

There remains to be discussed the *saqi* angel in the second circle who holds a long-necked bottle and a cup (Figs. 2.8, 11). Of all the angels preserved, he is the one with the least outlandish appearance. The youthful Mughal cupbearer—here raised to the status of an angel—is, however, given a new physical presence by his nude, well-modelled torso. The sophisticated palette is limited to three colours. The greyish golden tan of the flesh colour is also used for the wings, the warm red of the skirt appears again on the cap. Its wide brim, the bottle and the cup are indicated in gold. These colours are characteristic of Govardhan and we find a close relative of this angel in the young *faqir* among a group of *faqir*s resting in a landscape, attributed recently to Govardhan but dated much later to 1625.[41]

The two winged angel heads that are still preserved in the second circle, represent again a purely European concept that has no precedent in the Islamic tradition of painting (compare Fig. 2.14 with Figs. 2.11 and 16). They became great favourites with Jahangir. They appear especially in miniatures directly related to the emperor, as, for instance, in the well-known political allegory of Jahangir embracing Shah 'Abbas, about 1618–20.[42] There winged angel heads not

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Missions...' (this volume), Fig. 1.2 where I discuss some of the so far underrated influence of this Bible on Mughal painting.

[39] I thank Dr. Ellen Smart for the identification of this object. For an illus. of Humayun wearing this head-dress see, for instance, the representation of Timur handing his imperial crown to Babur, by Govardhan, *c.* 1630, Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Indian Heritage, Court Life & Arts under Mughal Rule*, ed. R. Skelton (London, 1982), cat no. 52.

[40] 'Persian miniatures from the fourteenth century onward always represent the Indian as blackish in color . . .', Annemarie Schimmel, 'Turk and Hindu: A Poetical Image and Its Application to Historical Fact', *Islam and Cultural Change in the Middle Ages*, Fourth Giorgio Levi Della Vida Biennial Conference (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 111.

[41] Toby Falk, 'Rothschild Collection of Mughal Miniatures', in Colnaghi, P. & D. & Co. Ltd *Persian and Mughal Art* (London, 1976), p. 186, pl. 103 (colour). A short analysis of Govardhan's style relevant to our context is given by Stuart Cary Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting* (London, 1978), pp. 87 and 95.

[42] By Abu'l Hasan, *c.* 1618, Freer Gallery of Art,

only support the great sun and moon halo of Jahangir but also appear as a golden ornament on his green waistcoat. In the durbar scene of the Keir collection, dated around the same time, winged angel heads function as capitals of Jahangir's throne, European angels of the adolescent type appear in the lunettes.[43]

The central medallion of the Kala Burj creates the illusionistic impression of an opening of the vault to the blue sky where a pink and a green *simurgh*, both with long gold, green and red tail feathers, are engaged in a struggle (Fig. 2.9). (All these colours dominate the palette of the vault.) This dynamic concept hardly fits into the frame of the balanced natural history drawings of the circle of *ustad* Mansur. The whole concept and the style come closer to Mughal marginal drawings—*hashiyahs*—a traditional domain of the aggressive *simurgh*.[44]

Or do we, perhaps, underestimate the versatility of Jahangir's miniaturists when working in a different genre and medium?

V

Frescoe painting certainly involves techniques different from miniature painting, but there is no evidence that Jahangir employed specialized artists for the murals of his palaces. From the passage of the *Tuzuk* referred to earlier we obtain only the information that they were *ustadan-i nadirah-kar* (outstanding masters).

On other hand, there is literary evidence of at least one instance prior to Jahangir's reign that Mughal miniaturists decorated palaces with murals. Shaikh Farid Bhakkari mentions in the *Dhakirat al-Khawanin*, compiled in 1061/1650, that 'Abd al-Samad had painted 'with his own blessed hand' (*ba-dast-i mubarak-i'khud*) the private appartment (*khilwat khanah*) of the house of Khan-i A'zam in the Red Fort of Agra.[45]

Jahangir's miniaturists were also charged with the decoration of his palaces. The high quality of the wall paintings in the Kala Burj certainly suggests a cooperation of his best masters available around 1610. This also agrees with his own statement in the *Tuzuk*. Because of the different medium (frescoe) and the determining influence of the European sources, we would not like to venture any definite attribution. May we, all the same, suggest tentatively that Jahangir's experts in dealing with the adaption of European sources for his picture programmes, Abu'l Hasan and Bichitr may well have contributed?

Close to the concept of the Kala Burj angels is the illustration of about 1610 of the *Diwan-i Hafiz* in the British Library, where a boyish European angel is introduced for the first time into a Mughal court scene, namely the emperor's departure for hawking[46] (Fig. 2.17). Thus, a metaphor of Hafiz is visually related to Jahangir.[47] As to the birds and angel wings, the authorship of *ustad* Mansur and his circle has already been suggested whereas the *saqi* angel points towards Govardhan though here the comparable material dates from a later time.

VI

Leaving the problems of style and attribution to further discussion, we shall now endeavour to answer another question. Was the frescoe cycle of the Kala Burj not meant to express a more specific idea than the obvious one, namely, to characterize the *diwan khanah* of Jahangir's private apartments as a heavenly palace? This, in any case, would have been the

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Washington. Often reproduced, e.g. by Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Imperial Image: Paintings for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C., 1981), cat. no. 17b.

[43] Robert Skelton, 'Indian Painting of the Mughal Period', in *Islamic Paintings and the Arts of the Book*, ed. B.W. Robinson (London, 1976), pp. 259–60, pls. 37 (colour), 127.

[44] A contemporary example from Jahangir's time is the *simurgh* attacking a lion, on the margin of a page of the manuscript of *Farhang-i Jahangiri*, dating from *c.* 1605 that was used as mounting for an *Akbar Namah* page. Toby Falk, 'Rothschild Mughal Miniatures', no. 86 ii.

[45] Ed. Syed Moinul Haq (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1961), vol. I, p. 87. The passage is reproduced by Shah Nawaz Khan, *The Ma'athir-ul-Umara*, trans. H. Beveridge, rev. Baini Prashad, vol. II (Calcutta, 1952), p. 818. 'Abd al-Samad, the Safawid court painter became one of the co-founders of the Mughal school after he had been brought to India by Humayun in 1555. The house of the Khan-i A'zam or Mirza 'Aziz Koka (died in 1033/1624) in the Red Fort of Agra is not preserved.

[46] British Library, Or. 7573, f. 218b. Aśok Kumar Das, in *Mughal Painting*, attributes the miniature tentatively to Abu'l Hasan (p. 87). The same manuscript contains another illustration with European putto-angels in clouds above dancing dervishes (f. 66 v.). The palette shows colours similar to the ones dominating the vault of the Kala Burj: light greens, purple, black, light sky blues, cloud and body colours. Reproduced in colour in Douglas Barrett and Basil Gray, *Indische Malerei* (Geneva, 1963), p. 101.

[47] The scene is the visual embodiment of the verses above: 'Heaven is drawing the horse of the support of religion [*Nusrat al-din*, allusion to Jahangir's *laqab Nur al-Din*], come and see: its angel has put his hand in his stirrup!' cf. *Diwan-i Hafiz*, eds. Md Qazwini and Dr. Qasim Ghani (Teheran, n.d.), p. 292.

most traditional way to denote the dwelling of a Muslim ruler.[48] The problem arises in view of several features of the representation that cannot be explained by this general interpretation, for instance the eccentric headgears of the angels and the specific activities in which they seem to be engaged. If a more specific programme was expressed in these frescoes, then we may ask further whether the fact that they were realized with predominantly European forms has a special significance, given Jahangir's pronounced interest in European themes and ways of representation?

The evidence in surviving monuments and representations of palace building in miniature painting shows that angels or winged beings, birds, and *simurghs* belong to the traditional stock of images used for the decor of an Islamic ruler. These images appear either as individual motifs or feature in picture programmes that may also include fights of real or mythical animals and birds, beasts or birds of prey descending on their respective victims, or beasts of prey and their potential victims in peaceful co-existence. The tradition of these motifs and themes as symbols of rulership and the paradisical setting of the ruler has been investigated recently, for Iran and its area of influence, by Ingeborg Luschey-Schmeisser in connection with her study of the tile cycle of the Hasht Behisht pavilion in Isfahan of 1670.[49] Luschey-Schmeisser has interpreted winged beings in connection with Muslim rulers as symbols of victory and power going back to the victories of classical times.[50] She views them further as an expression of rulership in search of the blessing of the angels and as winged beings who protect and serve the ruler.[51] Thus her interpretations remain as general as the reading that offered itself as the most obvious interpretation of the function of Jahangir's angels and birds in the Kala Burj. We have seen that Jahangir has a general inclination to be depicted in the company of (European) angels.[52] His angels in the Kala Burj however were actors in a more specific setting. Being as deeply embedded in the tradition of the mythology of Islamic rulership it had become, like the notion of the heavenly palace, a cliche by the time of Jahangir. No other Islamic ruler beside Jahangir, however, had given this well-worn concept such a naturalistic and individual expression.

The key for our interpretation is provided, though unintentionally, by William Finch who expressed his astonishment about the 'Banian Dews or rather Divels' populating the vault together with the angels.[53] (As no trace of them is left they must have been set in the compartments of the outer circles or the panels of the transition zone.) From Finch's reaction we can deduct that they must have been represented as naturalistically as the angels for he was amazed that the 'poor woman' of the *zananah* were not frightened by the view of such monstrous images. Not familiar with the symbolic images of the mythology of Islamic rulers, Finch did not realize that far from being a cause of horror, these depictions on the contrary were a source of elation and reassurance to the female inmates of the palace, for Finch's 'Banian Dews' were of course no other than the *dews* or *jinns* of Sulayman bin Dawud, the archetypal ruler of the Qur'an, the prophet king who by divine

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[48] Hardly any Mughal writer or poet omitted the traditional allusions to one or the other aspect of paradise or heaven while describing a Mughal palace. For Jahangir's time, see his *Malik al-shu'ara'* (poet laureate) Talib-i Amuli, *Kulliyat*, ed. T. Shihab (Tehran, 1346 sh./1967), p. 128, *qit'ah* in praise of an unidentified palace (line 2): 'What a wonderful high roof, its ceiling is [of the height] of the throne of God [*'arsh*], it's arch is like [the arch of] the sky. It is always manifesting itself on the eyes of Jahangir'; alternative transl.: 'It is always manifesting itself on the world capturing eyes.' I thank Dr. Yunus Jaffery for his assistance in the study of the *Kulliyat*.

[49] Ingeborg Luschey-Schmeisser, in *The Pictorial Tile Cycle of Hašt Behešt in Isfahan and Its Iconographic Tradition* (Rome: Ismeo, 1978), mentions only one Indian example, significantly of Jahangir's time (p. 209, figs. 216, 217). It is the right half of the title page of the *Jahangir Namah*, Academy of Sciences, Leningrad, representing the inner front of a gate of the Agra palace with the festive crowd celebrating the accession of Jahangir. The painting was done in 1618 by Abu'l Hasan. The gate cannot be identified with certainty but shows resemblance to the inner fronts of the later gates of the Diwan-i 'Amm of Shah Jahan, *c.* 1628–37. It is decorated with eight panels arranged vertically in four pairs. They show from top to bottom angels of the European adolescent type, *simurghs* fighting dragons, Laila and Majnun among the animals, and lions fighting bulls, and represent therefore an instance where European angels take the place of their Iranian-Mughal counterparts in a traditional programme of Islamic palace decoration. I am not sure whether the depiction is a true portrait of a particular building as truthful topographic representations are rare in Mughal painting. More often architectural representations just show the general prevailing taste in architecture with features typical for the respective period.

[50] Luschey Schmeisser, 1978, pp. 47–55.

[51] Id., 1976 (see note 4 above), pp. 306, 308.

[52] In poetry, too, where e.g. in *ruba'i* 84 of Talib-i Amuli, Jahangir illuminates the assembly of the angels by his presence. *Kulliyat*, p. 908.

[53] Vogel, in *Tile-Mosaic*, p. 64, interprets 'Banian Dews' as 'Hindu Deities'.

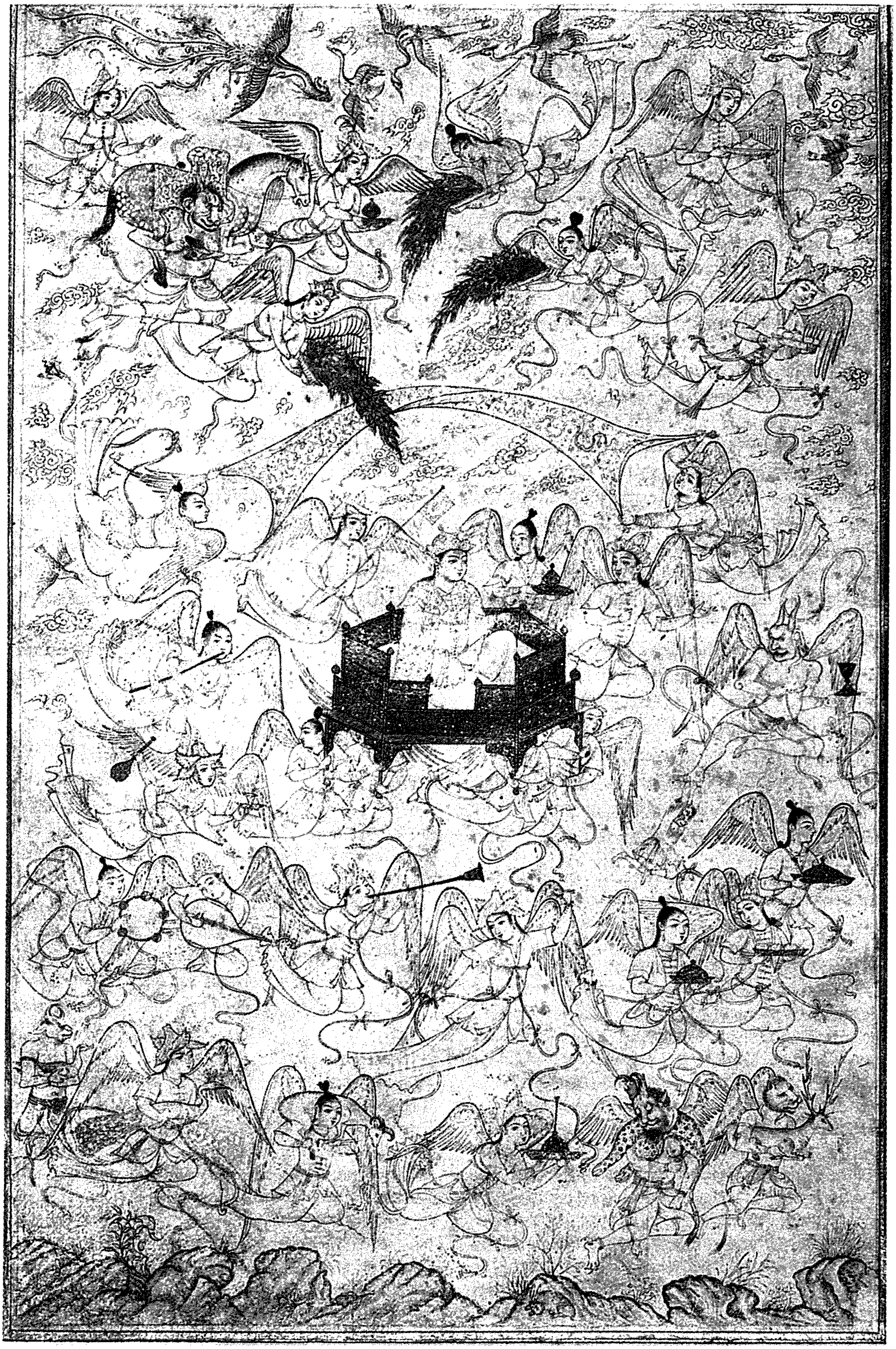


Fig. 2.18 Solomon on his Flying Throne. Safawid period. Early 16th century. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

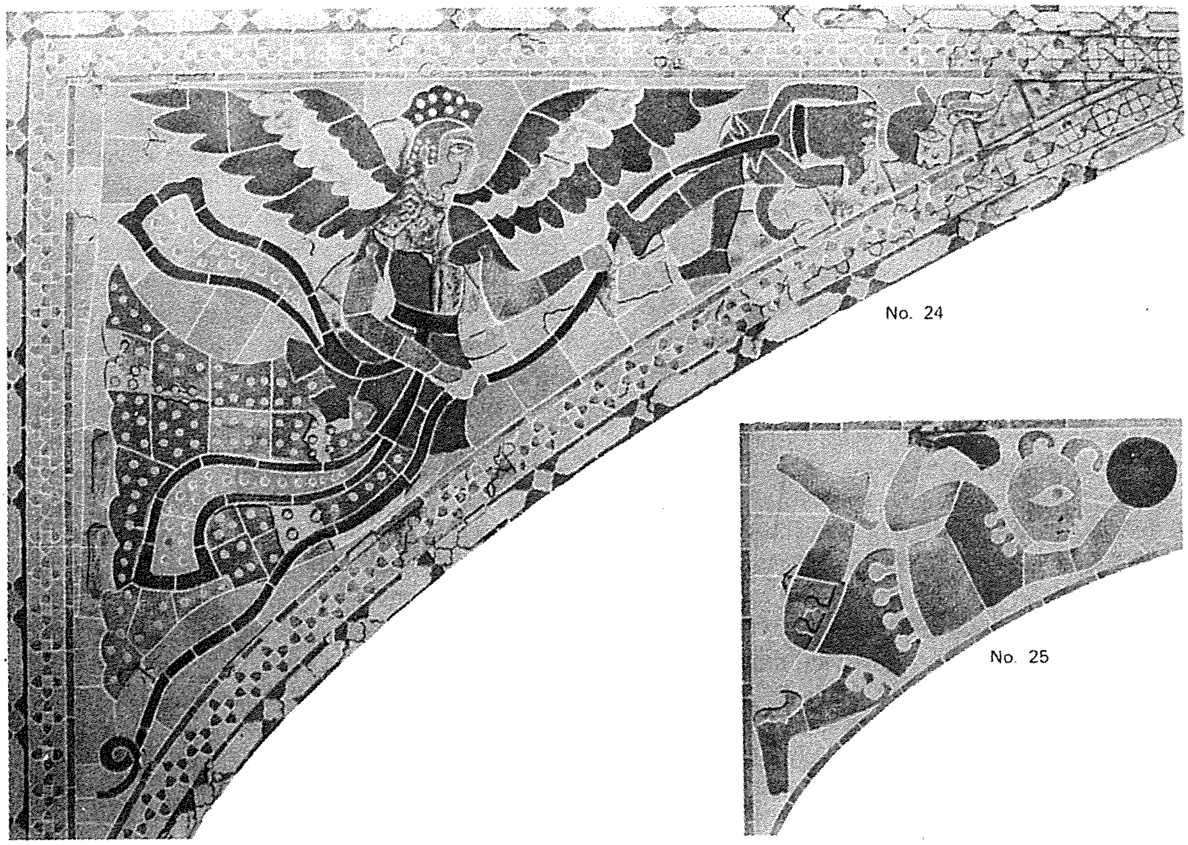
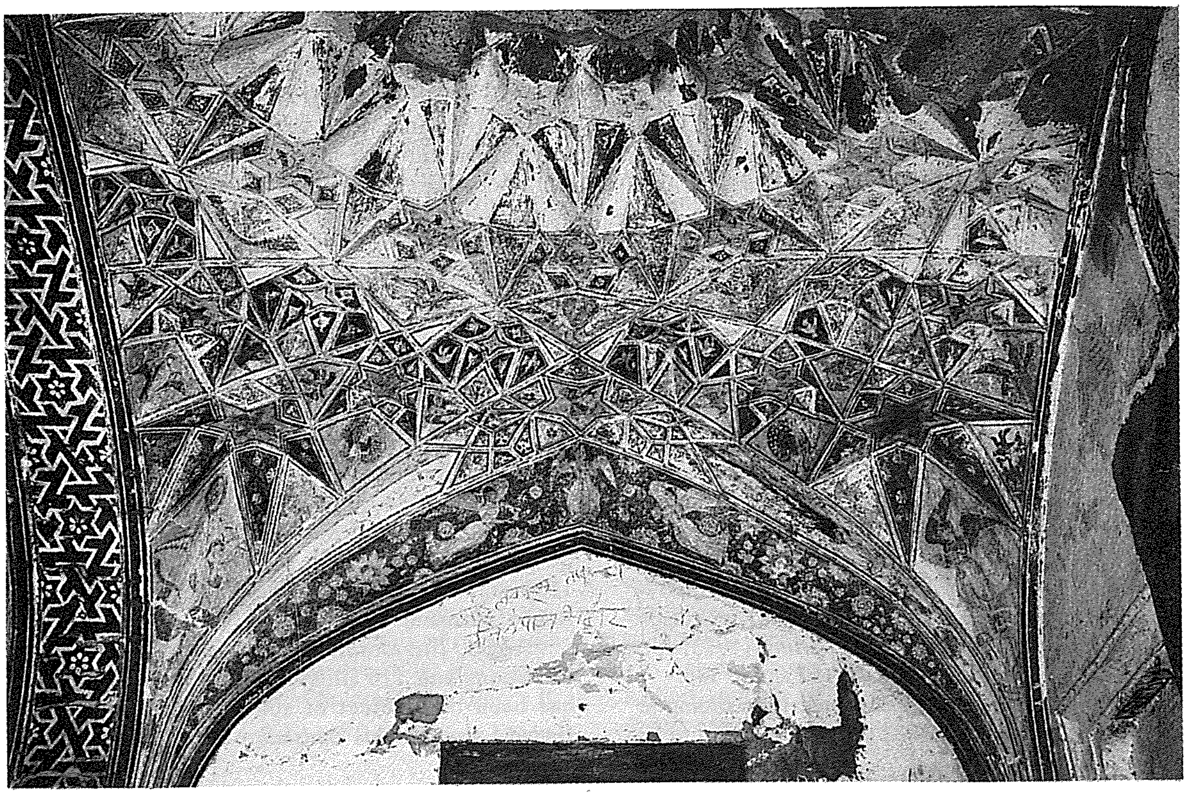


Fig. 2.19 Solomonic angel leading a subjected *jinn*, dancing *jinn*, tile mosaic on spandrels of arches in the outer west wall of the Lahore Fort.

Fig. 2.20 Vault painted with birds and winged beings, Rambagh or Bagh-i Nur Afshan, Agra, south pavilion, southern part, completed in 1030/1621.



assistance rules over the seen and unseen world.[54] Countless myths and legends had developed around the Qur'anic figure. All sources elaborate the fact that he was granted command over the demons or *jinns* which he controlled with the divine seal on his ring and the assistance of winged spirits (*paris*), who disciplined the unruly ones or put them in irons.[55]

Among the animal subjects of Solomon the birds are especially prominent, with the Qur'anic *hudhud* (hoopoe) as his messenger.[56] Based on these Qur'anic passages and legends a special Solomonic iconography developed in painting. The most frequent representation is that of Solomon on his throne surrounded by angel like winged beings who have acquired the position of his servants, the subjected *jinns*, the birds led by the *simurgh* (*shah-i murghan*), and his other animal subjects.[57]

A variation of this theme, particularly relevant in our context, is Solomon on his flying throne[58] (Fig. 2.18). With him carried through the air by angels and *jinns* are the requirements of Solomon's princely household and those animals which cannot fly, like the deer or the ibex, as well as the ones which cannot fly very well, like the house duck (goose) and the peacock. The birds with the *simurgh* and the *hudhud* complete Solomon's flying retinue. In the decoration of palaces, real buildings and painted architecture, we often find individual winged beings who apparently have been taken out of this pictorial context. They still carry their respective fruit bowls, ibexes, peacocks and the like that now acquire the quality of attributes to denote their carriers as Solomonic angels[59] (Fig. 2.21).

Each Islamic ruler compared himself with Solomon to the extent that 'an automatic association with Solomon developed for all themes, myths and ideas which pertained to the life of the prince and to its setting'.[60] The Mughal emperors, and among them Jahangir, were no exception. The poets celebrate Jahangir as Solomon and Nur Jahan as Bilqis, the queen of Sheba.[61] In his only inscription in the Lahore Fort, Jahangir is addressed as another Solomon (*Sulayman jah*).

These literary associations with Solomon were also expressed in visual images. No literary metaphor can be as particularized as a picture, hence the same theme can be illustrated in many different ways. This consideration is particularly relevant in our context because Jahangir or the persons responsible for his artistic programmes used the same Solomonic theme not only in the interior of the palace but also on its outer side.

So far it has not been noticed that the famous tile decoration of the Lahore Fort contains clear Solomonic allusions. The tile panels that must have covered originally the whole northern front and the northern part of the western front survive only in fragments. As already noted, the preserved panels depict scenes of Mughal court life in the particular historical period together with the ahistorical symbols of rulership, such as mythical animals, beasts of prey descending on their victims and the like.[62] In the spandrels of the arched openings or blind arches of the upper zone we find angels with Solomonic attributes and subjected demons (Fig. 2.19). They give these representations the significance of the court of a *shah Sulayman hasham* (a ruler with the retinue of Solomon).[63]

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[54] 'Solomon', in T.P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam* (1885; rpt. New Delhi, 1976), pp. 601–4; and 'Sulaiman b. Dawud', in *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, eds. H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers (Leiden, 1961), pp. 549–51, with further references.

[55] Surah XXXIV, 11–3; XXXVIII, 36–8; Hughes, 'Solomon', p. 603. Cf. Georg Salzberger, 'Solomons Herrschaft über die Geisterwelt', in *Die Salomo-Sage in der semitischen Literatur* (Berlin, Nikolassee, 1907), pp. 92 ff.

[56] Salzberger, pp. 74 ff.

[57] For two Mughal examples (of about 1600) see Stuart C. Welch and Milo Cleveland Beach, in *Gods, Thrones and Peacocks* (New York: Asia House Gallery Publication, 1965), no. 6, of *c.*1600; and Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, no. 1, fol. 157 recto of a *Diwan* of Amir Hasan Dihlawi, dated 1602–3, executed by Salim's (the later Jahangir) studio in Allahabad.

[58] Freer Gallery of Art, 50.1; formerly Maria Sarre-Humann, Berlin. Cf. Laurence Binyon, J.V.S. Wilkinson and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting* (1933; rpt. New York: Dover, 1977), pl. XCIII-A, 157 and p. 136.

[59] I suggest therefore distinguishing angels according to the object they are carrying. Birds and animals seem to be exclusive for Solomonic angels, e.g. the angels carrying antelopes on the spandrels of the arch of the gate of the Agra Fort during construction, illus. of the *Akbar Namah*, *c.* 1590, 2–1896 (I.S.)–46/117, Victoria and Albert Museum. Plates with eatables like fruits, musical instruments and other objects pertaining to a princely life can also be carried by other angels, for example the ones who receive the Prophet on his ascent to heaven, i.e. representations of the *mi'raj*, an iconographic tradition related to the one of Solomon on his flying throne. See, for instance, Binyon, Wilkinson and Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, pl. XCII-A 152 (a).

[60] Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra* (London, 1978), p. 150.

[61] *Kulliyat-i Talib-i Amuli*, p. 44–5, *qasidah* in praise of Nur Jahan, line 24; cf. p. 960, *ruba'i* no. 548 in praise of Jahangir. The same comparison will be used later for Shah Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal: 'When the lady of the world (*banu-i jahan*) and Bilqis of the age (*Bilqis-i dauran*) went from the assembly of Solomon [Shah Jahan] to paradise . . .' Abu Talib Kalim, in *Diwan*, ed. P. Baiza'i (Tehran, 1336 sh./1957), p. 350 (*mathnawi* on Akbarabad and the Bagh-i Jahanara).

[62] Vogel, *Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort*, whith two elevations and 116 illus. The date of the tile-mosaics has been the subject of some controversy. 'Abd al-Hamid Lahauri in his *Badshah Namah* (Persian text) eds.

This proves that Finch's observation in regard to the *dews* was accurate. We can, therefore, use the other representations in particular and the iconography of Solomon and his flying retinue in general to explain the enigmatic features of the angels in the Kala Burj.

The Solomonic angels on the outer fort wall are realized in a more conservative medium (tile) and style. Most of them are derived from the traditional Iranian angel type with a crown-like cap and long floating garment. They carry sunshades, branches with fruits, lambs, and are surrounded by birds and old fashioned Chinese clouds; in other words, they are characterized as the carriers of the flying household of Solomon.[64] On the western front under the so-called Naulakha pavilion they lead on chains little blue *jinns* with horns. Nearby two little *jinns* dance to the sound of their tambourines[65] (Fig. 2.19). A concession to Jahangir's taste in this traditional setting are certain Europeanisms, like the turned-up feet of some angels to suggest a perspective view from above[66] and the introduction of his favourite cherub heads.[67] There is also a *saqi* angel who, however, being fully dressed wears a cap similar to that of his counterpart in the interior.[68] Eccentric head coverings including leaf bunches are a characteristic—though not exclusive—feature of Solomonic angels[69] (Fig. 2.18). The flower wreath worn by the 'Hindu angel' and the European hat (*kulah-i firangi*)[70] of the angel whom we named after this unusual headgear seem to be a modern expression of this established iconographic tradition. Though it is not clear in every instance which objects the angels of the Kala Burj are carrying, we recognize the traditional (fruit) plate (Figs. 2.3, 4, 5, 9). The green stalks in the hands of the angels with the raised arms might have been flowery twigs or the like (Figs. 2.10, 11). Knowing Jahangir's inclination to materialize his symbolic settings[71] it is tempting to conjecture that real (gold) chains were fixed to the hands of the angel with the *firangi* hat to make him lead one of *jinns*. (Fig. 2.13).

We may, therefore, conclude that the paintings in the vault of the Kala Burj represent the flying retinue of *Jahangir Sulayman jah*. Conforming to the

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Kabir al-Din Ahmad and 'Abd al-Rahim (Calcutta, 1867–8), I, 1, pp. 223 ff.; trans. Nur Bakhsh, 'Historical Notes on Lahore Fort', pp. 222 f., says that the western substructures under the complex of the Shah Burj were begun by Jahangir in 1624 and completed by Shah Jahan during the first years of his reign. Muhammad Tahir 'Ashna' or 'Inayat Khan (*Mulakhkhas* or *Shah Jahan Namah*, Persian ms. British Library, Or. 175, f. 30 verso) gives an abridged version of Lahauri's passage. Muhammad Amin or Amina-yi Qazwini in his *Badshah Namah* (Persian ms. British Library, Or. 175, f. 30 verso, Persian numbering) however mentions that the (whole?) base was done by Jahangir and the buildings on it by Shah Jahan. Muhammad Salih Kambo, in *'Amal-i Salih* or *Shah Jahan Namah* (Persian text), II improved re-edition by Wahid Quraishi of the Calcutta edn. 1927 by Gh. Yazdani (Lahore: Majlis-i Taraqqi-i Adab, 1967) p.7, makes a similar statement. There is no stylistic difference in the tile mosaics facing the northern and the western front of the substructure of the fort. Supposing Shah Jahan completed the western front he kept to the style and the programme of the tile work belonging to Jahangir's time. We can assume that all the work was executed by the same group of artists.

[63] I refer here to a chronogram quoted by Jahangir in the *Tuzuk* (Persian text), p. 308, regarding the completion of his adaption of a ruinous pavilion of his father in the garden of the fort of Srinagar on the Hari Parbat. The building which he calls picture gallery (*khanah-i taswiri*) was completed in 1029/1620 and painted with the likenesses of Humayun, Akbar and other relatives and *mansabdars* of Jahangir. There was also a picture of Shah 'Abbas. The complete *misra'* of the chronogram reads: *majlis-i shahan Sulayman hasham* (assembly of rulers with the retenue of Solomon). The Rogers-Beveridge trans. gives the verse as: 'Pictures of Kings of Solomon-like Glory', II, pp. 150–1, 161–2.

[64] Vogel, pls XIX no. 15; XXX no. 31; XXXVII no. 40; XXXVIII no. 42; L no. 55; LII no. 58; LVIII no. 80; LIX no. 85.

[65] Ibid. pl. XXVI nos. 24 and 25.

[66] Compare ibid. pls. XXXVII no. 40; XXXVIII no. 42 with our Fig. 2.15.

[67] Ibid, pls. XIX no. 15; XXII nos 19, 20; LV no. 64; LXV no. 86; LXVII no. 89.

[68] Ibid, pl. LXVII no. 89.

[69] Cf. Luschey-Schmeisser in Hašt Behešt, pp. 52 and 54, figs. 74, 115.

[70] Mentioned as such in the *Tuzuk* (p. 114, trans. I, p. 234) in 1613.

[71] Jahangir in his *Tuzuk* (trans. 1, p. 7) says that the first order he gave after his accession was to set up the chain of justice. He describes it as a golden chain with sixty bells that was fixed to the Shah Burj of the Agra Fort so that those seeking justice could appeal directly to the emperor by shaking it. The chain of justice features also in his allegorical paintings as Jahangir shooting at the head of Malik 'Ambar (see note 34), or Jahangir as the Just Ruler triumphing over Poverty, probably Abu'l Hasan, *c.* 1625, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, latest reproduced with a short analysis of its symbolism by R. Skelton in *The Indian Heritage*, cat. no. 48. See also our Fig. 0.1.

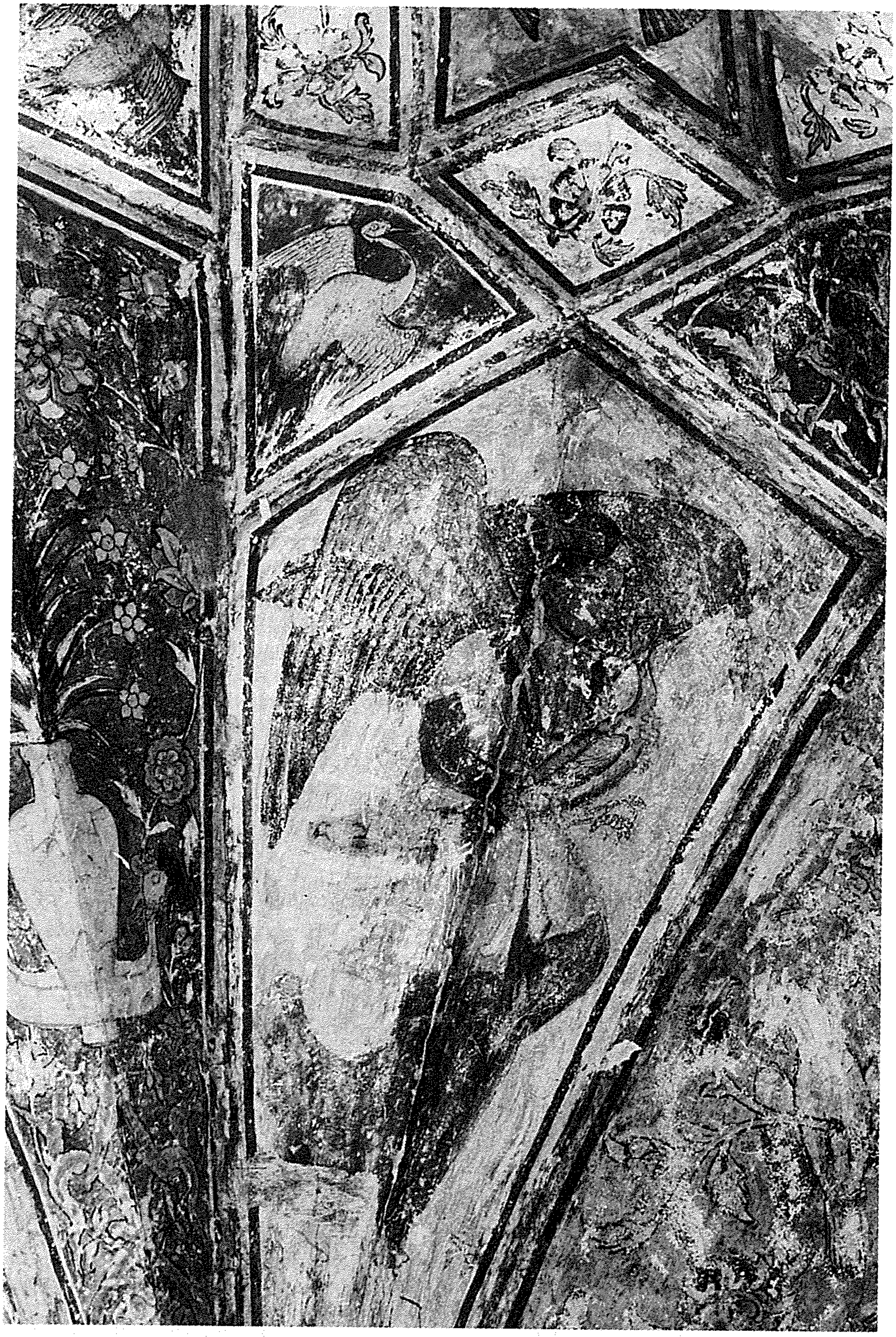

Fig. 2.21 Solomonic angel holding a peacock, Rambagh or Bagh-i Nur Afshan, Agra, north pavilion, arched alcove, soffit of the northern haunch of the arch, completed in 1030/1621.

iconographic tradition of Solomonic angels, his angel servants wear eccentric headgears, some of them styled after the latest *firangi* taste of the Mughal court. They carry (fruit) plates and other objects of the Solomonic household and may even have led the now lost *jinns* with golden chains. The birds, including his messenger *hudhud* (Fig. 2.13), complete Solomon's winged subjects. Their leader, the *simurgh* undertakes as it were an excursion into another iconographic tradition by doubling up and engaging himself with his dark alter ego in the symbolic fight which had become long since a symbol of the rulers' victory and power.[72]

There remains the question why in contrast to the traditional angels derived from the Persian type on the outer fortwall angels after a European prototype were chosen for the interior of the palace? The outer representations were meant to appeal to a much wider and conservative public than the ones in the private reception hall of the emperor. Here Jahangir's taste as a connoisseur of painting had to be satisfied with the latest achievements of his painters, the adaptation of European prototypes to Mughal taste and symbolic function. The attraction the European prototypes had in this context for the emperor was certainly their potential of reality. Jahangir's interest in the pictorial documentation of natural phenomena is well known, but, in this context the use of the European prototypes as the most naturalistic form available seems to have had the function to invest the symbol with the greatest possible degree of reality in order to, to use Abu'l Fazl's words, 'lead the ones who consider only the outside of things to the place of inner meaning'.[73] Jahangir's painters succeeded. They created for the emperor such a vivid Solomonic atmosphere that even the *firangi* Finch succumbed to the immediacy of its *jinns* and credited them with the power of being taken for real.

These naturalistic pictorial expressions of a ruler's asserted reality are Jahangir's own contribution to Mughal painting. The earliest other examples of Solomonic vaults known to me date from his reign. We find the idea expressed in the painted vaults of the pavilions of the Rambagh at Agra that belonged as Nur Afshan garden to the establishment of Nur Jahan[74] (Figs. 2.20, 21). Here the vaults are populated by birds, winged beings holding peacocks, fruit plates, etc.[75] A provincial reflex of Jahangir's Solomonic vaults is found in the painted vaults of the palace in Bairat

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[72] For the tradition of bird fights as symbol of the ruler see Luschey-Schmeisser, *Hašt Behešt*, p. 70–3. Two *simurghs* facing each other in a hostile way can be seen on an awning under which sits Shah Isma'il II Safawi (?), right half of the frontispiece of Isma'il II's copy of the *Shahnamah* 1576/77, Rothschild collection, B.W. Robinson, 'Rothschild and Binney Collections: Persian and Mughal Arts of the Book', in Colnaghi, *Persian and Mughal Art*, no. 19 ii. The concept of the two hostile *simurghs* might go back to the heroic tradition of Iran where a good and a bad *simurgh* appear in the *Shahnamah*. See V.F. Büchner, 'Simurgh', *EI*^{1}, IV, pp. 426–8.

[73] It is one of the often quoted passages of the *A'in-i Akbari* on the painters of Europe:

> The form leads to the one owning it [*khodawand* lit. master = body] and it leads to the inner meaning just as the written shape guides to letter and word and from there the content is found out. Although in general a picture represents a material form and [here in particular] the painters of *firang* quite often express, by using rare forms, our mental states and [thus] they lead the ones who consider only the outside of things to the place of inner meaning; whereas the written letter provides us with the experiences of the ancients and thus becomes a means to intellectual progress.

Abu'l Fazl 'Allami, *The A'in-i Akbari* (Persian text), vol. I, 2nd edn.; H. Blochmann, Bibl. Ind. (Calcutta, 1872), p. 111. I have retranslated this passage wit the help of Dr. Christian W. Troll, because the translation of Blochmann (The *A'in-i Akbari*, vol. I, 2nd edn., rev. and ed. Lieut. Col. D.C. Phillott [1927; repr. New Delhi, 1977] pp. 102 f.) misses an important point, namely the argument of Abu'l Fazl considering the potential of paintings as means to recognize a higher truth. It has apparently been formulated under the influence of the Tridentine argument for the use of images in the church. I have shown in 'The Influence of the Jesuit Missions' this volume, pp. 8 ff. that the Jesuits had recourse to the treatise literature of the Counter-Reformation in the discussions at the Mughal court about the lawfulness of pictures. Not having access, then, to the Persian original, I quoted from the translation of Blochmann.

[74] *Tuzuk*, trans., II. p. 199. For a discussion of these paintings see my 'Notes on the Painted and Sculptured Decoration of Nur Jahan's Pavilions in the Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan) at Agra', in *Facets of Indian Art*, eds. R. Skelton and A. Topsfield. The structure of the vaults in the two pavilions is developed from stars arranged in concentric circles but broken up in smaller facets than the group of vaults discussed in connection with the vault of the Kala Burj. The whole concept is closer to the structure of *muqarnas* vaults. Similar vaults are found among Mughal vaults from eastern India, especially the vaults of the tombs in the Khusrau Bagh in Allahabad, constructed between 1603/04 and 1625 for Khusrau, Jahangir's ill-fated son, his mother and sister. The squinches of the half vaults of the porch of Khusrau's tomb dated 1031/1621–22 contain unskilled paintings representing a winged angel head and an angel in a long dress, a reflex of Jahangir's angels who here even invade the decoration of tomb architecture (Fig. 2.22).

[75] The preserved angels represent a Mughal version of the Persian type with the long garment. In the central area of the vault of the southern pavilion and the verandah of the northern building, however, Jahangir's favourite winged angel heads can still be made out (Fig. 2.20).

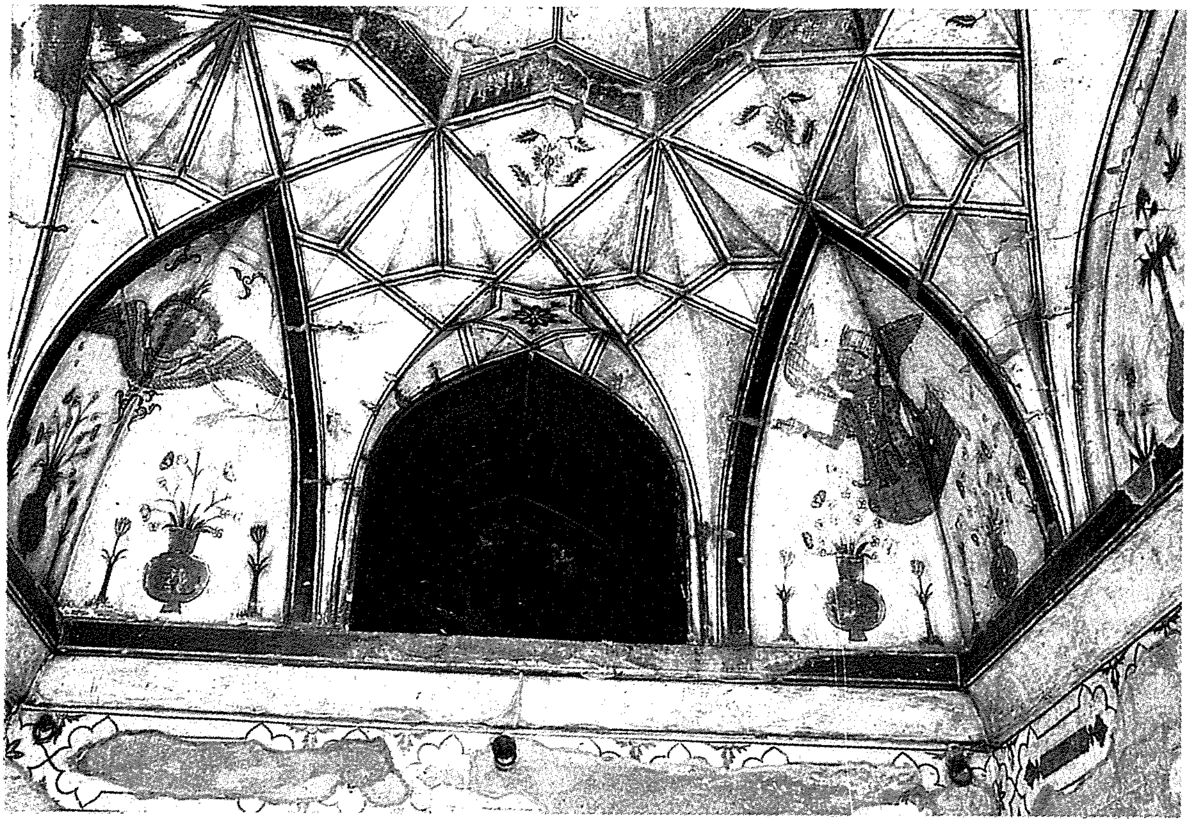
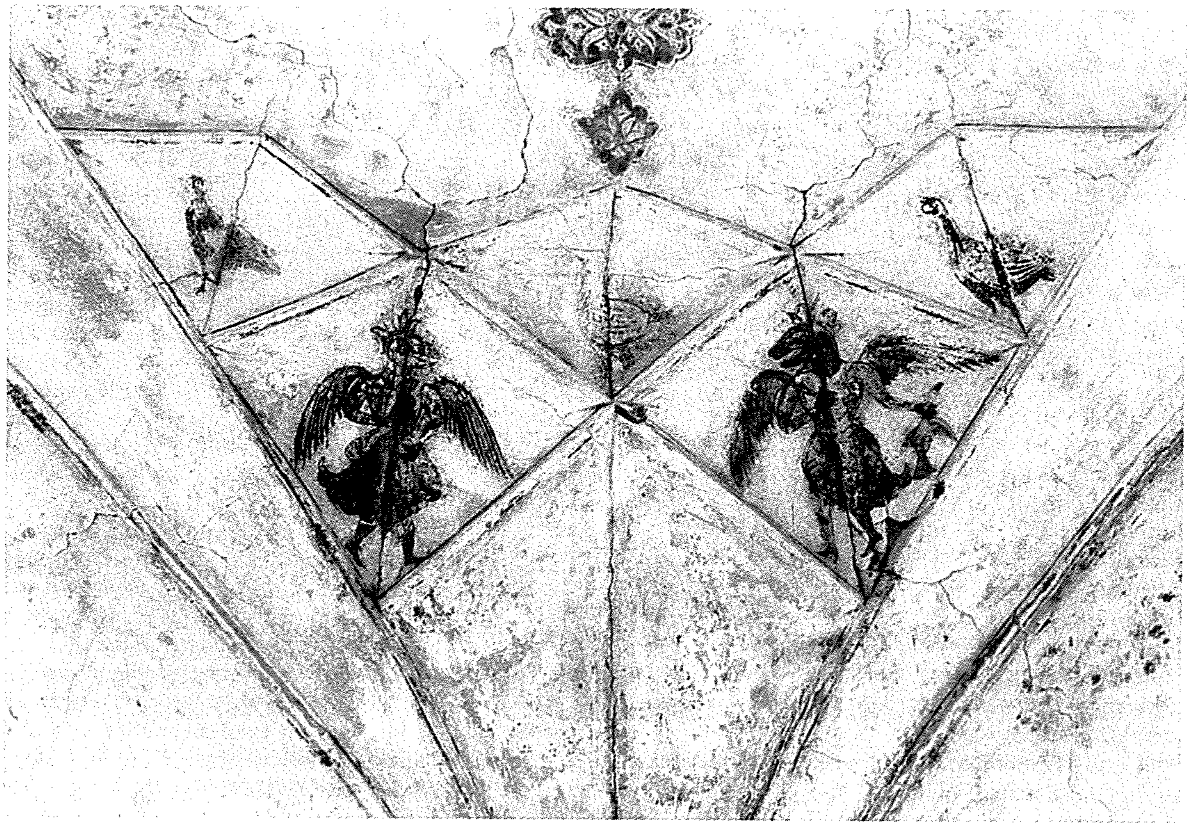


Fig. 2.22 Vault of the porch of the tomb of Sultan Khusrau, Khusrau Bagh, Allahabad, 1031/1621–22.

Fig. 2.23 *Jinns* holding birds, pleasure pavilion, Bairat, half floor, northwestern corner room, transition zone over northwest corner, first quarter of 17th century.



which dates from the first quarter of the seventeenth century. These representations include also images of winged *jinns* holding birds[76] (Fig. 2.23).

Such wall paintings apparently decorated most of Jahangir's palaces.[77] They might have been one of the factors that brought about Shah Jahan's strong reaction against the buildings of his father, at the beginning of his reign.[78] Shah Jahan then reverted to the lawful plant decoration in his palaces,[79] like three centuries before him Firuz Shah Tugluq of whom his historian Shams Siraj 'Afif says

> . . .and breaches of the Holy Law were all forbidden. One of these was the painting of portraits in the private apartments of kings. It was held right among the monarchs to have painted chambers to gratify their eyes in retirement, but Firoz Shah, in his fear of God, prohibited the painting of portraits as contrary to the Law, and directed that garden scenes should be painted instead.[80]

The miniature painters and poets, however, continued to draw from the stock of these images. The *jharoka*s of Shah Jahan and the walls from which they are projecting are still occasionally decorated with angels and birds.[81] Abu Talib Kalim, Shah Jahan's court poet, enriches his traditional allusions to heaven in praise of an octagonal palace building with these metaphors: 'Angels are under its roof like pigeons . . . the *huma* of prosperity lives on its threshold and never remembers its nest'.[82]

And, in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the Rana of Udaipur, Raj Singh, decorates the ceiling of his marble replicas of the Mughal pavilions in Ajmer with angels, birds and a *simurgh* among a heaven of Hindu gods.[83]

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[76] The wall paintings have been dated by Hermann Goetz ['The Early Rajput Murals of Bairat (*c.* AD 1587)', rpt. from : *Ars Orientalis*, I (1954), in Hermann Goetz, *Rajput Art and Architecture*, eds. Jyotindra Jain and Jutta Jain-Neubauer (Wiesbaden, 1978), p. 123] on very weak grounds, namely the supposed resemblance of the figures depicted in the vaults of the south-western and north-western roof *chhattri*s with Akbar and Raja Man Singh. Goetz had not seen the paintings in the corner rooms of the half floors. The paintings in the net work of the transition zone of the north-western corner room show angels, birds and *jinn*s. The paintings are badly preserved and not of a high artistic standard. The architectural evidence provides us with a better base for a date. The building is an exact replica of the palace of Shah Quli Khan in Narnaul (dated by inscription to 1591–3), but with a more elaborate central vault. Its central area with a medallion is embedded in a network developed from concentric circles of stars, a vault form—as we have seen—characteristic for the time of Jahangir.

[77] The palace in the Lahore Fort; the palace in the Agra Fort, see note 25; the *khanah -i taswiri* in the Nur-Afza garden in the fort of the Hari Parbat, see note 63; the pavilions of Nur Jahan in the Ram Bagh, see note 74; and the palace Chashma-i Nur at Hafiz Jamal near Ajmer, completed 1615; described by Sir Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India 1615–19*, ed. William Foster (London, 1926), p. 211.

[78] Shah Jahan's writers underline that the buildings of his father were 'not liked by the critical disposition of the world maintaining and art spreading Emperor.' 'Abd al-Hamid Lahauri, *Badshah Namah* (Persian text), (Calcutta, 1867) I, 2, p. 239, *et passim*, trans. Nur Bakhsh, 'The Agra Fort and Its Buildings', *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903–4, p. 180.

[79] For a short discussion of the origin of the flowers characteristic of the dado of Shah Jahan's buildings, see Robert Skelton, 'A Decorative Motif in Mughal Art', in *Aspects of Indian Art*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Leiden, 1972), p. 148. For the vegetabilization programme of the palaces of Shah Jahan, see also 'The Baluster Column—a European Motif in Mughal Architecture and Its Meaning', this volume.

[80] *Tarikh -i Firuz Shahi*, quoted after H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians* (London, 1867), vol. III, p. 363. For the Persian text see *Tarikh -i Firuz Shahi* of Shams Siraj 'Afif, ed. Maulawi Wilayat Husayn, Bibl. Ind. (Calcutta,1891), p. 374. 'Afif's statement is corroborated by the *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi:* 'By divine guidance and heavenly favour, we directed that they should remove all figures and paintings from all articles and make those things which are not forbidden but sanctioned and approved by the religious Law; we commanded that they should obliterate all carved and engraved figures chiselled out on the houses, walls and palaces.' N.B. Roy, 'The Victories of Sultan Firuz Shah of Tughluq Dynasty', English trans. of *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, *Islamic Culture*, XV (1941), p. 458.

[81] Shah Jahan in Durbar *c.* 1628, Bodleian Library, Oxford, reproduced by Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals AD 1550–AD 1750* (1924; rpt. New York, 1975), pl. XXIV; or *Padshahnama* Royal Library, Windsor Castle, f. 217v. See Beach, Koch, and Thackston, *King of the World*, cat. no. 44. Later in his reign Shah Jahan had an important 'relapse' regarding the decoration of real architecture: the Florentine *pietra dura* birds and the image of Orpheus set in the backwall of the *jharoka* of the Diwan-i 'Amm in the Red Fort of Delhi (1639–48). See 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus', this volume.

[82] Abu Talib Kalim, *Diwan*, ed. P. Baiza'i (Tehran. 1336sh/1957). p. 373, *mathnawi.* Like the *simurgh* the *huma* is a mythical Iranian bird.

[83] The pavilions are arranged on the stepped terraces of the dam of the Raj Samand in Kankroli. 'The ceilings represent the apogee of the revivalist sculpture . . . certain details. e.g., the winged devatas, go back to Mughal, and finally to Christian prototypes.' Hermann Goetz, 'The First Golden Age of Udaipur: Rajput Art in Mewar during the period of Mughal Supremacy', rpt. from *Ars Orientalis*, II, (1957), in Jain, Jain–Neubauer, *Rajput Art and Architecture*, p. 102. pl. XXXI, 8/16 and 8/17. The angels, birds and the *simurgh* are found on the ceiling of the central pavilion.

3

The Baluster Column: A European Motif in Mughal Architecture and Its Meaning*

In the second quarter of the seventeenth century, a new architectural motif appears in the palace architecture of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (1628–58). This new element in an already extensive vocabulary of Mughal architectural forms is the baluster column.[1] It rapidly came to be one of the most widely employed motifs of Indian architecture: it was the predominant columnar form of North and Central India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[2] The present investigation of its origins will attempt an explanation for its particular popularity in later Indian architecture.

Apart from general statements about architecture as the embodiment of the ruler's intentions, the historians of Shah Jahan's time are silent concerning the ideas which guided patrons and architects. The form itself constitutes our main evidence.

The earliest extant examples of the Mughal baluster column are found solely in Shah Jahan's contributions to the three great fortress–palaces of the Mughal emperors, Agra,[3] Lahore[4] (founded by Akbar in 1565 and before 1580, and modified under Shah Jahan from 1628 onwards), and Delhi[5] (newly constructed by Shah Jahan between 1639 and 1648).[6] Among these, the columns of the baldachin of Machchhi Bhawan (before 1637[7]) (Figs. 3.1, 4) and

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*Reprinted from the *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume 45, 1982.

[1] As far as I know, what little literature on the baluster there is deals only with European examples. See Herbert Siebenhüner, 'Docke', *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte* (1958); Rudolf Wittkower, 'The Renaissance Baluster and Palladio', *Palladio and English Palladianism* (London, 1974) (hereafter 'Baluster'), pp. 41–8. Neither author deals explicitly with the baluster as a functional column. Nigel Llewellyn does so in his 'Two notes on Diego da Sagredo, II: The Baluster and the Pomegranate', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XL (1977), pp. 294–300.

[2] See, for instance, Oscar Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 62, 65, 74 and pls. 91–3, 96, 97, 99; 100, 113, 150, 151, 164, 172.

[3] For the Red Fort in Agra, see especially, Nur Bakhsh, 'The Agra Fort and Its Buildings', *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* (hereafter *ASI, Ann. Rep.*), 1903–4, pp.164–93, and Muhammad Ashraf Husain, *An Historical Guide to the Agra Fort* (Delhi, 1937).

[4] Nur Bakhsh, 'Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and Its Buildings', *ASI, Ann. Rep.*, 1902–3, pp. 218–24; Mohammad Abdullah Chaghtai, *A Brief Survey of the Lahore Fort* (Lahore, 1973), (in Urdu).

[5] Gordon Sanderson, 'Shah Jahan's Fort, Delhi', *ASI, Ann. Rep.* 1911–12, pp. 1–28; id., *A Guide to the Buildings and Gardens, Delhi Fort*, 4th edn. (1918; Delhi, 1937).

[6] I deal exclusively with the examples of Shah Jahan's reign, not of the later periods.

[7] As far as I know, only the *terminus ante quem* of most of the palace buildings of Shah Jahan in Agra is certain. They are described on the occasion of the weighing ceremony of the 45th solar birthday of the Emperor on Friday, 19 Sha'ban AH 1046 (16 January 1637) by 'Abd al-Hamid Lahauri, the official historian of Shah Jahan's reign, in his *Badshah Namah* (Persian text; hereafter Lahauri), I/2 (Calcutta, 1867), pp. 235 ff. This is corroborated by the

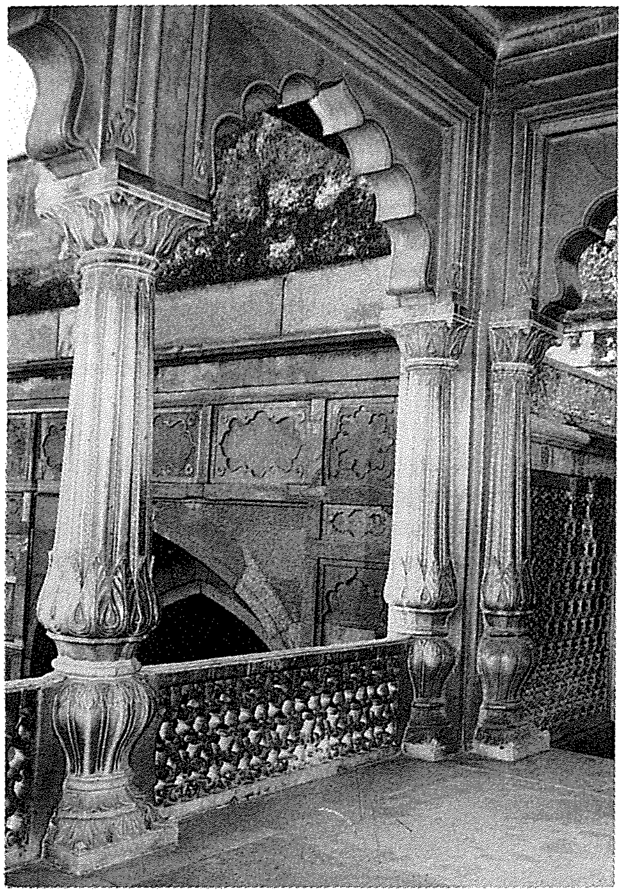

Fig. 3.2 Columns, detail of Fig. 3.5.

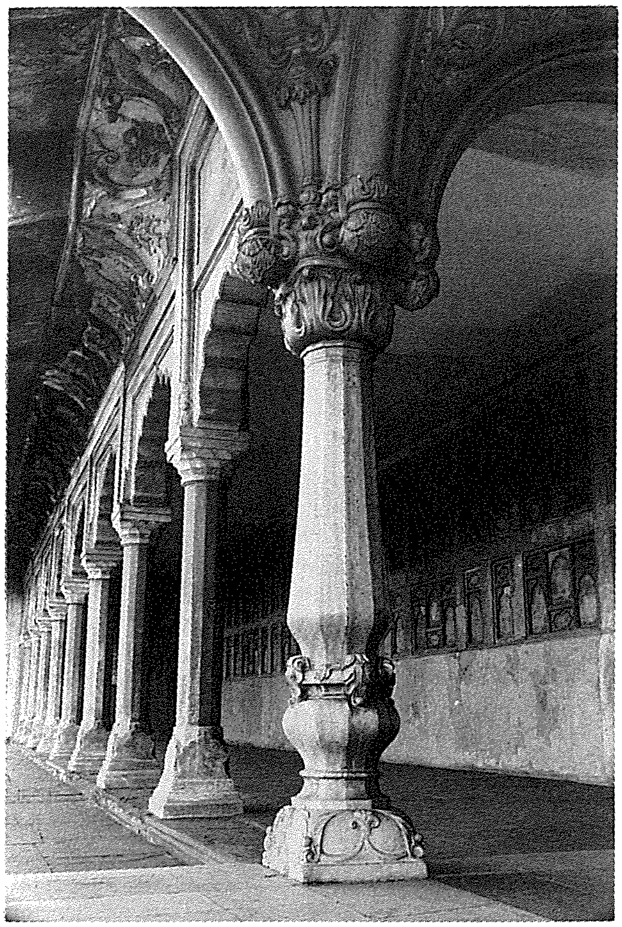

Fig. 3.1 Columns, detail of Fig. 3.4.

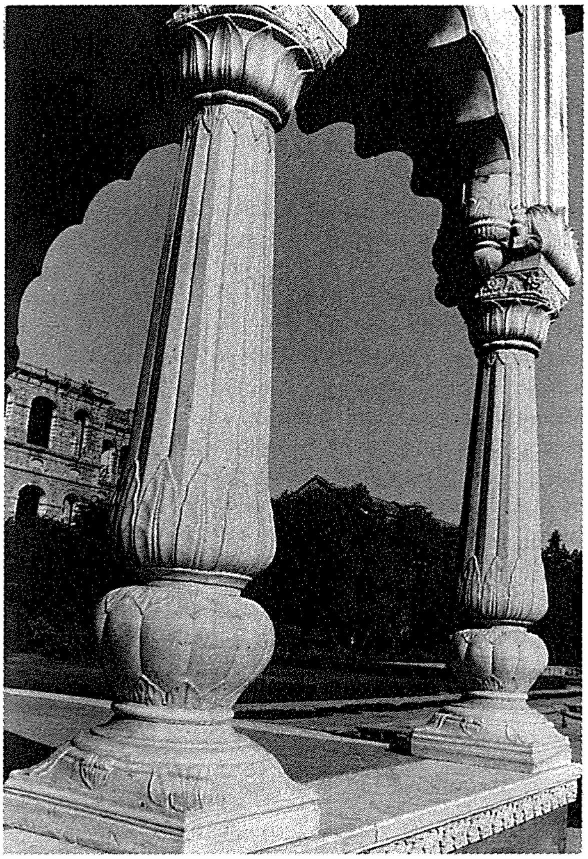

Fig. 3.3 Columns of the Bhadon pavilion, Red Fort, Delhi, 1639–48. Cf. Fig. 8.23.

the loggia in the so called Zanana Mina Bazar[8] (Figs. 3.2, 5), both in the Agra Fort, seem to be the first functional columns with a baluster shape in Mughal architecture. Those of the loggia in the Zanana Mina Bazar, especially, already show all the characteristics of the Mughal baluster column (Fig. 3.2).

This is a column composed of four parts: base, a pot-like element, shaft and capital. The different elements are separated by protruding rings and an additional concave contraction at the joint between the pot-like element and the shaft which forms the characteristic bulb.[9] It is always at the bottom and grows out of a foliage wreath of acanthus leaves. Similar leaves form the capital. Under the neck of the column is often carved another wreath of small leaves. The pot-like element is also decorated with acanthus and fluted or moulded in the same way as the shaft. It was conceived as part of the shaft and forms a unit with the column. The base is the least standardized element. It often appears as an inverted capital of acanthus leaves. Later variations on these typical features consist mainly in changed proportions and in stylization or alteration of the foliate decoration—lanceolate leaves reminiscent of lotus petals instead of acanthus, for example (Fig. 3.3). The pot-like element is occasionally omitted (Fig. 3.7).

One of the most striking characteristics of these early columns is their varied use. The baluster column as a functional architectural element supporting an engrailed or semi-circular arch is used in three of Shah Jahan's palace buildings in the Red Fort of Agra: the throne baldachin already mentioned in the south wing of Machchhi Bhawan, the loggia in the Zanana Mina Bazar and the loggia next to the Nagina Masjid[10] (Fig. 3.6), both datable about the same time.[11] Later, its use is more frequent in the Red Fort of Delhi: the throne *jharoka*[12] in the Daulat Khana-i Khass o'Amm (now called Diwan-i 'Amm, hall of private and public audiences, Fig. 3.7); the hall of Shah Burj;[13] the pavilions Bhadon (Fig. 3.3) and Sawan in the Hayat Bakhsh garden, the tripartite arched central window of the river side of the Daulat Khana-i Khass or Diwan-i Khass (hall of private audience; (Fig. 3.8), in the arcaded filling of the arches above the in- and out-flux of the channel Nahr-i Behisht in the Imtyaz or Rang Mahal.[14] There are no free-standing baluster columns of Shah Jahan's reign preserved in the Fort of Lahore.

The baluster column also appears as a decorative architectural element in a number of structures: the balustrade which ran around the courtyard of Anguri Bagh (before 1637);[15] in a similar form in the balustraded window in the north-eastern hall of Jahangiri Mahal, altered under Shah Jahan before I637, (both in Agra Fort); as an engaged colonnette in the frame of the central part of the prayer hall of the

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inscription on the Diwan-i Khass (hall of private audiences) giving the chronogram of its completion in 1046 AH (AD 1636–37).

[8] We have so far no certain date for this loggia, nor do we know its function. Muhammad Latif, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive* (Calcutta, 1896), pp. 95–6, describes it as a balcony overlooking the courtyard where the Zanana Mina Bazar took place, but does not give a reference for this. M.A. Husain, *Guide to Agra Fort*, pp. 30–2, suggests that this courtyard served as a forecourt to the adjacent court of Machchhi Bhawan. In any case, the loggia shows the typical features of Shah Jahan's buildings, e.g. poly-lobed arches, baluster columns and acanthus decoration, and can be safely attributed to the building phase completed in 1637. Compare especially the arches with nine lobes and two half-lobes over the shorter side of the loggia with the identical arches of the arcades of Machchhi Bhawan which feature as *sahn* (courtyard) in thc above-mentioned description of Lahauri in *Badshah Nama*, p. 238 ff.

[9] Wittkower, 'Baluster', pp. 42 ff., refers to this part as 'bulb'.

[10] The columns and *jali*-screens of this loggia are similar in design to those in the loggia above Zanana Mina Bazar. A certain stylization and carelessness in the execution may indicate a later date.

[11] There are also two marble baluster columns above the Delhi Gate of the Agra Fort which originally belonged to a no longer visible pavilion. That this was a *naqar khanah* (drum house) can be deduced from 19th-century paintings, e.g. India Office Library, Add. Or. 3125. The erection of the outer wall and gateways of the fort around 1660 is attributed to Aurangzeb by Muhammad Kazim in his *Alamgir Namah*. See Husain, *Guide to Agra Fort*, p. 3. Accordingly, these baluster columns do not belong to the period of our study.

[12] The *jharoka* or *jharoka-i darshan* was a special window, balcony or throne baldachin in which the emperor appeared before his subjects. See Nur Bakhsh, 'Agra Fort,' pp. 172, 176, 188; Lahauri, I/1, pp. 144–7.

[13] For the Shah Burj, see Gordon Sanderson, 'The Shah Burj, Delhi Fort', *ASI, Ann. Rep.*, 1909–10, pp. 25–32 and pl. IX.

[14] For an illustration, see Andreas Volwahsen, *Islamisches Indien* (Munich, 1969), p. 121. The arcaded filling of the central arch of the west facade with the same slender baluster columns is not preserved but appears in the illustration of the Rang Mahal in Sayid Ahmad Khan's *Asar al-Sanadid*, trans. by R. Nath, *Monuments of Delhi* (New Delhi, 1979), illus. 7.

[15] This railing is preserved only in two reconstructed pieces on each side of the central causeway of the Anguri Bagh. See W.H. Nicholls, 'Railing in the Anghuri Bagh at Agra', *ASI, Ann. Rep.*, 1906–7, pp. 15–16, fig. I.

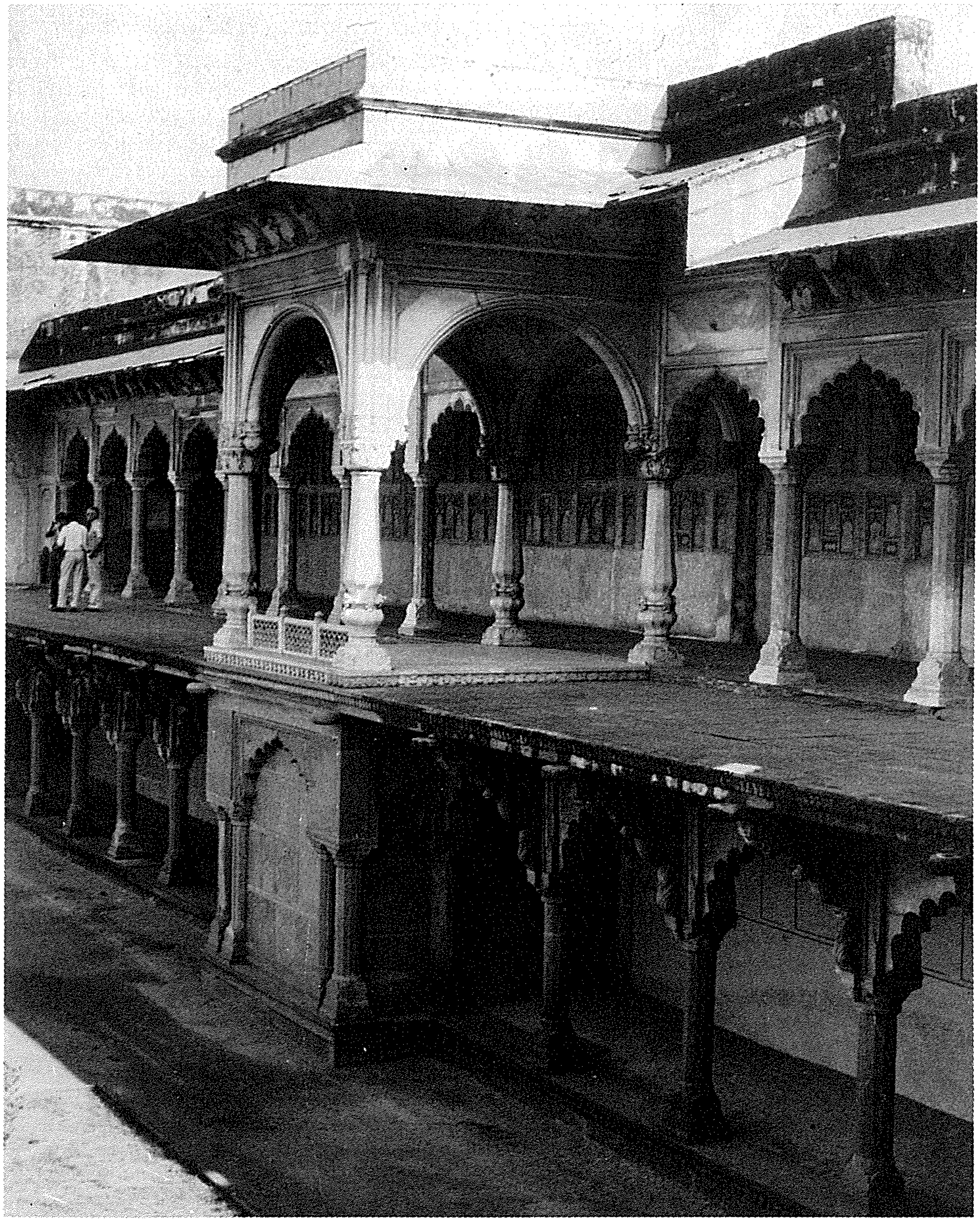


Fig. 3.4 Baldachin originally housing Shah Jahan's golden throne in the Machchhi Bhawan, Agra Fort, completed 1637.

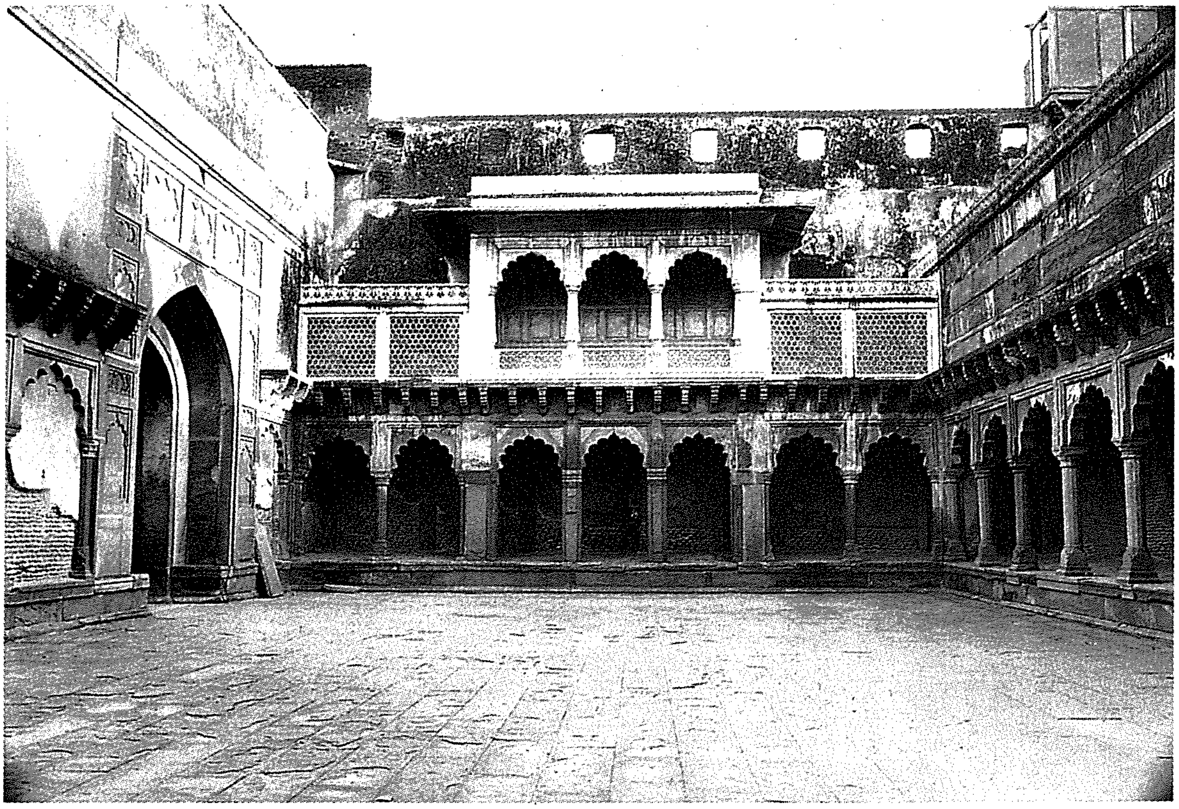
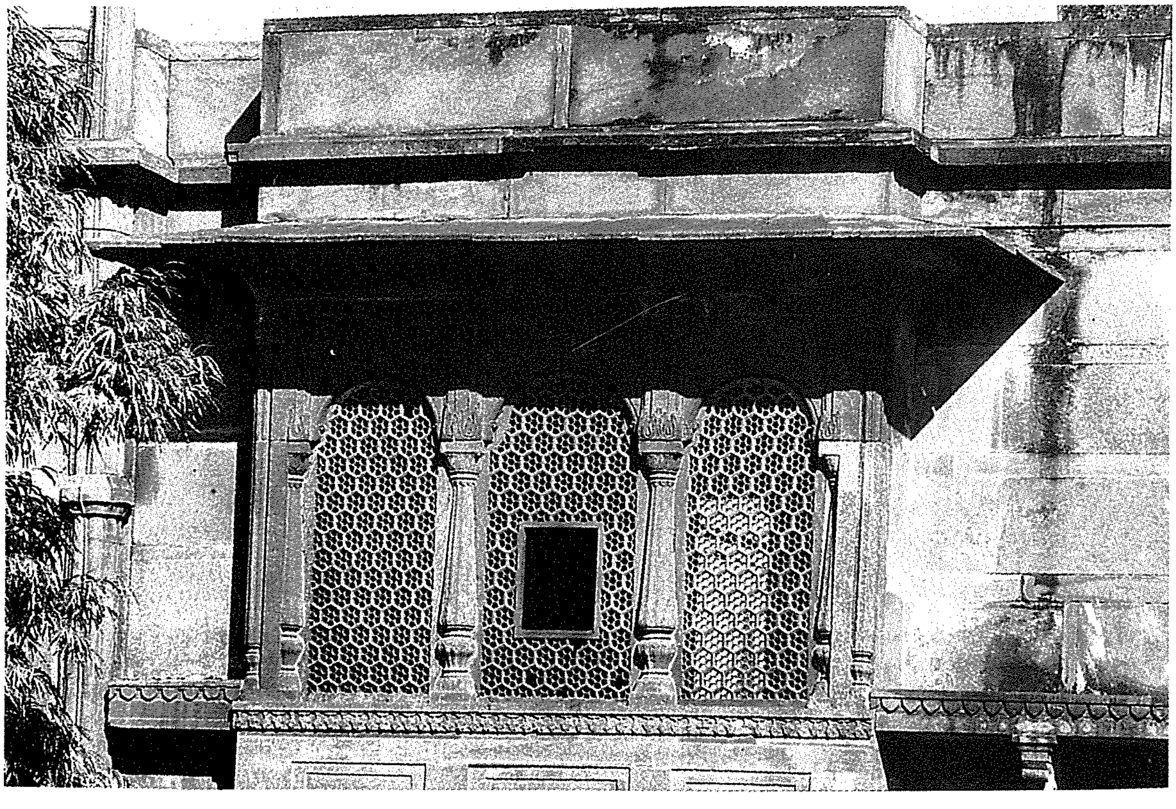


Fig. 3.5 Loggia above the so-called Zanana Mina Bazar, Agra Fort, completed 1637.

Fig. 3.6 Loggia next to Nagina Masjid, Agra Fort, Shah Jahan's reign (?).



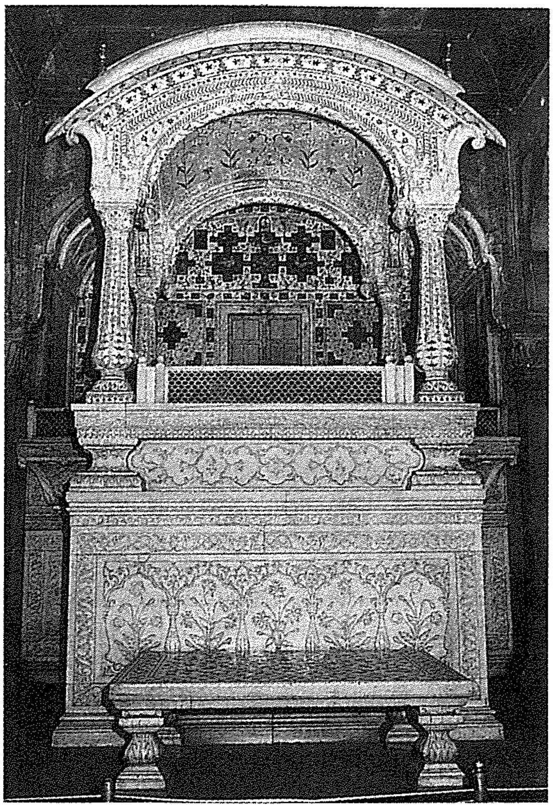
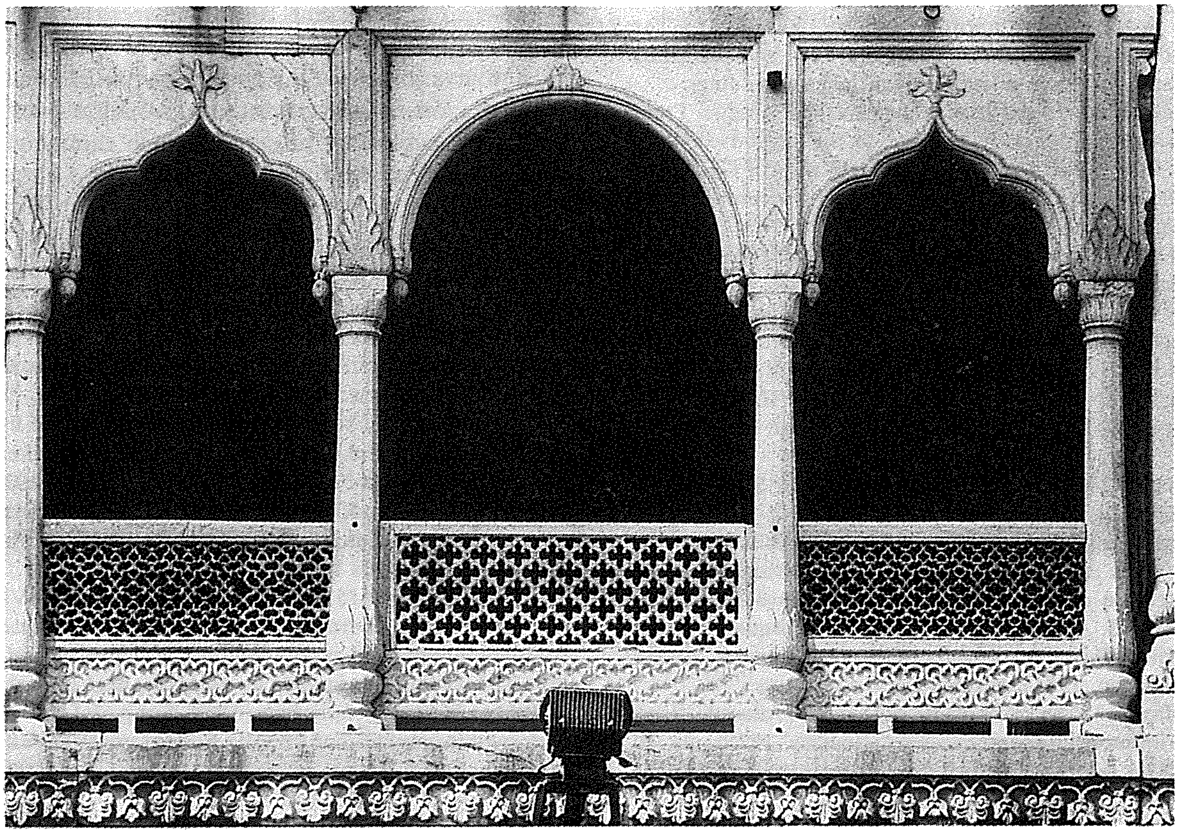


Fig. 3.7 Throne *jharoka* in the Diwan-i ‘Amm, Red Fort, Delhi, 1639–48.

Fig. 3.8 Riverside (east) window of the Diwan-i Khass, Red Fort, Delhi, 1639–48.



Moti Masjid in the Fort of Lahore[16] (Fig. 3.12); and free-standing in the form of a candelabrum as *guldasta* (ornamental pinnacle) on the roof of the Nagina Masjid in Agra Fort.[17] On the inner dado of the loggia-like *jharoka* of the Diwan-i 'Amm (completed in Agra before 1637), the baluster appears as an ornamental wall relief (Fig. 3.16). It has a corresponding use at the base of the throne *jharoka* in the Diwan-i 'Amm in Delhi (Fig. 3.7).

This foliate baluster column with a naturalistic acanthus leaf capital, used as a functional architectural member, has no real precedents in Indo-Islamic architecture.[18] A certain predisposition towards 'constricted' pillars with an inserted round or faceted element between the constrictions can, however, be seen in engaged corner colonnettes throughout Indo-Islamic architecture[19] (Fig. 3.10), and in free-standing pillars especially during the reigns of Akbar (1556–1605) and Jahangir (1605–27; Fig. 3.9).[20]

It seems quite possible that this combination of a column with an inserted pot-like element near the base prepared the ground for the acceptance of the related form of the baluster column. This pot-like element faceted in a round shape at its bottom and concave in its upper part is in itself reminiscent of a miniature baluster.[21] The inter-changeability of these forms is demonstrated in the baluster colonnettes which replace the lower part of the two engaged corner pillars framing the central wall projection of the Moti Masjid in the Fort of Lahore, where one would have expected the engaged colonnettes with the round element hitherto used in this context in Indo-Islamic architecture (Figs. 3.10, 12).

Whereas these earlier pillars consist of different parts merely added one to another, the baluster column of Shah Jahan's time represents an organic vegetal interpretation of a column. It grows—clothed in foliage—out of the pot-like element, swells, decreases towards the neck and opens in the calyx of the leaf capital. The curvilinear profile of the shaft underlines the dynamic qualities of the concept. This is a particular instance of a general development which can be observed in Shah Jahan's architecture. Architectural forms that were previously composed on additive, two-dimensional principles are now related to each other by a self-generated dynamism which explores thc third dimension. Indo-Islamic architecture shows an inclination towards constricted and composed columnar forms. Closer prototypes for the Mughal baluster column are found, however, in eastern India, where balusters and baluster columns occur in Buddhist and Hindu architecture and sculpture.[22]

Most of the ancient Buddhist architecture in Bengal and Bihar was destroyed in the wake of the Muslim invasions from the end of the twelfth century onwards. Yet, miniature buildings such as votive stupas or temples are preserved which show niches containing images flanked by baluster columns supporting trefoil arches.[23] Medieval eastern Hindu architecture is mainly represented by the temples of Orissa which escaped destruction because Orissa was conquered by the Sultans of Bengal only in 1568, at a less iconoclastic period.[24] In 1592 it was annexed and added to the *subah* of Bengal under Akbar. The temple of Konarak (thirteenth century) is described by Abu'l Fazl in very positive terms.[25] Interesting in this context is the frequent use of dwarf baluster columns supporting the miniature representations of arcades, pavilions or open halls, decorative motifs on the walls of the temple which are perhaps the reflexion of lost (wooden?) architecture (Fig. 3.13). Real balusters are found in the windows of some temples in Bhubaneśwar, e.g. those of the *jagamohana* (hall in front of a shrine) of the temple of Raja Rani (*c.* AD 1000).[26]

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[16] The exact date of the Moti Masjid in the Lahore Fort has not yet been established. John Burton-Page, 'Lahore Fort', in *Splendours of the East*, ed. Mortimer Wheeler (1965; rpt. London, 1970) p. 91, for instance, dates it to 1645 without a reference. See pp. 86 and 87 for illustrations. The use of cusped arches and acanthus decoration is characteristic of Shah Jahan's buildings.

[17] So far we do not have a date for this mosque. From all formal evidence it belongs to the period of Shah Jahan's reign. See also M.A. Husain, *Historical Guide*, pp. 29–30; and R. Nath, *Agra and Its Monumental Glory* (Bombay, 1977), pp. 37–8, pl. 25.

[18] There is no detailed study of the earlier use of the column or pillar in Indo-Islamic architecture. Columns or pillars up to Shah Jahan's reign consist of polygonal and square elements, used separately or combined. See, for instance, Percy Brown *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic Period*) (1956; rpt. Bombay, 1975), pls. VI, fig. 2; VII, fig. I; XVI, fig. 2; CVII, fig. 2. Round columns or round elements are rare.

[19] For examples from the 12th century to Shah Jahan's reign, see Brown, pls VIII, IX, XVIII, fig. 2, LXV, fig. 1; CI, fig. 2; and *ASI*, *Ann. Rep.*, 1903–4, fig. 3. Recently the use of these engaged colonnettes in the pre-Mughal Islamic architecture of the Delhi region has been discussed by Catherine B. Asher, 'The Qal'a-i Kuhna Mosque. A Visual Symbol of Royal Aspirations', *Chhavi* 2 (Benares: Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1981), pp. 213 f.

[20] Brown 1975b, pl. LXXIII, fig. 2; and Athar A. Rizvi and Vincent Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri* (Bombay, 1975), pls. 70 and 78.

[21] This has already been noticed by Reuther, *Indische Paläste*, p. 62, who goes so far as to suggest that the Mughal baluster column was developed out of this architectural decorative element and thus represents an enlarged and monumentalized version of it.

[22] For examples of sculpture from Bihar and Bengal from about the 8th to the 12th centuries, see R.D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture* (Delhi, 1933), pls XVIIIa; XXVIIc; XXIXd; LXIIIb, c; all showing baluster colonnettes framing niches with images; pl. LXXIVe, which shows baluster stands for conch shells.

[23] See Banerji, pp. 151 ff., pls LXXXVIc and LXXXVIIb. For an example of true Buddhist architecture, see the balusters forming part of a railing in a Buddhist monastery (9th–12th century) excavated in Antichak, near Bhagalpur in Bihar, *Indian Archaeology*, 1974–5, pp. 7 f, pl. VII. Perhaps this baluster motif results from a latent after-effect of antique forms in East India, which was a retreat area of

A close resemblance to the concept, though not to the style, of the Mughal baluster column is shown in an architectural fragment from eastern India in the British Museum (11th–12th century; Fig. 3.14). It was once the frame for a standing Vishnu figure.[27] The similarity lies not only in the shape of the column with the leaf decoration at its foot, but also—especially when compared with the columns of the throne baldachin in Machchhi Bhawan (Fig. 3.1)—in the combination of the baluster column with a pot with overflowing leaves. Apparently, this is meant to be the motif of *purna kalaśa* or *purna ghata*, the old auspicious symbol used for pillars in Buddhist and Hindu architecture.[28] The naturalistic pot carved with free overhanging leaves of the columns of the baldachin in Machchhi Bhawan does not occur again. It was stylized into a vase-like element with leaf decoration, as can be seen in the columns of the loggia of Zanana Mina Bazar in Agra Fort, the loggia near Nagina Masjid, and in some of the later examples in the Delhi Fort (Figs. 3.3, 6). A similar stylization is also found in some of the east Indian examples.[29] This use of the baluster column and the *purna ghata* may be interpreted as an archaistic reference to a Buddhist–Hindu motif in an east Indian version.

There is additional evidence that the area of eastern India, particularly Bengal, influenced Mughal architecture. It inspired another salient and fruitful feature of Shah Jahan's palace architecture, the so-called *bangla*,[30] a pavilion with the curvilinear roof that the Bengali peasant hut still shows today.[31] Bengali influence on Mughal architecture is attested by Abu'l Fazl's well-known statement in the *A'in-i Akbari:* Akbar ordered five hundred buildings to be erected in Agra Fort 'in the fine designs of Bangala (*ba-shigarf tarha-i bangala*), Gujarat and others'.[32] There is also an explicit mention of a *mahal-i bangali* (Bengali palace) in Agra (Fort) by Badaoni and Abu'l Fazl.[33] East Indian architecture clearly influenced the architectural enterprises of the Mughals. Adoption of the baluster column from this region—perhaps motivated by a conscious reaching back to an auspicious symbol of Buddhist or Hindu architecture—might be envisaged.

Baluster columns are also found in Transoxania, an area of great importance for the Mughal dynasty. Here wooden baluster columns of a peculiar elongated shape have been a characteristic feature of the local architecture throughout the centuries,[34] together with

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Buddhism. See also the leaf decoration of the pot in our Fig. 3.14 which seems to imitate the typical fluting of late Roman vessels. The baluster as a decorative motif was also used by Islamic patrons, for instance the tomb of Ghiasuddin Azam Shah, *c.* 1410, in Sonargaon (see Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Dacca* (Dacca, 1962), pp. 257–8, pl. XVIII.

[24] Banerji, pp. 150–1.

[25] *A'in-i Akbari, II*, trans. H.S. Jarrett, 2nd rev. edn. Jadunath Sarkar (1949; rpt. New Delhi, 1978), pp. 140–1.

[26] See Mano Mohan Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains, Ancient and Medieval* (Calcutta, 1912), p. 315 and pl. V(A), fig. 1.

[27] Bridge collection, 1872, 7–1.48. It is on exhibition in the Indian Gallery of the British Museum.

[28] For the motif of *purna kalaśa* in Mughal architecture, see R. Nath, *History of Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture* (Delhi, 1976), pp. 6–10. He also interprets the motif of the columns of the throne baldachin in Machchhi Bhawan as *purna kalaśa* (p. 8).

[29] See Banerji, pls. XXVIIc, LXIIIb, LXXXVIc, LXXXVIIb.

[30] Lahauri, for example, 1/2, pp. 240, 241, calls it *bangla.* So does Muhammad Salih Kanbo, *'Amal-i Salih or Shah Jahan Namah* (Persian text, hereafter Kanbo), III (1939; rearranged rpt., Lahore, 1960), p. 42. Kanbo wrote a detailed history of Shah Jahan's reign which was completed in about 1670 and provides an alternative view, independent of Lahauri's official history of Shah Jahan's reign.

[31] See, especially, Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Muslim Architecture in Bengal* (Dacca, 1961), pp. 12–14; Klaus Fischer, *Dächer, Decken und Gewölbe indischer Kultstätten und Nutzbauten* (Wiesbaden, 1974), pp. 76, 80, 139, 140, pl. 32, fig. 237; Anthony King, 'The Bengali Peasant Hut: Some Nineteenth-Century Accounts', *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, 12 (December 1977), pp. 70–8, esp. p. 76.

[32] Abu'l Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari* (Persian text), I, p. 441.

[33] Al-Badaoni, *Muntakhabu'-t-Tawarikh*, II, trans. W.H. Lowe, 2nd edn. (1924; rpt. Delhi, 1973), p. 74; and Abu'l Fazl, *Akbar Namah* (Persian text), II (Calcutta, 1879), p. 340. The latter reads *bangali mahal.*

[34] For examples from the 10th-century onwards, see V. L. Voronina, 'Kolonny sobornoi mecheti v Khive' (The [wooden] columns of the Friday mosque at Khiva),

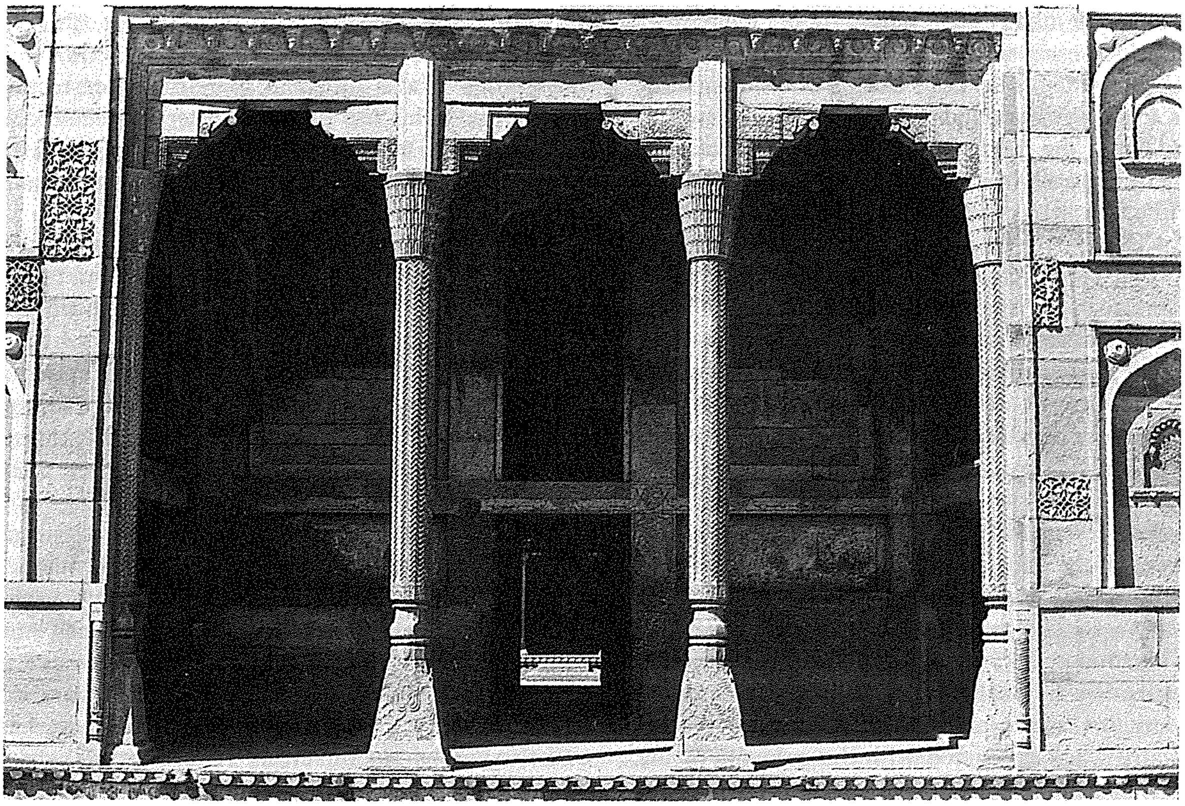

Fig. 3.9 Verandah in the east façade of the Jahangiri Mahal, Agra Fort, Akbar's reign, 1570s.

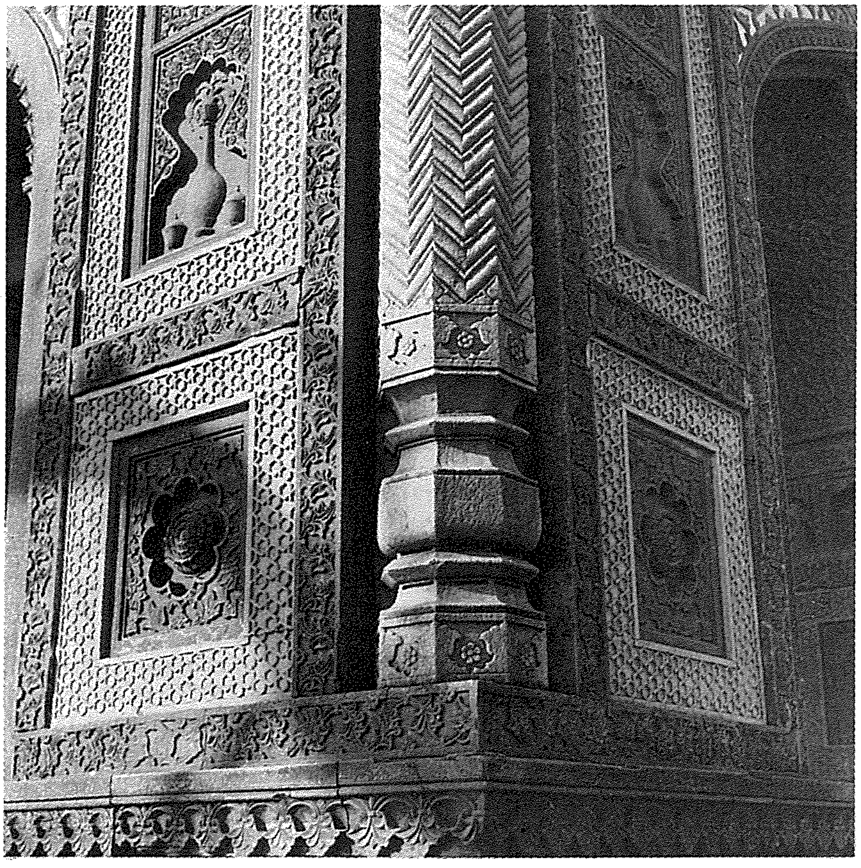

Fig. 3.10 Corner colonnette in the Kanch Mahal, Sikandra, first quarter 17th century.

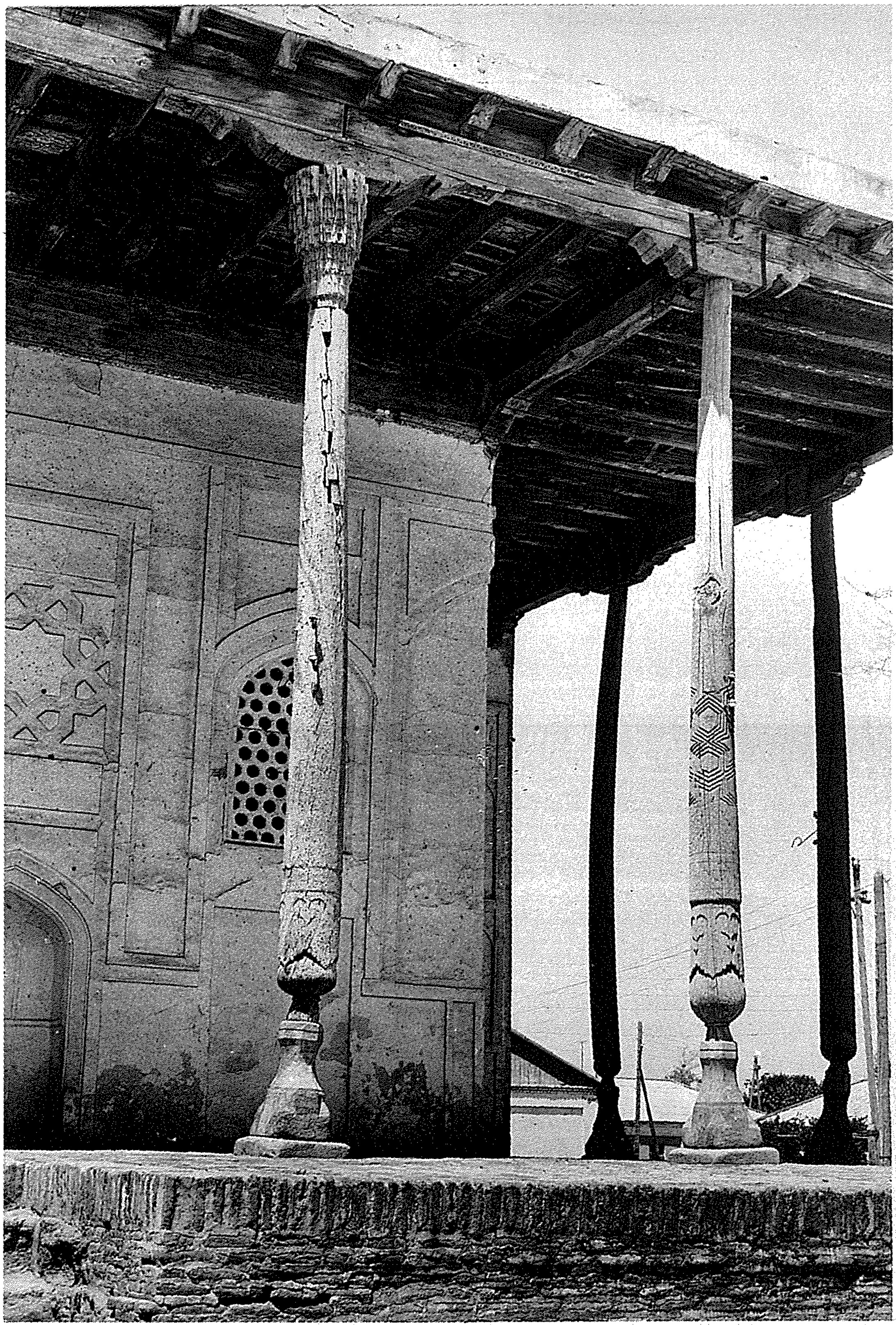

Fig. 3.11 Balyand mosque, Bukhara, 16th century (columns remodelled after the originals).

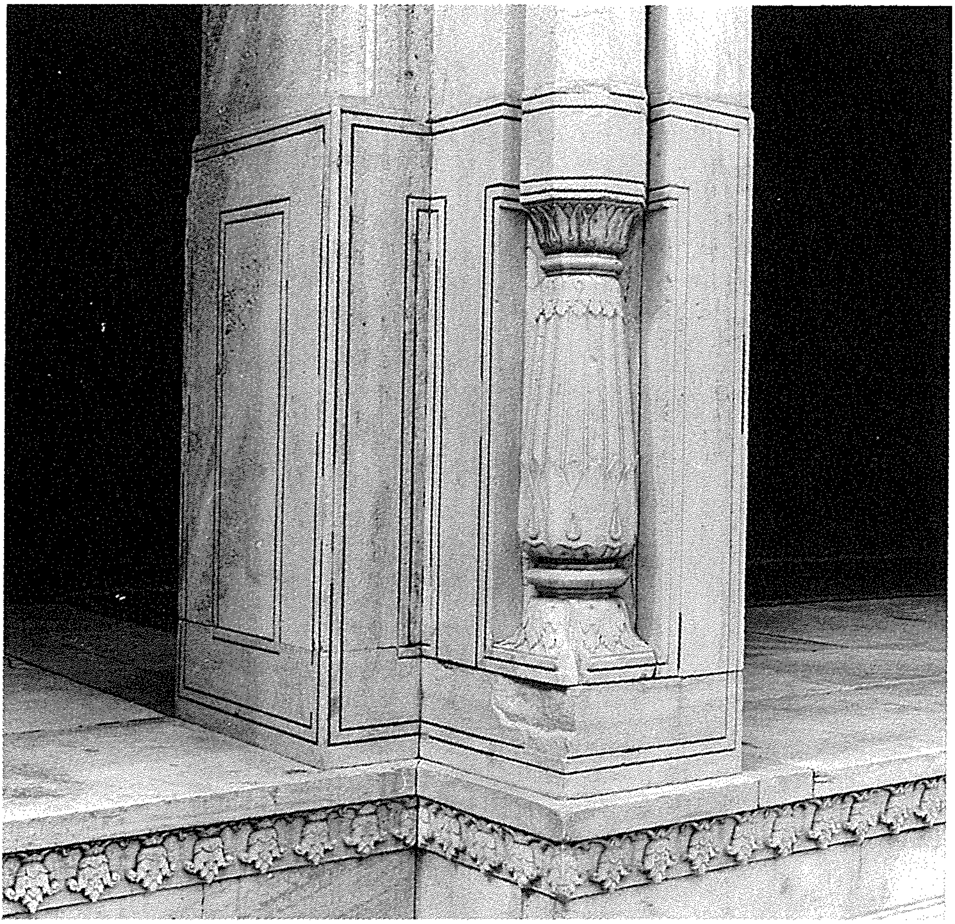

Fig. 3.12 Engaged colonnette, prayer hall, Moti Masjid, Lahore Fort, attributed to Shah Jahan's reign, 1628–58.

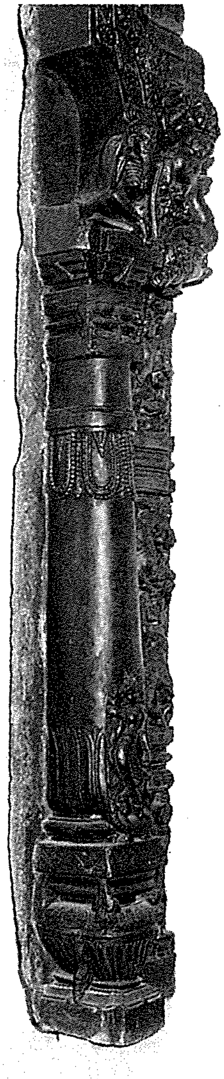

Fig. 3.14 Architectural fragment, Eastern India, 11th–12th century British Museum, London.

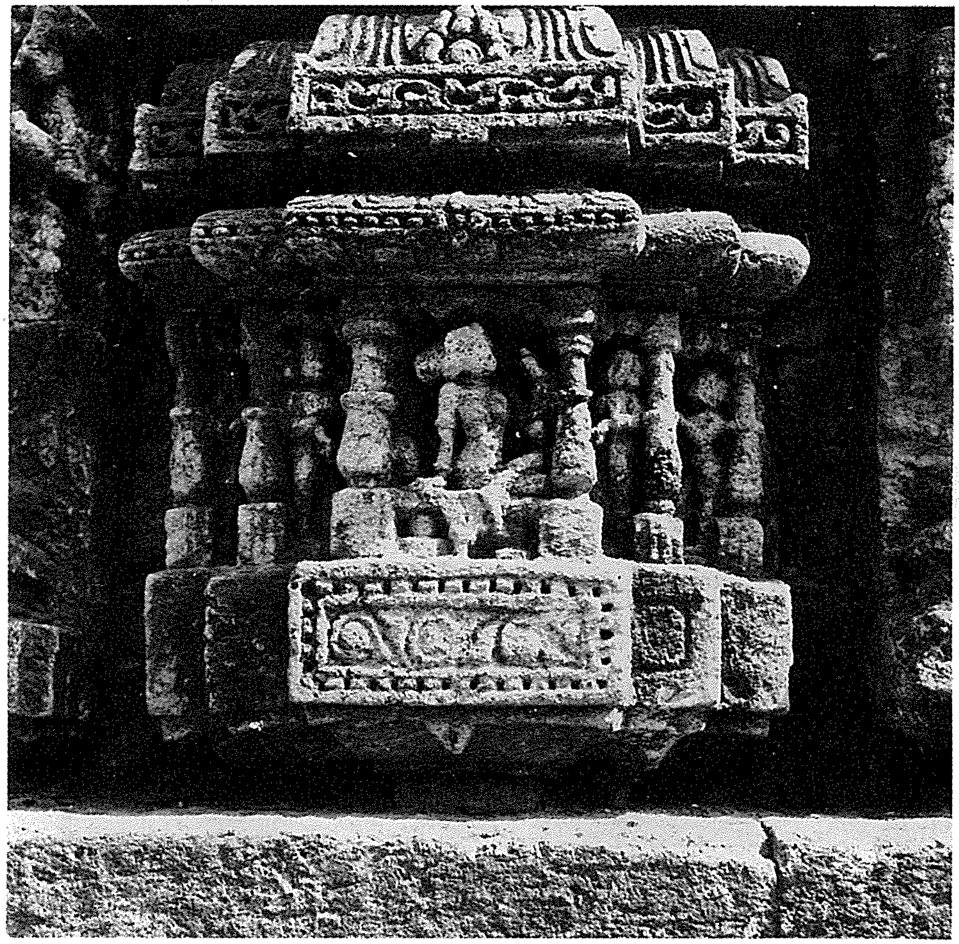

Fig. 3.13 Dwarf pavilion on the wall of the *bhoga mandapa* of the temple of Konarak, 13th century.

engaged corner colonnettes in masonry buildings which show a bulb and/or a pot-like element at the foot[35] (Fig. 3.11). From the time when the founder of the dynasty, Babur, had to renounce the idea of re-establishing the Central Asian empire of his great ancestor Timur, the conquest of Transoxania was always a preoccupation of his successors.[36] Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan exchanged several embassies with the court in Bukhara before Shah Jahan's unsuccessful attempt to conquer his ancestral domain in the unfortunate Uzbek war of 1646.[37]

The Mughal emperors were always anxious to draw attention to their lineage from Timur. Jahangir and Shah Jahan both styled themselves *sahib qiran-i sani*,[38] but Shah Jahan referred to himself as such regularly.[39] This Timurid descent is the theme of a number of paintings and calligraphic works produced under their patronage.[40]

The introduction of the baluster column into Mughal palace architecture might therefore also be interpreted as a reference to the Central Asian column. We know from Chandar Bhan Brahman that Shah Jahan employed—among others—artists from Bukhara and Samarkand.[41] The pillars with constrictions and inserted round elements discussed earlier may well have been intended as quotations from Central Asian architecture. The pillars of the central verandah of the east façade of the Jahangiri Mahal in Agra Fort look like translations into stone of the wooden Central Asian examples (Figs. 3.9, 11). They show the same high *muqarnas* capital, the high base and the thin shaft carved with a geometrical design. They lack only the particular bulb of the baluster column and show the inserted pot-like element instead.[42]

This conjecture is further supported by a miniature of Jahangir, whose programmatic uses of dynastic symbolism were of great importance to his son and successor Shah Jahan. In the painting in the Chester Beatty Library depicting Jahangir shooting Malik Anbar, there is a stand next to the emperor bearing a medallion with the seals of his ancestors as far back as Timur. Above it is a golden crown, a bird of paradise, and the inscription 'Thy nine ancestors were the crown-bearers of God'.[43] (Fig. 1.4) The stand is shaped like an elongated baluster, which may indicate that the Mughals associated a Timurid connection with the baluster form. The Central Asian allusion, however; derives only from the motif, not from the

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Arkhitekturnoye nasledstvo, XI (1958), pp. 145–80. For a 15th-century example from the tomb of Hazrat-i Bashir in Samarkand, see G.A. Pugachenkova, *Zodchestvo Tsentral'noi Azii XV vek* (The Architecture of 15th-century Central Asia) (Tashkent, 1976), pl. 14. I thank Dr Michael Rogers for helping me with these references. For examples in Bukhara from the 16th to the 20th centuries, see A.G. Pugatschenkowa [Pugachenkova], *Samarkand, Buchara* (1968; trans. Berlin, 1975) illus. 4, 31, 43, 60, 68, 71 and 84.

[35] Pugatschenkowa, illus. 5, 9, 47, 64, 74.

[36] Jahangir himself writes about this in his memoirs: *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, trans. Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge, 2nd edn. (1909–14; rpt. Delhi, 1968), I. p. 26.

[37] Abdur Rahim, 'Mughal Relations with Central Asia', *Islamic Culture*, XI (1937), pp. 81–94, 188–99. For Shah Jahan's relations with Transoxania, see also Banarsi Prasad Saksena, 'Trans-Oxiana' [sic], *History of Shah Jahan of Dihli* (1932; rpt. Allahabad, 1976), pp. 182–209.

[38] See *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 12, where Jahangir features as *Sahib Qiran-i Sani Shahinshah Jahangir* in a versified chronogram by Maktub Khan for his acccession.

[39] Shah Jahan assumed upon his accession the title Abul Muzaffar Shihabuddin Muhammad Sahib Qiran-i Sani. See Saksena, p. 63 and Lahauri I/1, p. 91. The accession ceremony included an oration in which Shah Jahan's ancestors were eulogized: 'For the sake of the beauty of the poem of fortune he [the orator] made the exalted name of *sahib qiran* the *matla* [introductory verse of a poem] and the glorious name of *sahib qiran-i sani*, the *husn matla* [verse which supports and embellishes *the awwal matla*]: Kanbo, I (1958), pp. 173–4. Cf Lahauri, I/l, p. 90. My translation. I thank Dr. S.M. Yunus Jaffery for his advice and help in translation from Persian and Urdu sources.

[40] For example, the genealogical trees painted for Jahangir and Shah Jahan and 'a-historical portrait group[s] in which the representatives of succeeding generations were shown assembled as if they were contemporaries'. Otto Kurz, 'A Volume of Mughal Drawings and Miniatures', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXX (1967), p. 262.

[41] See Chandar Bhan, 'Brahman', *Chahar Chaman* (Persian), bound in British Library MS Add. 16863, fol. 22r.

[42] The pot-like element which acts like a cut-off bulb is also found in some Central Asian examples. For an early example of a striking similarity to the columns of the Jahangiri Mahal, see the three-quarter colonnettes in the inner dome of the Mausoleum of the Samanids in Bukhara (9/10th cent.) (Pugatschenkowa, illus. 64). Some of the columns in the Friday mosque of Khiva show a depression between shaft and bulb which gives the bulb a pot-like appearance, very reminiscent of the *purna kalaśa* motif discussed above—the more so as they are decorated with four overhanging leaves. See, especially, Voronina, pls. 6–9. It would be interesting to trace the common root of this motif.

[43] Thomas W. Arnold and J.V.S. Wilkinson, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: A Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures* (London, 1936), I, pp. 31–2; III, pl. 62. See also Leach, *Mughal and Other Indian Paintings*, I, cat. no. 3.25, pp. 398–405. I am grateful to Robert Skelton for calling my attention to this baluster colonnette.

form of Jahangir's baluster, which more closely resembles European prototypes. The slender baluster of the colonnette is enclosed by acanthus leaves which converge at its constriction. An identical baluster—forming part of a sceptre—is found on an allegorical engraving in the possession of the Mughal court. It represents *Pietas Regia*—the piety of Philip II of Spain as protector of the Catholic faith—the second title-page of the great *Antwerp Polyglot Bible*,[44] sponsored by Philip II, edited by Arias Montanus, and printed—as his masterpiece—by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp from 1568 to 1572. The three title-pages of the first volume have a complex genesis; they seem to have been invented by the Lord High Almoner of Spain, don Luis Manrique, designed by Pieter van der Borcht and engraved by Pieter van der Heyden. A set of this 'Biblia regia' was presented by the first Jesuit mission in 1580 to Akbar, who received it with great appreciation.

This European connection points towards another area of influence on Mughal art, which must now be investigated. There is a stronger similarity between Shah Jahan's baluster columns and the European version of this columnar type than there is between the possible prototypes discussed so far.

The baluster, a classical decorative feature of oriental origin,[45] had come back into use in Europe in the fifteenth century and was a wide-spread feature in sixteenth-century North Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and particularly Spain.[46] Rare as a free-standing functional column, it is a common feature of architectural decoration[47] as well as in the applied and graphic arts.[48] As a monumental column, however, it was mainly employed by Dürer and his followers from about 1515 onwards, and it can be considered one of the chief columnar forms in architectural depictions in the graphic arts of this group of artists.[49] The Düreresque baluster column forms its bulb generally at the foot of the shaft, which is clothed in foliage—usually acanthus leaves. The capitals are in a Corinthian manner or 'composite' in the sense of Dürer's period, i.e. 'ornate, sumptuous, complicated'.[50] Other elements can be inserted between column and base (Figs. 3.15, 17, 18, 19, 20).

As we have seen, all these are features of the Mughal column. Not only does the form and composition of the column coincide, but also the revolutionary naturalistic treatment of the foliate decoration, especially the use of acanthus—hitherto unknown in Mughal architecture—for the wreath at the foot of the column and for the capital. This organic acanthus capital is in particular contrast to the geometric *muqarnas* capital of one of the chief columns of Shah Jahan's architecture, which is polygonal with a cusped arch base (Fig. 3.1). Furthermore, the combination of baluster column and semi-circular arch is also entirely new in Mughal if not in Indo-Islamic architecture[51] and apparently comes from the same sources (compare Figs. 3.4, 7 with Figs. 3.18, 19).

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[44] The King's piety is represented by a woman on a pedestal flanked by a sword and the baluster sceptre. Both are held in an upright position by hands on pedestals which are inscribed respectively *Aut Gladio* and *Aut Verbo* and symbolize the means by which the King carries out his task. Here, as in Jahangir's painting, the baluster is an attribute of the ruler and placed in a position similar to that in the picture. For the genesis of thc Bible, see especially, Max Rooses, *Christophe Plantin, Imprimeur anversois*, 2nd edn. (Antwerp, 1896), pp. 111–48. For the influence of the title-pages of the first volume of the Bible, see 'The Influence of the Jesuit Missions on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors', this volume.

[45] The baluster with plant decoration seems to be of Egyptian provenance (papyrus column) taken over and adapted as a decorative motif because of the romantic interest in Egypt during Roman Imperial times.

[46] See n. 1 above, especially Siebenhüner.

[47] Especially in Spain where baluster columns with foliage decoration are characteristic of the *estilo ornamentado*. See J.B. Bury, 'The Stylistic Term "Plateresque"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXIX (1976), pp. 199–230. For examples, see Albrecht Haupt, *Geschichte der Renaissance in Spanien und Portugal* (Stuttgart, 1927), pls. 34, 48, 52, 58, 82, 119; and José Camon Aznar, *La Arquitectura Plateresca* (Madrid, 1945), figs. 10, 39, 51, 53, 68, 111, 170, 194, 230, 249, 263, 400, 411, 412, 498. Even as the less common free-standing functional column it retains its decorative qualities, forming part of a composition of several members placed one above the other. See, for instance, the columns carrying the arcades in the courtyard of the Casa Zaporta in Zaragoza of about 1540 (Haupt, pl. 48), or, to quote a non-Spanish example, the columns in the first court in the palace of the prince-bishop in Liège (1526–38), for which see Georg Kauffmann, *Die Kunst des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, VIII (Berlin, 1970), pp. 373–4, pl. 379.

[48] Siebenhüner, cols 101–3; Heinrich Kohlhaussen, *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters und der Dürerzeit 1240–1540* (Berlin, 1968), pls. 566, 658, 667, 688, 722. See also, for its appearance on ornamental frontispieces, Rudolf Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter des 15–18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1926), Tafelband I, pls. 18, 27, 29, 77; on patterns for decorated objects, Kohlhaussen, pls. 523, 541, 580; and on designs for furniture, Max Geisberg, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut 1500–1550* (1923–30), rev. edn., Walter L. Strauss (New York, 1974), III, pp. 805, 806, 807, 863, 864, 925.

[49] Erik Forsmann, *Säule und Ornament. Studien zum Problem des Manierismus in den nordischen Säulenbüchern und Vorlageblättern des 16 und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stockholm, 1956), pp. 49–53.

[50] Ibid., p. 49.

As already indicated, these similarities are not coincidental. From the reign of Akbar onwards, European elements played a considerable part in the arts of the Mughal court.[52] It has been shown already in various studies that the main vehicle for western influence in Mughal art was European prints,[53] among which those of Dürer and his circle had a prominent position.[54] Milo Beach sees a definite pattern in the arrival of European prints at the Mughal court and considers that the Dürer prints belong to the earliest group to exert an influence.[55] Dürer was, of course, appreciated, copied and collected in Europe throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[56] He appears to have been a favourite of the Counter Reformation,[57] so that his works would be likely to figure prominently among the pictorial material introduced by the Jesuit missions as aids to evangelization at the Mughal court from 1580 onwards. At the beginning of the seventeenth century in particular there was an especially strong European revival of interest in Dürer. His prints were sought after for the collections of the European courts and the production of posthumous impressions reached its highest point about 1600.[58] The reception of Dürer prints or reprints at the Mughal court was thus certainly not limited to an early date. Since Jahangir supervised the copying of prints and reprints of Dürer and his school and included them as well as Mughal copies in royal albums (*muraqqa'*),[59] one must consider him as one of the more important figures in the international Dürer revival of the early seventeenth century.

The *Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, illustrated by Flemish artists familiar with the work of Dürer, provides further evidence that engraved monumental baluster columns were known to the Mughal court. On the third title page of the first volume—The Authority of the Pentateuch—scenes from the Old Testament are enclosed in an architectural frame (Fig. 3.20). This has two Corinthian columns with a baluster element at their foot, a more academic interpretation of the Düreresque column. Noteworthy is the elaborate acanthus decoration. The columns are close in conception to those of the loggia above the Zanana Mina Bazar (Fig. 3.2). In particular, the clearly defined areas for the use of the acanthus, the arrangement of the leaves of the capitals, which have their tops turned in little volutes, and the reinterpreted fluting are reminiscent of the columns in the print.

These western prints were a source of images, a sort of extended pattern-book, not only for certain iconographic features but also for the development of style in Mughal painting.[60] Mughal artists used the European models in all possible ways, from direct copying[61] to combining various elements taken from different pictorial contexts and forging them into a new pictorial whole.[62]

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[51] The European provenance of the baluster column and semicircular arch in Mughal architecture has already been suggested by Hermann Goetz, *Bilderatlas zur Kulturgeschichte Indiens in der Grossmoghulzeit* (Berlin, 1930), p. 59.

[52] H. Hosten, 'European Art at the Moghul Court', *Journal of the UP Historical Society*, III/1 (1922), pp. 110–84.

[53] For European influence in Mughal painting, see Ernst Kühnel and Hermann Goetz, *Indian Book Painting from Jahangir's Album in the State Library, Berlin* (London, 1926); E.D. Maclagan, 'The Missions and Mogul Painting', in *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932), pp. 222–67; Milo Cleveland Beach, 'The Gulshan Album and Its European Sources', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, LXIII, no. 332 (1965), pp. 63–91; Aśok Kumar Das, *Mughal Painting during Jahangir's Time* (Calcutta, 1978); M.C. Beach, *The Grand Mogul, Imperial Painting in India 1600–1660* (Williamstown, MA, 1978), with further literature.

[54] Kühnel and Goetz, pp. 46 ff.; Maclagan p. 249; Beach, 'Gulshan Album', pp. 67 ff.; Aśok Kumar Das, pp. 237–8.

[55] Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, p. 155.

[56] Hans Kauffman, 'Dürer in der Kunst und im Kunsturteil um 1600', *Vom Nachleben Dürers. Beiträge zur Kunst der Epoche von 1530 bis 1650, Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1940–53), pp. 18–60.

[57] Kauffman, pp. 27–8. For a contemporary source, see Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* (Bologna, 1582), ed. Paola Barocchi, *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento* (Bari, 1961), II, p. 167, where the exemplary character of Dürers and his works is especially mentioned.

[58] Kauffman, pp. 24–7. The work of the Antwerp printmakers of later 16th century (like the Sadeler family, Cornelis Cort, Jerome Wierix, Hendrik Goltzius) which had reached the Mughal court, included reproductions of Dürer (cf. note 53).

[59] See especially Kühnel and Goetz, pp. 46 ff.; and Beach 'Gulshan Album'.

[60] See, among others, Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, pp. 24–7; Aśok Kumar Das, *Mughal Painting*, pp. 240–2.

[61] See, for instance, Aśok Kumar Das, *Mughal Painting*, pls. 68, 70–4; Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, pls. 9, 54, 54A, 55.

[62] Beach, *The Grand Mogul*, pl. 10^r; Aśok Kumar Das, pl. 63.

So far the influence of these 'paper academies'[63] on Mughal architecture has not been studied, if we leave aside Robert Skelton's observations on 'the Mughal decorative motif *par excellence*' from about 1620 onwards, i.e. 'The formal flowering plant spaced regularly on a plain ground'.[64] This motif was also introduced in architecture. The characteristic dado of Shah Jahan's buildings is formed of marble flowers carved in subtle relief, monumental descendants from Pierre Vallet's *Jardin du Roi* of 1608 or other herbals,[65] copied by Jahangir's painters and transferred to marble by Shah Jahan's stone carvers.

Baluster colonnettes sometimes occur in an analogous situation to that of the marble flowers. The earliest example, apparently, is in the dado of the *jharoka* of the Diwan-i 'Amm in Agra Fort, (Figs. 3.7, 16). The plant-like character of the baluster column, reinforced by its leaf ornamentation, must have suggested this use. Like the flower motif, therefore, the baluster column may be assumed to have been taken over from western prints at a time when Mughal artists were sufficiently familiar with the western apparatus of forms to be able to transpose graphic models into another medium.[66] The Mughal artists handled these models quite freely. Robert Skelton has shown how, in the second quarter of the seventeenth century, 'the most astonishing juxtapositions of flowers and leaves were already being carried out'.[67]

This confident handling of graphic prototypes is even more evident in the use of the baluster column where two-dimensional models had to be translated into three-dimensional, functional architectural members. There again we do not find exact repetition of the graphic columns of Dürer and his followers. Different prototypes were apparently amalgamated into one column. The mannerist form was also able to accommodate indigenous traditional forms like the Bengali baluster column which in turn may have created a favourable climate for the reception of the western form. This mutual interaction can be observed for example, for the *purna kalaśa* motif of the columns of Machchhi Bhawan or the *guldasta*s of Nagina Masjid. The almost classical fluting of the former was changed for a more meaningful shape in the tradition of Indo-Islamic architecture. The alternating round and angular vertical fluting of the columns of Zanana Mina Bazar seem, for example, to be quotations in miniature of the fluting of the Qutb Minar: its characteristic profile was referred to throughout the centuries in Islamic architecture round Delhi.[68] The acanthus leaves were already, in the palaces of Delhi, partly transformed into the more familiar lotus petals[69] (Figs. 3.3, 7).

The potential of the form of the Mughal baluster column was thus well understood and used by the Mughal artists. This is also clear from the fact that from the very beginning of its reception into Mughal architecture it was used in the whole range of its possibilities: in relief, as a decorative architectural feature and as a functional architectural form.

Such a comprehensive reception of a form in a different cultural milieu implies that the form is charged with a particular meaning.[70] The form of the Mughal baluster column, taken from European prints, was more easily assimilated because specific forerunners in East Indian and Central Asian architecture had created an interest in it. We remember further that the baluster column—a plant-like form of a column—made its appearance in the palace architecture of Shah Jahan at the same time as flower reliefs borrowed from European herbals. Both motifs are predominant features of what might be called a

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[63] I am adopting here Forssmann's term (*Säule und Ornament*, p. 86). He uses 'papierene Akademie' for a similar phenomenon, namely the role played, in his view, by architectural treatises and ornamental engravings for northern artists in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe.

[64] Robert Skelton, 'A Decorative Motif in Mughal Art', in *Aspects of Indian Art*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Leiden, 1972), p. 150.

[65] Ibid., p. 151, pls. LXXXVI, XC, XCI.

[66] The use of European ornaments in architecture is mentioned, in another context, by Kanbo, III, 1960, p. 35. He speaks about the Indian artists who used as the decoration of the ceiling of the *ghusl khanah* (Diwan-i Khass) in Delhi Fort, 'heart-ravishing designs [nooses], pleasant to the mind of the *farangis*'.

[67] Skelton, 'A Decorative Motif', p. 152.

[68] I am studying this problem. Sections with the characteristic round and angular moulding are inserted in, for instance, the tapering turrets engaged at the quoins of buildings like the mosque of Bara Gunbad (1494), Moth ki Masjid, Jahaz Mahal (both datable about 1500). See Y. D. Sharma, *Delhi and Its Neighbourhood* (1964), 2nd edn. (New Delhi, 1974), pls. XVII, XIX B, XX A; the turrets flanking the east (main) entrance of Khirki Masjid (1351–88); the minaret-like engaged pillars flanking portals, e.g. the Buland Darwaza and the central arch of the Jami Masjid in Fathepur Sikri (Rizvi, *Fathpur Sikri*, pls. 52, 64); the minarets on the main gateway of Akbar's tomb in Sikandra (*ASI, Ann. Rep.*, 1905–06, pls. VII, IX). See also 'The Copies of the Qutb Minar', this volume.

[69] For the proces of replacing acanthus by lotus in Mughal architecture, see also Goetz, *Bilderatlas*, p. 59.

[70] Guenter Bandmann, 'Ikonologie der Architektur' *Jahrbuch für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, I (1951), p. 109.

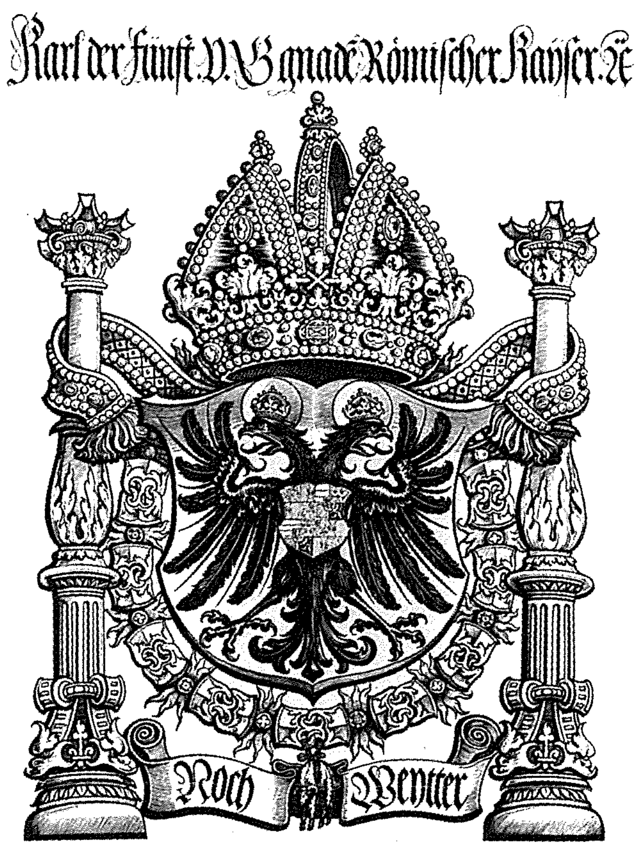
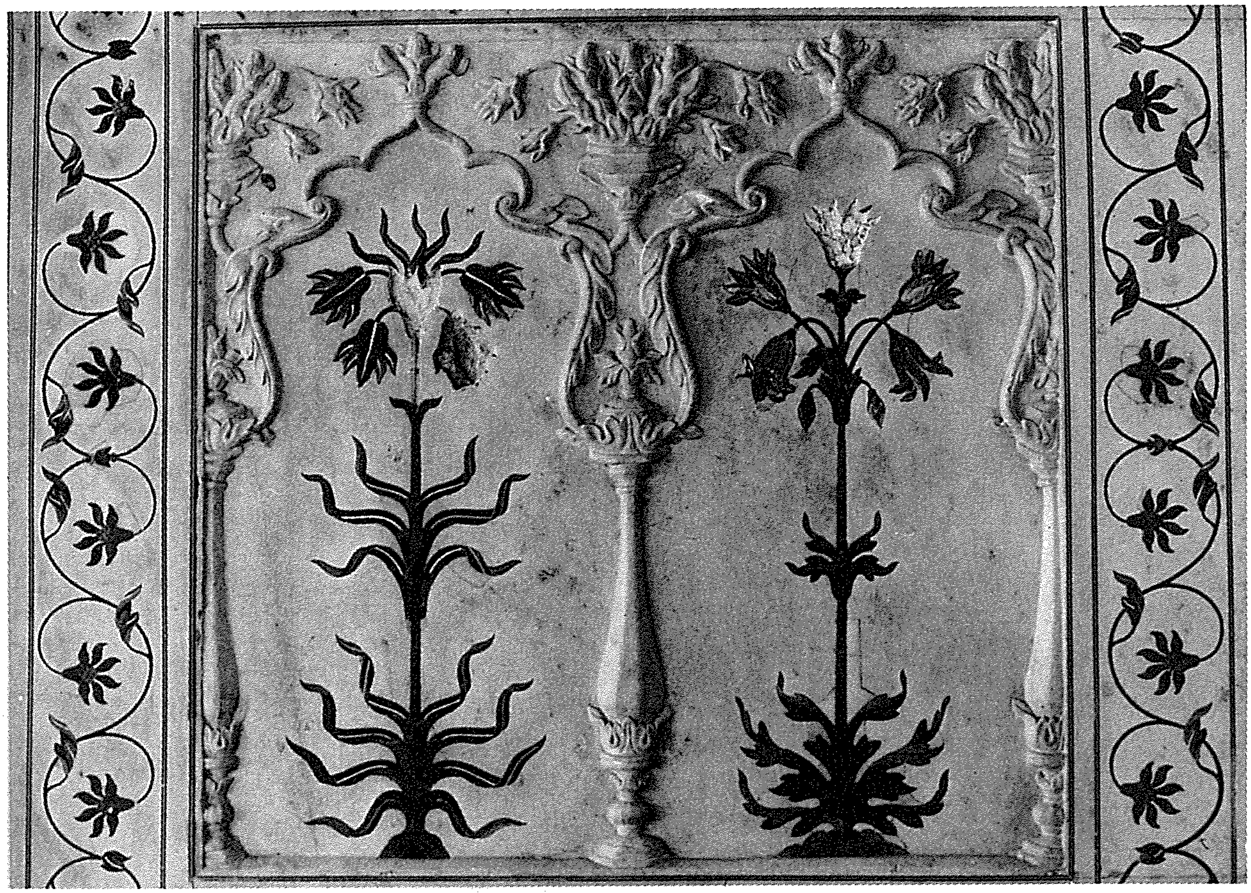

Karl der Fünft V. G gnade Römiſcher Kayſer. ꝛc
Noch
Weytter

Fig. 3.15 Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder, Coat of Arms of Emperor Charles V. C. 1542.

Fig. 3.16 Wall-relief in the loggia of the *jharoka* in the Diwan-i ʻAmm, Agra Fort, completed 1637.



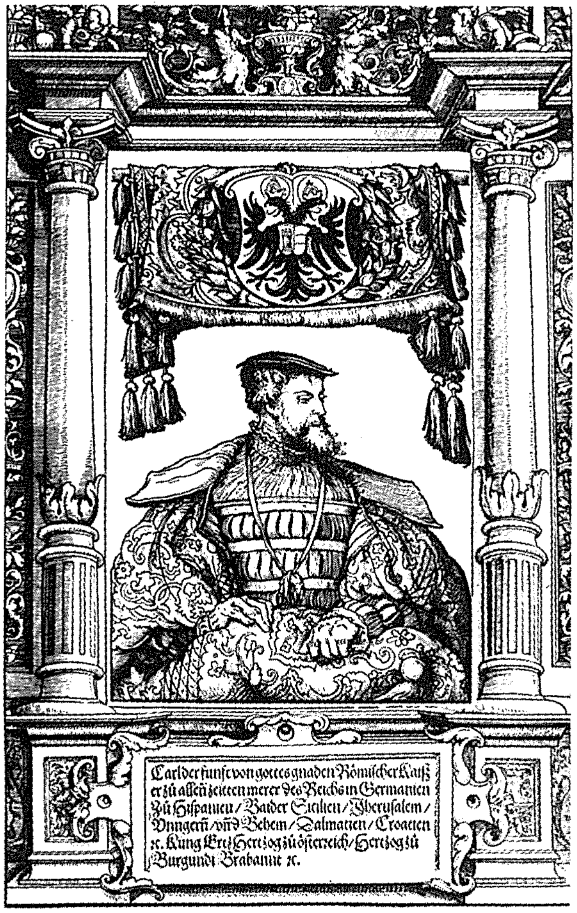
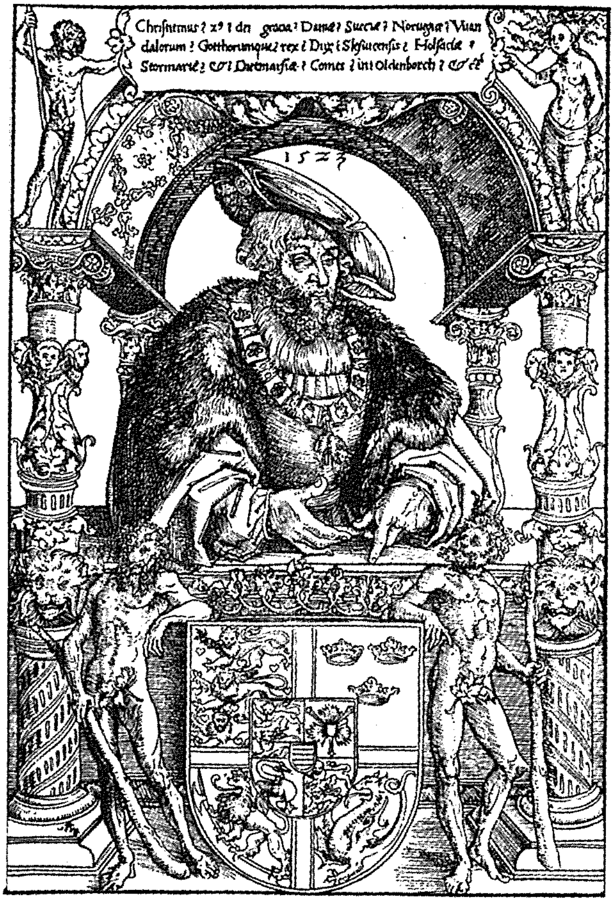

Carl der funfc von gottes gnaden Römischer Kaiß
er zu allen zeitten merer des Reichs in Germanien
Zu Hispanien / Baider Sicilien / Jherusalem /
Vnngern / vnd Behem / Dalmatien / Croatien
ꝛc. Küng Ertzhertzog zu österreich / Hertzog zu
Burgundi Brabannt ꝛc.

Fig. 3.17 Christoph Amberger, Emperor Charles V. 1530.



G.638; Pass.192; H.125 King Christian II of Denmark [252 x 172] 1523
Dresden

Fig. 3.18 Lucas Cranach the Elder, King Christian II of Denmark. 1523.

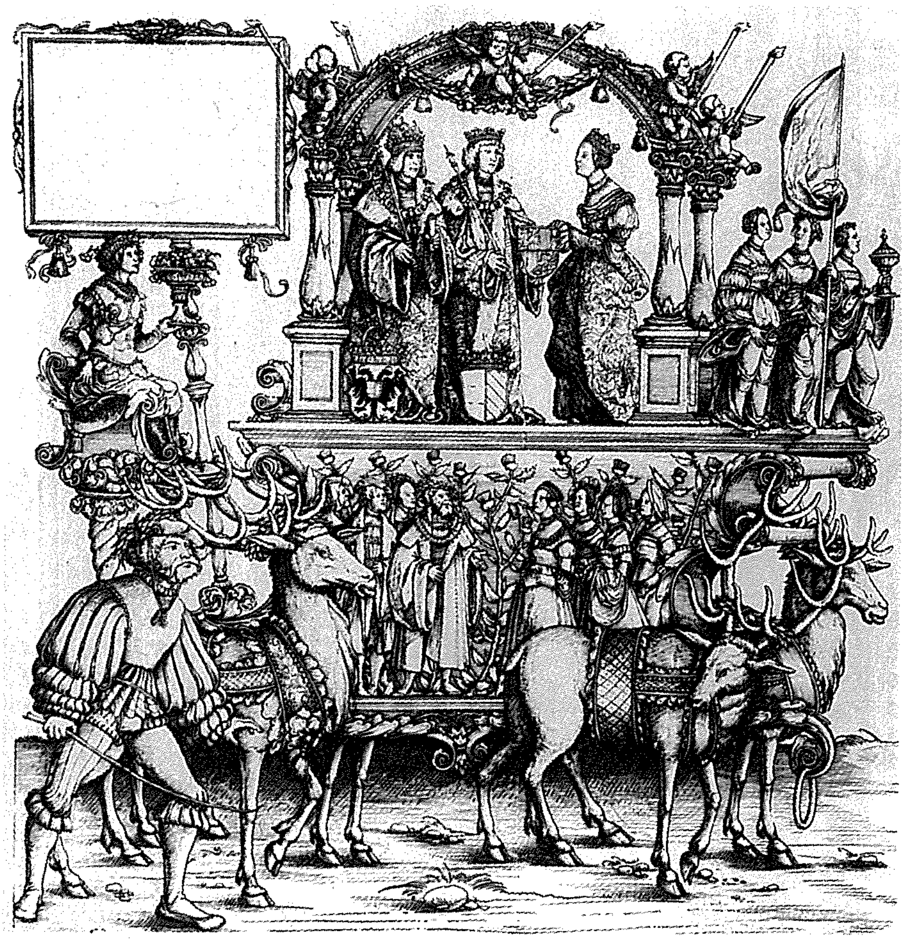


Fig. 3.19 Dürer circle, triumphal car from the Triumph of Maximilian I. 1526.

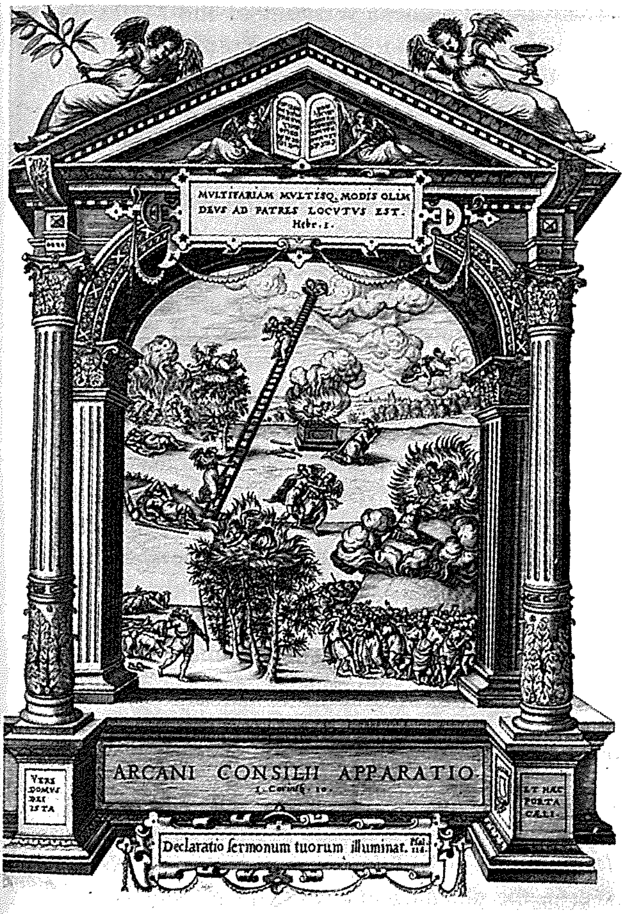

MVLTIFARIAM MVLTISQ. MODIS OLIM
DEVS AD PATRES LOCVTVS EST.
Hebr. 1.
ARCANI CONSILII APPARATIO
1. Corinth. 10.
VERE DOMVS DEI ISTA
ET HAEC PORTA CAELI.
Declaratio ſermonum tuorum illuminat. Psal. 118.

Fig. 3.20 Pieter van der Borcht, The Authority of the Pentateuch, third title page of volume I of the *Royal Polyglot Bible*, published in Antwerp by C. Plantin, 1568–72, British Library, London.

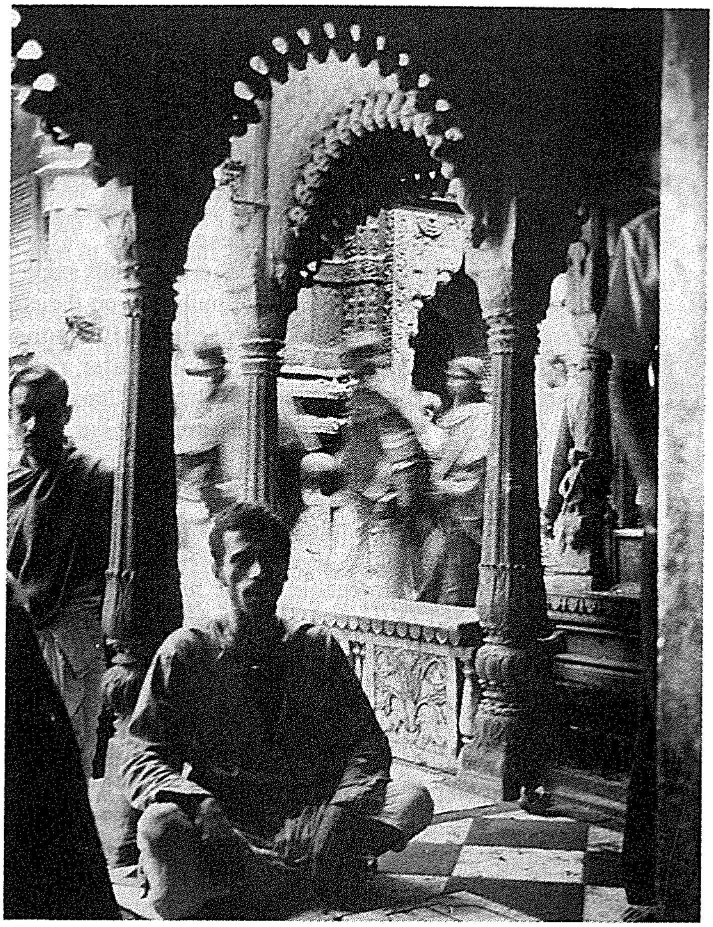


Fig. 3.21 Baluster columns in the Temple of Viśveśvara, Benares, 18th century.

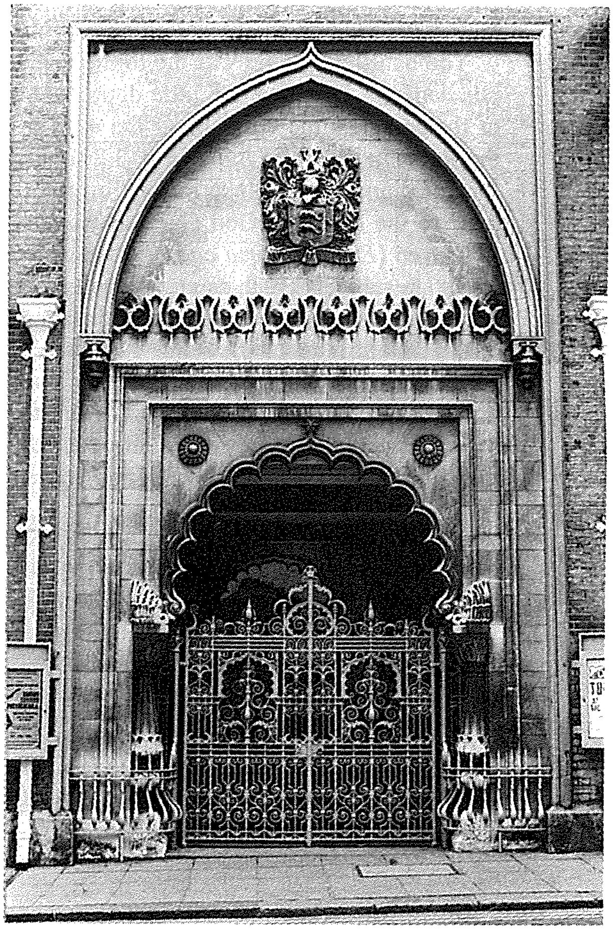


Fig. 3.22 Archway in the façade of the Royal Stables and Riding Hall, Brighton, 1901–02.

vegetabilization programme of the palace buildings of the emperor. The intention behind this process was to transform the palace buildings into gardens, as is evident from contemporary descriptions. *'Dar o diwarash az taswir gulzar'* (its doors and walls suggest flower beds) says Kanbo[71] of the buildings on the east terrace of the Hayat Bakhsh garden. Muhammad Waris, the historian of Shah Jahan's later reign, describes the baluster columns of the pavilions in the Hayat Bakhsh garden (among others) *expressis verbis as sarw andam* (cypress-bodied).[72] The borrowing of these forms from plant-life was, however, not meant to create the generalized image of a garden but the image of a very specific one: '. . . every house is so pleasing to the mind and agreeable to the heart that it looks like the garden of Rizwan (the gatekeeper of paradise) and seems to be one of the apartments of the palaces of heaven'.[73] There was nothing new in the idea of relating the dwellings of an Islamic ruler to one or the other aspect of Paradise. What is remarkable is the transformation of the literary model of the archetypal image of paradise—the eternal garden of the Koran—into an architectural reality. To give Shah Jahan's paradise garden rooms an aspect of reality which would satisfy the keen sense of naturalism of a descendant of the Timurid house, models of the highest degree of naturalism then available were chosen. These were European. Stylized though these may seem to us, to Shah Jahan and his advisers, they must have seemed the height of naturalism.

The baluster column was the form most apt to meet this demand. There can be little doubt that in the eyes of the Mughals the columns of the third title-page of the *Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Fig. 3.20) gave the form further significance. Inscriptions on their pedestals refer to the house of God (*Vere domus Dei ista*) and to heaven (*Et haec porta caeli*). Attributes taken from Christian subjects (such as angels, haloes) were freely borrowed for the representation of Jahangir and Shah Jahan as apotheosized rulers.[74] We may, therefore, assume that the connotation of heaven attached to the acanthus-decorated baluster columns in the engraving served as a further incentive to introduce this shape in the garden paradise buildings of the emperor.

The selective use of the first baluster columns in Mughal palace architecture leads to a further step in interpretation. We have contemporary literary evidence that Shah Jahan's artistic activities were considered an instrument to reinforce the power and to represent the glory of Mughal rule. Muhammad Salih Kanbo states in the introduction to his description of the newly founded Shahjahanabad (Delhi):

> Whenever the highest Wisdom of the Majesty exalted above all [God]—may his proof be exalted everywhere—out of concern for His servants and His countries finds it apt to choose a dynastic family from the other families of sultans of the world, he bestows special selection on the lords of that God-given empire among all other masters of empires with perfect grandeur and majesty and he gives necessarily whatever is essentially connected with [maintenance] of the rule. [Such matters] may belong [to the category] of beautiful and external things the existence of which is not so necessary [in the context] of overall rule, but they must be [present] to give full distinction and spectacular display—the more so since it becomes a matter of increase of pomp and power, magnificence and elegance . . . It is evident that the increase of such things creates esteem for the rulers in the eyes [of the people] and augments respect [for the ruler] and [their own] dignity in [their] hearts. In this form the execution of divine injunctions and prohibitions and the enforcement of divine decrees and laws which is the ultimate aim of rulership and kingship are carried out in a better way.[75]

In the description of the daily routine of Shah Jahan, 'Abd al-Hamid Lahauri is at pains to point out the decisive part played by the emperor as his own architect in the planning of his buildings. Most were designed by his 'precious self' (*ba-nafs-i nafis*) and he made 'appropriate alterations to whatever the skilful architects designed after many thoughts and he asked competent questions.[76]

It has already been pointed out that the first known examples of baluster columns in Mughal architecture occur only in the palace buildings. Even there they are used in a particular way. The earliest examples of the baluster column as free-standing functional architectural members (in Agra) occur only in the architectural framework for ceremonial appearances of the ruler, for the baldachin which housed the golden throne of Shah Jahan in Machchhi Bhawan and for the loggias in the Zanana Mina Bazar and near Nagina Masjid. Even in the later palace buildings of Delhi, baluster columns are still closely related to the person of the emperor. They support the throne *jharoka* in the Diwan-i 'Amm and the pillared hall of Shah Burj, a building, according to Lahauri and Kanbo,[77] mainly used by the emperor and the imperial children. They appear in the central river-side window of the Diwan-i Khass, in front of the throne platform.

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[71] Kanbo, *'Amal-i Salih*, III (1960), p. 40. Kanbo quotes here a verse of a *masnawi* in praise of the pavilion in the Bagh-i Jahanara in Akbarabad (Agra), written by Abu Talib Kalim, Shah Jahan's court poet. See *Diwan-i Abu Talib Kalim Kashani*, Persian edn., P. Baiza'i (Teheran, 1336 sh./1957), p. 350.

[72] Muhammad Waris, *Badshah Namah*, III, (Persian), British Library MS Add. 6556, fol. 403^{r} / 388^{r} (Persian fol.).

[73] Kanbo *'Amal-i Salih*, III, p. 33.

[74] See 'Influence of the Jesuit Missions', in this volume.

[75] Kanbo *'Amal-i Salih*, III (1960), pp. 24–5. I thank Dr. Christian Troll for his help in the translation of this difficult text.

[76] Lahauri, I/1, p. 149, trans. Nur Bakhsh, *ASI*, *Ann. Rep.*, 1902–3, pp. 190, 191. Cf. Kanbo, I (1958), p. 189, and Muhammad Abdulla Chagtai, *Le Tadj Mahal d'Agra* (Brussels, 1938), pp. 34–5.

The evidence in paintings up to the 1630s corroborates this. Baluster columns are used for the throne of Jahangir celebrating the Ab pashi festival (1614),[78] for the throne in the Durbar scene in the Keir collection (1620)[79] and for the various representations of Shah Jahan's famous peacock throne (completed in 1634/35).[80] The exclusive use of the baluster column to frame the ceremonial appearance of the emperor leads us to ask whether it had a particular meaning in addition to its connotations of paradise attached to the palace buildings.

We have seen that whereas the baluster column as a functional architectural element is rare in the architecture of Europe, it is a characteristic feature of the 'graphic architecture' of Dürer and the artists under his influence. Given the interest of the Mughal artists in Dürer, it seems fair to assume that it came from these prints into Mughal art. Furthermore, there is a remarkable similarity between the Mughal and Düreresque baluster column not only in shape but also in their architectural setting wherever the graphic column is used, like the real one, for the architectural frame in which the ruler appears. The architectural arrangement of the ceremonial appearance of the Mogul before his subjects in the *jharoka* or in a throne baldachin and the appearance of the rulers represented by Dürer and his circle—very often the Habsburgs—are strikingly parallel, not only in the combination of baluster columns with a baldachin, but also in the appearance of the ruler as a half figure.[81] (Compare Figs. 3.4, 7 with Figs. 3.17, 18.) The similarity of the architectural setting apparently conditioned the reception of the form.

There is other evidence that the Great Mogul associated himself with European princes in his artistic undertakings. Otto Kurz has pointed out the predilection of the Mughal emperors for assembling their ancestors in historical portrait groups, which he calls *conversazione*, or conversation pieces.[82] Jahangir introduced another version of these imaginary meetings in which he is visited by foreign rulers, past and present—for instance Shah 'Abbas from Iran and James I of England.[83] We also know that he had the walls of his palaces painted with, among other subjects, portraits of European rulers. Sir Thomas Roe describes how he was entertained by Mir Jamal al-Din Husain in the emperor's palace, Chasma-i Nur (fountain of light), at Hafiz Jamal near Ajmer on 12 August 1616: '. . . Hee entertayned mee with showeing the Kings little closetts and retyring roomes, which were paynted with antique and in some panes [i.e. panels] copyes of the French kings and other Christian princes . . .'[84]

For the palace in Agra there is evidence for a Habsburg connection. Guerreiro tells us in his *Relation* of 1607/08:

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[77] Otherwise only the closest courtiers and the Prime Minister had access to the Shah Burj for secret conferences: Lahauri I/1, pp. 150–3; Kanbo, I (1958), p. 190.

[78] Rampur Library; see Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals A.D. 1550–1750* (Oxford, 1924), title-page.

[79] R. Skelton, 'Indian Painting of the Mughal Period', *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, ed. B.W. Robinson (London, 1976), pp. 259–60, colour pl. 37, pl. 127, identifies this throne with the one made by Austin of Bordeaux for Jahangir in 1619 and points out its European elements. He does not, however, refer to its baluster columns. This European connection is a further support for my argument.

[80] For representations of the peacock throne, see Toby Falk, 'Rothschild Collection of Mughal Miniatures', in Colnaghi, *Persian and Mughal Art* (London, 1976), p. 181, illus. p. 208. For a comparative study of descriptions in European and Persian sources, see Abdul Aziz, *Thrones, Tents and Their Furniture Used by the Indian Mughuls* (Lahore, n.d.), pp. 35–72. There is no mention there of the baluster columns shown in all pictures of the peacock throne.

[81] Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador of James I at the Mughal court from 1615 to 1619, also drew a European comparison in describing the appearance of the emperor in this setting: 'This sitting out hath soe much affinitye with a theatre—the manner of the king in his gallery . . .' *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615–19*, ed. William Foster (London, 1926), p. 87. Compare also the numerous durbar scenes in painting, for instance Shah Jahan in durbar, page from the *Padshah Namah*, *c.* 1630, fol. 50^v (Royal Library, Windsor Castle; illus. B. Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls* (London, 1971), p. 145. See also Beach, Koch, and Thackston, *King of the World*, cat. no. 10 *et passim*.

[82] Kurz, 'Mughal Drawings', p. 262.

[83] R. Ettinghausen, 'The Emperor's Choice', in *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), I, pp. 98 ff.; and id. *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India* (New Delhi, 1961), pls. 11, 12, 13, 14.

[84] Roe, *Embassy*, p. 211.

> In one of the panels of one of the halls he directed to be made, from a design [print] which he had, whole-length paintings of the Pope, the Emperor, King Philip and the Duke of Savoy, whose portraits he possessed. They are all represented on their knees, adoring the Holy Cross which stands in their middle.[85]

For whatever reason Jahangir associated himself with 'the Christian princes'—and all evidence suggests that it was to show his world-wide connections and his international status as a ruler belonging to the family of the kings of the world[86]—we can assume safely that it made some impression on the artistic programmes of Shah Jahan who, as has been indicated, seems to have taken over most of the dynastic symbolism developed for the more imaginative Jahangir.[87]

Taking into consideration Shah Jahan's inclination towards architecture, it is tempting to conjecture that he gave the ideas of his father an architectural expression. In choosing the baluster column as a frame for his appearance, he was showing that he wanted to belong to those Christian princes whom he had seen represented in this way. He may even, in a kind of creative misunderstanding, have taken the baluster column for a symbol of imperial might.

Was it really a misunderstanding? There is a moment in European architecture when the baluster column seems to have acquired that very meaning. During the reign of Charles V, Diego da Sagredo in his *Medidas del Romano*—'the key document for the study of early Renaissance architectural developments in Spain'[88]—introduces the baluster column, which so far had been given only passing remarks in the columnar theory,[89] into his discussion of the Vitruvian orders.[90]

Nigel Llewellyn has suggested that Sagredo tried to give the baluster column—by then already a common feature in Spain—the status of a 'Spanish order'. Sagredo links the baluster to the pomegranate, its etymological equivalent,[91] which had by this time acquired a special emblematic meaning in connection with the Habsburg rulers of Spain from Maximilian (I493–15I9) onwards. Llewellyn's assumption seems to be supported by the fact that Charles V's better-known device, the twin columns, were occasionally also given the shape of baluster columns[92] (Fig. 3.15).

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[85] Em hum quadro de hũa salla, mandou pintar ao natural o Papa, o Emperador, el Rey Phelipe, & o Duq̃ de Saboia, cujos retratos tinha, os quais todos estão de giolhos adorando a santa Cruz, que está no meio delles, conforme a hum registro que disso tem.' (Fernão Guerreiro, *Relaçam . . . V, 1607–1608* [Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1611], p. 14.) See also Hosten, 'European Art,' pp. 179–80: 'If the painting represented personages then alive (1608), they must have been Pope Paul V (reigned 1605–21), Rudolph II (reigned 1576–1612), Philip III of Spain (and Portugal) (reigned 1598–1621), and Charles Emmanuel I, surnamed the Great (1562–1630), p. 180, n. 1.

[86] The interest of the Mughals in European rulers is already clearly pronounced in Akbar who, for instance, wished to establish relations with Philip II of Spain (reigned 1556–98) in view of a possible alliance against the Turks. See *The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J.*, trans. J.S. Hoyland, ann. S.N. Banerjee (Oxford, 1922), pp. 159, 163 f. Of particular interest in our context is his reasoning in his letter to the Spanish King about the common conditions of the princely station in 1582:

> Considering these things we are with the whole power of our mind earnestly striving to establish and strengthen the bonds of love, harmony and union among the people, but above all with the exalted group of rulers (*ta'ifa-i 'alia-i muluk*) who enjoy the noblest of distinction in consequence of a greater share of divine favour, and especially with him who is the center of sultanate and the greatest of the caliphate and the recipient of spiritual illumination and life-giver to the Christian laws [*muhyi-i marasim-i Isawi*, a direct allusion to the *Pietas Regia*?], who needs not to be praised or made known: and this decision is made on account of our propinquity, the claims whereof are well-established among mighty potentates and acknowledged to be the chief conditions of amicable relations.

See E. Rehatsek, 'A letter of the emperor Akbar asking for the Christian Scriptures', *Indian Antiquary*, XVI (1887), p. 138. For a short discussion of the editions of this letter, see Maclagan, *Jesuit and Great Mogul*, p. 44, note 57. See also this volume, p. 1. Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Arts* (1973; London, 1978), pp. 45–8, discusses a comparable iconological subject in early Islam.

[87] See n. 95 below.

[88] Bury, 'Plateresque . . .', p. 209.

[89] Dürer discusses it briefly in the third book of his *Underweysung* (Forssmann, *Säule und Ornament*, p. 53).

[90] Llewellyn, 'Baluster and Pomegranate,' especially p. 294. For the meaning and use of the classical order in the architecture of the 16th century and later, see Forssmann, *Säule und Ornament . . .*; and id., *Dorisch, Jonisch, Korinthisch, Studien über den Gebrauch der Säulenordnungen in der Architektur des 16–18. Jahrhunderts* (Uppsala, 1961).

[91] The pomegranate fruit (Span. *granada*) was adopted as a new emblem for the province of Granada (Llewellyn, p. 297). 'Baluster' comes from Greek *balaustion*, Lat. *balausticum*, flower or unripe fruit of the pomegranate tree (Llewellyn, p. 295).

[92] For a contemporary Spanish example, see Earl Rosenthal, '*Plus ultra*, *Non plus ultra* and the columnar device of Emperor Charles V', *Journal of the Warburg and*

The columns and the famous imperial motto *Plus Ultra* had acquired, by the mid-sixteenth century, the meaning of 'further beyond the columns of Hercules', reflecting the prediction of the endless expansion of the dominions in the New and Old World and the power of Charles V, ruler of the entire earth.[93]

In the person of Charles the old Hellenistic–Roman ideas of universal empire, of the sacred rule of the One over the whole world whose imperial function is to maintain *pax* and *justitia*, were revived and reamalgated with the Christian version of this theme, the office of the Holy Roman Emperor. This vision had a profound effect on the development of the mythologies of the national monarchies in Europe, such as the Tudors or the French kings.[94]

Had it also reached the Mughal court where a World-holder (Jahangir) was succeeded by a World-ruler (Shah Jahan)? The globe is as common an attribute at the Mughal court[95] as at the European courts which drew on Charles V's symbolism.[96] Comparable politlcal applications are the Mughal court representation of the lion and sheep lying together near the Emperor,[97] the chain of justice and the scales of justice of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.[98] The justice of Shah Jahan became a kind of leitmotif for his historians and poets:

> If—as happens occasionally—the tyranny and [moral] impurity of the Turk and Turkman sultans is mentioned in the assembly, the characteristic of which is justice, his [i.e. the Emperor's] sacred temper turns melancholic because justice and equity are embedded in his sacred character and it has become repeatedly on his tongue which speaks bounties: . . . All created beings are entrusted by the great creator [to the ruler] and therefore they should be in the cradle of peace and in the safety of comfort. And without equity and justice he [the ruler] does not deserve this exalted status and he is not accepted at the threshold of God.[99]

These striking parallels in the argument for absolute rulership between the European courts influenced by Charles V and the Mughal court created a favourable climate for the adoption of forms. It may be, therefore, that Charles V's columnar device had its impact not only on the monarchical symbolism of

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Courtauld Institutes, XXXIV (1971), pp. 218, 223, pl. 38b. My Fig. 3.15 shows a woodcut made under Dürer's influence by Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder, who was also the author of a pattern-book, the *Kunstbuechlein* (1537), which deals with baluster columns (see Forssmann, *Säule und Ornament*, pp. 51–2).

[93] Rosenthal, *'Plus ultra, Non plus ultra'*, pp. 227–8.

[94] An important role in this argument was played by the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil, adapted as Messianic prophecy with its prognostication of the birth of a child who would inaugurate a new era of universal peace and restore the Age of Gold, epitomized in the return of Virgo-Astraea-Justice to earth. In this Messianic interpretation, Charles V was saluted as the one Lord of the World who had induced the return of Astraea. For the use of the theme by the panegyrists of Queen Elizabeth I, see Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1975), esp. pp. 20–59, 127 ff.

[95] Like most other elements of Mughal imperial symbolism of this time, it was introduced by Jahangir and used like the others, by Shah Jahan. See Aśok Kumar Das, 'Abu'l Hasan, Bichitr and the Iconographical [sic] drawings', in *Mughal Painting*, pp. 213–5. For illus. of Jahangir with a globe whose European outlook is generally acknowledged (Aśok Kumar Das, p. 217; Kurz 'Mughal Drawings . . .' p. 258) see, for instance Arnold and Wilkinson, *Chester Beatty Catalogue*, I, pp. 30–2; III, pl. 62. For illustrations of Shah Jahan and the globe, ibid., I. pp. 29, 32, 35, 47; III, pls. 63, 86, all of which follow the scheme of the emperor standing on a globe surrounded by attributes. See also Leach, I, cat. nos. 3.15, 3.20, 3.22, 3.23, 3.25, 3.26, 3.32, 3.67.

[96] Yates, *Astraea*, pl. 13.

[97] This motif of peace among the animals (Isaiah II) featured on the first title-page of the *Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Rooses, *Christophe Plantin*, illus. after p. 136), a work of a high importance, as we have seen, for the development of imperial symbolism at the Mughal court. See also Fig. 1.1.

The companionship of the lions with lambs, goats or oxen became the favourite symbol for the peaceful rule of the Mughals from Jahangir onwards. Cf. the inscription next to the globe with animals on the painting of Jahangir shooting Malik Anbar: 'Through the justice of Shah Nur al-Din Jahangir the lion has sipped milk from the teat of the goat' (Arnold and Wilkinson, I, p. 31, III, pl. 62; see also Leach, I, p. 398). On this, and most of the painted globes mentioned in n. 95 above, lions and sheep or oxen are depicted in peaceful coexistence. The motif of peace among the animals is also stated in Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, which was employed in the Golden Age propoganda developed for Charles V. For the amalgamation of Virgil and Isaiah see Yates, pp. 35 f. The Spanish Jesuits played an important part as transmitters of these ideas. They would have been assiduous in informing the Mughal emperors about their European counterparts to encourage the emperor's own conversion to Christianity, the great aim of the mission. See 'Influence of the Jesuit Mission . . .', this volume.

[98] *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, trans., I, p. 7. For pictorial evidence, see Arnold and Wilkinson, I, pp. 31–2, 47; III, pls. 62, 86. See also Leach, I, cat. nos. 3.25, 3.26. Cf. Gascoigne, *The Great Moghul*, illus. p. 145. See also Skelton, 'Imperial Symbolism in Mughal Painting'.

[99] Kanbo, I (1958), p. 192. My translation.

Europe but also on that of the Mughal court. The columns of Charles V's printed device were apt, once they had been converted into real architecture, to represent symbolically different aspects of Shah Jahan's regal power. In a Hindu context they were the East Indian version of an ancient auspicious symbol; in a dynastic context they were an allusion to the country of the Mughals' origin. In the end, the use of the European version of the baluster as a plant-like column in the terrestrial marble paradise of a Mughal emperor restored the motif to its oriental origin. Moreover, its ambivalent potential gave Shah Jahan's baluster column its dominance in the future.

The baluster column of the type discussed became the dominant architectural columnar form of all later north and central Indian architecture (which has not so far been the object of any special study) . It is found in minor architecture as well as palaces, mosques and temples. Especially noteworthy is the reception of the Mughal baluster column in Hindu religious architecture, a particular telling example being the temple of Viśveśvara or Viśvanath, the principal temple of Benares (rebuilt in the eighteenth century; Fig. 3.21). The baluster column also became a common feature of painted representations of architecture in the miniatures of the later Mughal and local painting schools of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[100] It came to be considered a typical feature of Indian architecture that it was taken over as such to Britain in the first and second Indian Revival (Fig. 3.22).[101]

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[100] See, for example, W.G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures* (London, 1960), pls. 86, 94.

[101] For the use of Indian forms in British architecture after 1800 in general, see most recently Patrick Connor, *Oriental Architecture in the West* (London, 1979), pp. 113 ff. Humphrey Repton's suggestions for Indian pillars include a slender elongated form of baluster column, close to the type discussed as precursors for Shah Jahan's column. See his *Designs for the Pavilion at Brighton* (London, 1808), p. 31; and illustrations of 'The West Front of the Pavilion' and 'Designs for an Orangerie'. John Nash's free interpetation of this motif on the façades of the Royal Pavilion seems to follow Repton's recommendation to use Indian forms 'with such combinations or even occasional deviations and improvements, as the general character and principle of the construction will admit' (Repton, p. 31). For illustrations, see Connor, pls. VII, VIII, 109, 116. A truer representation of the historical form is evident at the beginning of the 20th century. The reconstruction of the Church Street façade of the former Royal Stables and Riding Hall in Brighton features faithful copies of the Mughal baluster column (cf. Figs. 3.2 and 22).

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Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The *Pietre Dure* Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi*

INTRODUCTION

It is the systematic interest in European art which sets the patronage of the Indian Timurids—commonly known as the Great Mughals—apart from the artistic enterprises of the earlier Muslim dynasties of India.[1] This interest is a moving force behind Mughal art. At the same time, it must be seen as part of a syncretism which fuses traditions of various origins and thus expresses, on the artistic level, the universalistic attitude of this dynasty.

We can observe that European forms are integrated and transformed in Mughal court art in a continuous process which embraces gradually more and more areas of artistic activity. Not unexpectedly, the first indication of this interest in European art can be found in the early reign of Akbar (ruled 1556–1605). His syncretistic genius had its impact not only on the political affairs of the newly founded Mughal empire, but also on the development of Mughal art.

Recent research has traced European influences in the earliest works produced by Akbar's painting studio, dating from the 1560s.[2] The earliest literary proof of the emperor's interest in European matters is furnished by Abu'l Faḍl, the court historian of Akbar, in his *Akbar nāma*, the history of Akbar. In 1573, during his Gujarat campaign, the emperor had received a Portuguese delegation. This meeting deepened his curiosity about European culture and,in late 1575, he dispatched an art delegation under the leadership of Ḥāji Ḥabībullāh on a fact-finding mission to Goa. When the delegation returned two years later, the court witnessed an event which, in modern terms, would be described as a 'European art festival'.

> . . . he [Ḥabībullāh] came to kiss the treshold of the celestial court with a number [of persons] in Christian dress playing Frankish drums and clarions. He brought the choice articles of that territory to the holy notice [of the emperor]. Craftsmen who had hastened, after learning the crafts, to acquire skill, earned appreciation in this critical place of testing. The musicians of that region enchanted the august assembly with select instruments of their country, especially with the organ.[3]

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*Reprinted from the book with the same title (Graz: Akademische Druck-und Verlaganstalt, 1988). The Preface has been omitted.

[1] The art of the Ādil Shāhī dynasty, who ruled at the time of the Mughals in Bijapur, Deccan, also shows some European influence, but it seems to be confined to painting. See Mark Zebrowski, *Deccani Painting* (London: Roli Books International, 1983), especially pp. 95 f.

[2] European influences in Akbar's art have been evaluated by Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, *Akbar's India: Art from the Mughal City of Victory* (New York: The Asia Society Galleries, 1985), pp. 96–105 with further literature.

[3] Abu'l Faḍl Allāmī, *Akbar nāma*, Persian text ed. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, III (Calcutta, 1881–6), p. 228. My trans. differs

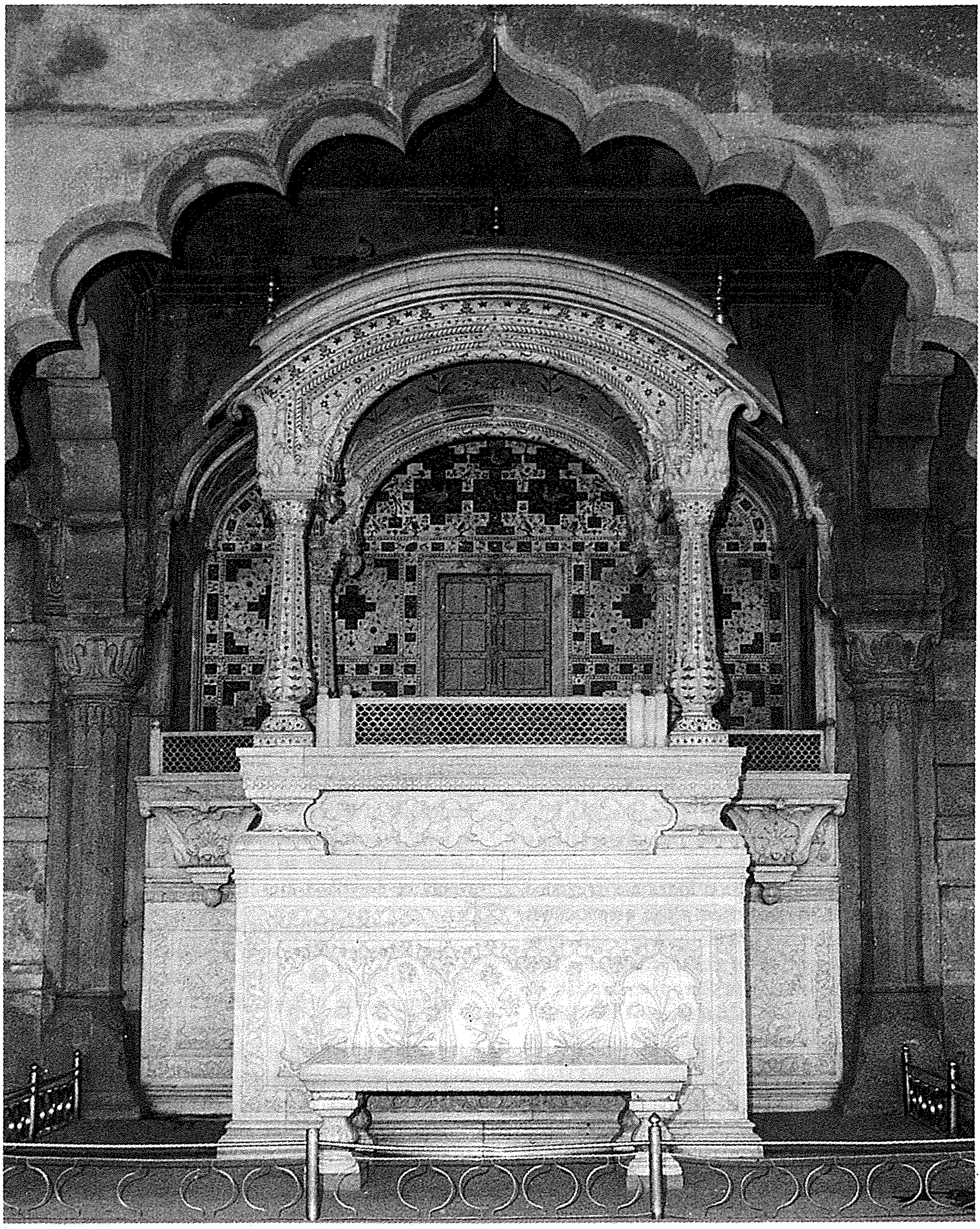

Fig. 4.1 Throne *jharoka* in the Dīwān-i ʿĀmm, Red Fort, Delhi, completed 1648.

Abu'l Fadl's account also sheds significant light on the decisive role which the Mughal emperor, as a patron of the arts, played with regard to their development. This state of affairs is not confined to the person of Akbar, but certainly up to the reign of Aurangzēb (ruled 1658–1707) Mughal art is dominated by the personal leanings of the ruler.

Even more determined efforts to assimilate European models were made after the arrival of the first Jesuit mission in 1580. The pictorial material introduced by the Jesuits at the Mughal court as an aid to evangelization consisted mainly of engravings by Flemish artists. A prominent position in this connection was held by the illustrations of the famous *Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, published under the sponsorship of Philip II of Spain by Christophe Plantin between 1568–72 (Fig. 4.63). A set of this 'Biblia regia' was presented by the mission to Akbar, who received this gift with great appreciation.[4]

The European prints and paintings aroused great interest at the Mughal court. They were discussed, put on exhibition, collected and copied. They became a source of images, a sort of extended pattern book, or 'paper academy' for Mughal artists who used the western models in every possible way, from direct copying to combining various elements taken from different pictorial contexts and fusing them into a new pictorial whole. The influence of the European images was not limited to subject matter, but also determined the stylistic development which Mughal painting was to take.

As noted earlier, the success of this pictorial material at the Mughal court was based on two factors. Firstly, the interest of the Mughals in European pictures was intensified by the theoretical justification for their use provided by the Jesuit fathers. Since their mission led them to the court of a Muslim ruler, where an iconoclastic attitude was to be expected, the Jesuits had acquainted themselves thoroughly with the arguments of the Counter–Reformation defending the use of images. When these arguments were put forward by the Jesuits during discussions at court about the lawfulness of pictures, the Mughal emperors recognized them as suitable for justifying their own interest in figural naturalistic representations *vis-a-vis* the orthodox factions.

Secondly, the European form corresponded more adequately than all other known art forms to the affirmative attitude towards nature on the part of the Great Mughals. Their keen observation of the visual world had become something like a dynastic quality. Its earliest and quite influential instance was the vivid descriptions of natural phenomena found in the memoirs of Bābur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty (ruled 1526–30). In his memoirs, Akbar's son and successor Jahāngīr (ruled 1605–27) views his own interest in recording natural phenomena as an improved continuation of a tradition initiated by his ancestor:

> Although King Bābar has described in his Memoirs the appearance and shapes of several animals, he had never ordered the painters to make pictures of them. As these animals appeared to me to be very strange, I both described them and ordered that painters should draw them . . .[5]

A third factor seems to have added to the appeal which the European form had for the Mughal emperors as patrons of the arts. It represented a medium in which both Muslim and Hindu artistic traditions could be expressed in a neutral way.[6]

The understanding of the potential of European art widened and deepened under Jahāngīr. His court painters adopted compositional techniques of Mannerist allegories to picturize imperial themes of rulership which so far had been expressed only in writing. This process of assimilation was facilitated by the inherent kinship between the basic principle of Islamic painting on the one hand, and European allegory on the other, namely their quality as word illustration. During Jahāngīr's rule European models for wall paintings were adapted as a favourite mode of decoration of the palaces of Jahāngīr.[7]

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slightly from the English trans. of H. Beveridge, III (1939; 2nd rpt. New Delhi, 1979), pp. 322 f. The organ mentioned seems to have served as model for the one represented in our Fig. 4.55.

[4] For this and the following see 'The Influence of the Jesuit Missions on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors', and 'The Baluster Column: A European Motif in Mughal Architecture and Its Meaning', this volume.

[5] The *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, trans. Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge (1909–14; rpt. Delhi, 1968), I, p. 215.

[6] A comparable phenomenon can be observed even today in polite conversations between Muslims and Hindus. Hindus will avoid Sanskritized expressions and Muslims Arabic or Persian words, and both will use English terms instead.

[7] See 'Jahangir and the Angels: Recently Discovered Wall Paintings under European Influence in the Fort of Lahore', this volume; and 'Notes on the Painted and Sculptured Decoration of Nur Jahan's Pavilions in the Ram Bagh (*Bagh-i Nur Afshan*) at Agra', in *Facets of Indian Art: A Symposium Held at the Victoria and Albert Museum on 26, 27, 28 April and 1 May 1982*, eds. R. Skelton, A. Topsfield, S. Strong, and R. Crill (London, 1986), pp. 51–65.

Under Shāh Jahān (ruled 1628–58), the great amateur architect of the Mughal dynasty, European forms began to influence even architecture. The influence was not limited to architectural decoration, such as bas-relief carvings in stone (Fig. 4.12), but the assimilation of western graphical prototypes also contributed to the development of a new organic style in architecture[8] (cf. Figs. 4.18, 19 with Figs. 4.1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 14). These innovations were first introduced in the architecture for the formal appearances of Shāh Jahān and thus prove a hierarchy in the use of architectural forms, a phenomenon whose existence in Muslim architecture has been questioned.

These tendencies reached their climax in Shāh Jahān's throne arrangement in the palace of Delhi (Fig. 4.1). Europeanizing forms are here assimilated in the context of a *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art) in which architecture and the decorative and representational arts are fused to illustrate the themes of imperial power most relevant for Shāh Jahān.

From then on, and even past the arrival of the British, Mughalized European motifs continue to appear in architecture. The elements used in the architecture of Shāh Jahān's formal appearances spread into wider architectural contexts. They soon became the stock vocabulary of those Indian princes who continued the ruler traditions of the Mughals.

THE PROBLEM

The Italian *pietre dure* plaques of birds and flowers, and the image of *Orpheus Playing to the Beasts*, set in the back wall of the niche behind the throne *jharoka*[9] of the Dīwān-i-'Āmm in Shāh Jahān's palace at Delhi (1639–48)[10] (Figs. 4.15, 20, 21), have played an important part in what can be termed the *pietra dura* controversy—one of the issues most hotly debated by Indian and western scholars since about the middle of the nineteenth century.[11] Preoccupied with the problem of whether Shāh Jahān's *pietre dure*

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[8] See 'The Baluster Column . . .', this volume.

[9] The *jharoka* was one type of architectural setting for official appearances of the emperor before his subjects. Its conventional shape until Shāh Jahān's reign was that of an overhanging oriel window. In Shāh Jahān's period we find two ceremonial types of *jharokas*, the architectural expressions of which vary. They are the *jharoka-i darshan* for appearances on the outer front of the palace, and the *jharoka-i khaṣṣ-o-'āmm* set up in the *daulat khāna-i khaṣṣ-o-'āmm*, later called *dīwān-i 'āmm*, the hall of private and public audiences.

[10] The most useful information on the Red Fort at Delhi is still Gordon Sanderson, 'Shah Jahan's Fort, Delhi', *Archaeological Survey of India*, *Annual Report* (henceforth *ASI*, *Ann. Rep.*), 1911–12, pp. 1–28; for the Orpheus plaque and the *pietre dure* wall, see pp. 7, 16, 20 ff. and pl. XI; and id., *A Guide to the Buildings and Gardens, Delhi Fort*, 4th edn. (1914; Delhi, 1936), pp. 17–23.

[11] Already the European travellers of the 17th century who first mentioned the *pietre dure* inlay in Shāh Jahān's buildings, associated it with the production of the Grand Ducal workshop at Florence. See François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire: AD 1656–1668*, rev. and improved edn. based upon Irving Brock's trans. by Archibald Constable, 3rd edn. (1891; rpt. New Delhi, 1972), p. 298; or J.B. Tavernier, *Travels in India;* trans. V. Ball, 2nd edn. William Crooke, I (1925; rpt. New Delhi, 1977), p. 80. The establishment of British power in the North Western Provinces at the beginning of the 19th century brought about the first scientific exploration of the architectural antiquities of this area. The monuments, including the palace at Delhi, were from then on more easily accessible to Europeans, and thus the first research on the relation between Mughal and Italian *pietre dure* inlay was undertaken. Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had spent several years at Delhi as an assistant to the English Resident, was struck during a visit to Italy in 1839 by the similarities between the Italian and Mughal *pietre dure* work. He communicated his observations to a Miss Loke, then living in Florence, who informed Antonio Zobi. Zobi was at this time compiling his fundamental work on the *commesso di pietre dure*, which appeared in two editions: *Notizie storiche riguardanti l'Imperiale e Reale Stabilimento dei lavori di commesso in pietre dure di Firenze* (Florence: Tipografía di Felice le Monnier, 1841) and *Notizie storiche sull' origine e progressi dei lavori di commesso in pietre dure che si eseguiscono nell' I. e R. Stabilimento di Firenze* (Florence, 1853). Upon Trevelyan's suggestion, Sir Thomas Metcalfe, then Delhi Resident and soon to become the president of the 'Archaeological Society of Delhi' (founded in 1847, see Christian W. Troll, 'A Note on an Early Topographical Work of Sayyid Ahmad Khān: *Āṣār al-Ṣanādīd*', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [henceforth *JRAS*, 1972, p. 141]), sent to Zobi in 1841 further data on the Mughal *pietre dure* together with 12 coloured drawings including the panel with Orpheus. The paintings were similar to those which Metcalfe had commissioned for illustrating his *Reminiscences of Imperial Dehlie*, or 'Delhi Book' (Delhi,1844), reproduced in facsimile in M.M. Kaye, *The Golden Calm: An English Lady's Life in Moghul Delhi* (Exeter, 1980), pp. 69–73. Zobi included the whole correspondence (translated into Italian) with new documentary evidence and his own observations into the 1853 edn. of his work (pp. 239–59). He did not include the paintings in his publication, which have been partly published by Lando Bartoli, 'I rapporti tra la Firenze dei Medici e l'India nella prima metà del 17° secolo. Analisi di due culture'; and Luigi Zangheri, 'I rapporti tra la Firenze dei Medici e l'India nella prima metà del 17° secolo. Ragguagli documentari e ipotesi', in *Europa und die Kunst des Islam: 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert, Akten des XXV. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte*, V (Vienna, 1985), pp. 57–73, pls. 22–8.

Part of the correspondence of Zobi and Metcalfe was retranslated into English by H. Hosten in his extensive decoration is of Indian or Italian origin, hardly any of the authors concerned gave a second thought to the question, why European birds and the image of the mythical musician were selected as background for the ceremonial appearance of the Great Mughal in his most official darbar hall.[12] It is only recently that the

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article 'European Art at the Moghul Court', *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, III, 1 (1922), pp. 125 ff. Hosten used all the evidence then available to him, to prove the Italian origin of the Mughal *pietre dure* work, thus disagreeing with E.B. Havell, who in his 'The Taj and Its Designers', *Nineteenth Century and After* (1903), rpt. in E. B. Havell, *Essays on Indian Art, History and Education* (Madras, 1910), pp. 1–23, had rejected any influence from Europe. Hosten's arguments, however, made Havell reconsider some of his assumptions in a short reply: 'European Art at the Moghul Court', *Journal of Indian History*, II (1922–3), pp. 117–8.

Among further discussions of the *pietre dure* issue, see especially J.H. Marshall, *ASI, Ann. Rep.*, 1902–3, pp. 26–8, and 1904–5, pp. 1–3; Nandalal Chatterji, 'Italians and Mughal *Pietre Dura'*, *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, X (1937), pp. 80–7, who gives a useful summary of the two schools of thought; H. Goetz, 'Some European Influences on Indian Art in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *The New Review*, IX (1939), pp. 139–44; M. Abdulla Chaghtai, 'Pietra-Dura Decoration of the Taj', *Islamic Culture*, XV (1941), pp. 465–72; R. Nath, *Colour Decoration in Mughal Architecture* (Bombay, 1970), pp. 33–7. Even scholars like Havell and more recently R. Nath, who have been most reluctant to concede any Italian influence on Mughal *pietre dure* work, could not overlook the Italian provenance of the Orpheus panel and the panels with the birds. Havell, without the support of any evidence, dated the panels into the post-Aurangzēb period and declared them to be of inferior ('artistic monstrosities') and thus quite different in quality as compared to the *pietre dure* work in the Tāj Maḥal (pp. 12–14). The 'pro-Italians' went to the other extreme, taking Orpheus as evidence for a distinct European influence on Mughal architecture. Metcalfe, 'Delhi Book', p. 69; Sir Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, *Āt̲h̲ār al-ṣanādīd*, ed. K̲h̲ālid Naṣīr Hās̲h̲mī (1904; rpt. Delhi, 1965), pp. 102–6, trans. R. Nath, *Monuments of Delhi* (New Delhi, 1979), pp. 12 f.; Hosten, pp. 159 ff.

[12] It seems that Sir T.T. Metcalfe was the first one who ever attempted to answer this question. The result of his investigations, although part of his letter of 1841 to Zobi (*Notizie storiche sull'origine . . .*, pp. 253–6) is not included in Hosten's translation. Metcalfe realized that the use of the Orpheus panel in the decoration of the audience hall must have had a very special significance, since it was the only representation of a human being to be found in the palace. His informants among the imperial family, then still living in the palace, presented him, however, with contradictory and unauthenticated explanations. One version was that, when the palace was occupied by the Marāthās, the whole throne arrangement was executed as a *'Singhasun'* [Urdu *singhāsan*, Sanskr. *siṁhāsana*, lion throne] of 'Bhaor Biswap Roo' [Vishvās Rāo, who occupied the fort and the palace in 1760 with Sadāshiv Rāo, called the Bhāo Ṣāḥib]. When the Mughal emperor was reinstated, the artisans, fearing to get punished, for breaking the Qur'ānic prohibition of depicting human beings, represented the figure as 'Ullan Koora' [Ālanquwā], the mythical ancestress of the Timurid dynasty. Ālanquwā was believed to have been impregnated by the sun, which perhaps led to the variant of Orpheus being the Virgin Mary (not found in Metcalfe's letter to Zobi but in his 'Delhi Book', p. 69). For a 16th-century comparison of Ālanquwā with Mary see Abu'l Faḍl, *The Akbar nāma*, trans. from Persian by H. Beveridge, I (1902; 2nd Indian rpt. New Delhi, 1979), pp. 179. Metcalfe disagreed with this interpretation since the figure clearly represented a man:

> What kind of young man could it be? That is the crux of the question. If the figure is the work of an indigenous artist, then it is a problem difficult to solve. In that case, it could represent Solomon as it is thought by another illustrious scion of the house of Timur, or [it could represent] 'Tanseim' [Tansen] (the oriental Mozart), the most famous musician they have ever had. But if the figure is the work of a European, it could allude perhaps to some musician of the pagan mythology, as for instance Mercur, Apollo, Linus, Anfion or Orpheus. The instrument, however, is not a classical one . . . The attraction upon the wild animals (such as a leopard, a tiger, a hare, a dog etc), looking attentively at the figure, amazed because of its harmony, is the conventional device which all nations have used to express the power of their musical heroes.

(Zobi, p. 255 f. I have retranslated the passage from Zobi's Italian.) In his 'Delhi Book' (p. 69), Metcalfe has overcome these doubts, and describes the figure as Orpheus after a design by Raphael. I have not been able to trace a similar Orpheus representation in the œuvre of Raphael. Metcalfe seems to think of the Apollo of Mount Parnassus in the Stanza della Signatura, 1508–11, in the Vatican. Sir Sayyid Aḥmad K̲h̲ān, in his description of the panel, apparently follows Metcalfe (*Āt̲h̲ār al-ṣanādīd*). The earlier historical and topographical Persian work by Mirza Sangīn Beg, *Sayr al-manāzil* (1827), ed. S̲h̲arīf Ḥusayn Qāsmī (New Delhi, 1982), pp. 9 ff., does not mention Orpheus and the pietre dure decoration in the description of the palace of the Red Fort. After Metcalfe no further serious attempt was made to interpret the Orpheus panel. If at all, it was explained as a signature in pictorial disguise of the European artisans working at the Mughal court, who were believed to have introduced the *commesso di pietre dure* technique (Hosten, p. 128, n. 2), in particular Austin de Bordeaux, the much discussed French lapidary working under Jahāngīr's and S̲h̲āh Jahān's patronage (see, for instance, George C.M. Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India* (London, 1880), p. 215; or 'Four Letters by Austin of Bordeaux', *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, IV, 1 (1916), p. 4.

study of Mughal art has been widened to include an iconological approach—with all the implicit risks of this art-historical method.[13] I believe this approach has proved fruitful for the analysis of the reception of European art into Mughal court art which I have undertaken in three previous studies.[14] The findings from these investigations have led me to question the conventional explanation for the use of the Italian *pietre dure* plaques in the decoration of the throne niche as 'curio-articles'[15] and 'choice work of art, . . . incorporated by the Indian artizan [sic] in his ornamental scheme, just as a piece of exotic brocade might be included in a patchwork quilt'.[16]

This interpretation becomes even less acceptable in the light of the fact that we have here the only instance among the surviving palace decoration of S͟hāh Jahān where figures of a human being, birds and animals are permitted to invade the lawful plant decoration of his palace buildings. But if the role of Orpheus, the beasts and the birds was not a purely decorative one, what would have motivated S͟hāh Jahān or his artistic advisers to put them up in this most conspicuous place?

To my knowledge, nothing in the contemporary Mughal texts points to any awareness of Orpheus and the complex body of literature connected with the Thracian musician.[17] We also have to keep in mind the conservatism, marked by a narrow range of ideas, that prevails in the themes of official imperial art during S͟hāh Jahān's reign. It would seem to make the deliberate use of the depiction of a Greek mythological character in a place of such ceremonial importance most improbable. But then, if it is true that the thematic conventions were restrictive, the ways of treating them visually, in contrast, had become surprisingly eccentric. In the reign of Jahāngīr, exploiting European forms, images, symbols and allegorical compositions cut loose from their original context to express—in a new fusion of literature and art—conventional Islamic, Iranian or Indian themes of rulership, had become an established *modus operandi* of the Mughal court artists and artistic advisers.[18] We are aware of S͟hāh Jahān's greater constraint in the use of depictions of human beings and animals for his palace decoration. We nevertheless think that in proceeding precisely along these lines we are most likely to find an answer to this iconological puzzle. In other words, in our interpretation we will have to establish what at that period and in that milieu was considered a fitting theme within the context of *jharoka* and throne architecture, its decoration and symbolism, and see, if and how, the European *pietre dure* plaques could have possibly been integrated in such a scheme.

'Here, as always, the study of meanings cannot be separated from the appreciation of forms'.[19] Since the contributors to the discussion of the *pietre dure* issue seem to have relied more on hypothetical assumptions supported by secondary literature than on original sources and stylistic evidence, we have to face the fact that no detailed description and formal analysis of the throne *jharoka*, its niche, and their *pietre dure* decoration was ever undertaken. The Italian origin of the *pietre dure* plaques has been assumed but not investigated further. This can be partly explained by the fact that even the European *commesso di pietre dure*[20] has only recently been studied more widely.[21] Thus, we are now better equipped to deal with the art-historical ground-work, such as the analysis of style, and formal comparisons, which will provide the basis for our interpretation.

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[13] We owe the pioneer study to Richard Ettinghausen, 'The Emperor's Choice', *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), I, pp. 98–120.

[14] E. Koch, 'The Influence of the Jesuit Missions on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors'; 'The Baluster Column—a European Motif in Mughal Architecture and Its Meaning', and 'Jahangir and the Angels: Recently Discovered Wall Paintings under European Influence in the Fort of Lahore', this volume.

[15] R. Nath, *History of Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture* (Delhi, 1976), p. 125.

[16] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)* (1956; 6th rpt. Bombay, 1975), p. 105.

[17] To judge by the information provided by Metcalfe, the same lack of awareness characterized the last days of the Mughal court; see n. 12 above.

[18] See n. 14 above; see also Skelton, 'Imperial Symbolism in Mughal Painting'.

[19] E. H. Gombrich, 'Tobias and the Angel', in *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance, II* (Phaidon Press Ltd., 1972; rpt. 1978), p. 29.

[20] 'The literal translation of this Italian term for Florentine mosaic, is "placing together of hard stones", and [this phrase] gives, in the most concise manner possible, all of the characteristics of the medium, namely the use of stones of extreme hardness, and the fitting together of pieces of stone, appropriately cut to shape. Thus it becomes clearly differentiated from the other of mosaic . . .', L. Bartoli and E.A. Maser, *Il Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure di Firenze* (Prato, 1953), p. 35; cf. our n. 32.

[21] After Zobi's basic work, no study of any consequence was published on the *commesso di pietre dure* until the short article by Hilde Weigelt, 'Florentiner Mosaik in Halbedelsteinen (*commesso in pietre dure*)', *Belvedere*, X, (1931), pp. 166–77. The most complete bibliography on the *commesso di pietre dure* is found in two comprehensive catalogues: Anna Maria Giusti, Paolo Mazzoni, Annapaula Pampaloni Martelli, *Il Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre*

THE FORM

Stylistic Analysis of the Throne Jharoka

The *jharoka-i khāṣṣ-o-'āmm* was the place of the most official appearance of the Great Mughal before his subjects within the palace. He used to show himself there twice a day in his public darbar that took place in the morning and in the afternoon. The structure of the *jharoka* and its arched niche is conceived as an architectural entity which is set off against the surrounding architecture of the audience hall by different material, forms, and decoration[22] (Figs. 4.1, 16).

This is also evident from the descriptions of the court historians of Shāh Jahān:

> . . . the *jharoka-i khāṣṣ-o-'āmm* . . . is a place of prostration for the inhabitants of the world, and it is a place where the people of the world succeed in fulfilling their needs. From top to bottom out of marble [it is constructed] like a *bangla*.[23] It is four [*dhirā'*] long and three wide, and erected on four pillars [*sutūn*], and behind this *bangla* is an arch [*ṭāq*], seven [*dhirā'*] long and two and a half *dhirā'* wide. It has been inlaid [*parchīn namūda*] with different colourful stones [*sanghā-yi rangā-rang*]. Through various kinds of wondrous pictures [*naqsh-i badī'*] [made] by the skillful hands of carvers [or painters], rare in their work (*naqqāshān-i badī' nigār*), it has got such ornamental beauty that in its presence the silver-coloured orange of the moon and the golden citron of the sky [the sun] loose their splendour. And the pleasure [it offers] to the eye makes makes it disdain the spectacle of the colour combination displayed in the skilful arrangement [*ṣinā'at*] of the flower bed of the spring season. And on three of its sides a railing of pure gold has been put up—one might say the rays of the sun have been wound together.[24]

Embedded in panegyrical phrases, this description contains the main features of this architectural composition. Yet it fails to offer us a key to the details. Texts of this kind and period will hardly ever disclose more details or clues for interpretation. At least this passage provides us with a firm *terminus ante quem* for the *jharoka* and its decoration since it forms part of Kanbō's description of the palace fortress of Shājahānābād (Delhi), written on the occasion of its completion in Rabī'al-awwal 1058 (April 1648).

Dure a Firenze (Milan, 1978); and Umberto Baldini, Anna Maria Giusti, Annapaula Pampaloni Martelli, *La Cappella dei Principi e le Pietre Dure a Firenze* (Milan, 1979). I am grateful to Dr. Rudolf Distelberger, Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, for having referred me to these two publications and for further assistance in *pietre dure* questions. In addition to the above-mentioned literature, I have used especially Erwin Neumann, 'Florentiner Mosaik aus Prag', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LIII (1957), pp. 157–202; A. González-Palacios, *The Art of Mosaics: Selections from the Gilbert Collection* (Los Angeles, 1977); id., *Mosaici e pietre dure: Firenze-Paesi Germanici—Madrid* (Milan, 1982); C. Willemijn Fock, 'Der Goldschmied Jaques Bylivelt aus Delft und sein Wirken in der mediceischen Hofwerkstatt in Florenz', *Jb. d. Kunsthistorischen Sammlung in Wien*, LXX N. F. XXXIV (1974), pp. 89–178; and Ferdinando Rossi, *Mosaiken und Steinintarsien*, 2nd edn. (1969; Stuttgart, 1979). See also Giusti, 1992.

[22] For a ground plan and elevation of the Diwān-i 'Āmm in the palace of the Red Fort at Delhi, see Figs. 9.10, 11.

[23] *'Bangla'* is the term used by the writers of Shāh Jahān to designate pavilions vaulted with the curved roof characteristic of the Bengali peasant hut. See my 'Baluster Column', p. 45 and notes 30 and 31 for further references.

[24] Translated from Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ* or *Shāh Jahān nāma*, compl. in 1070 H./1659, Persian text, III, improved re-edition by Waḥīd Qurayshī of the Calcutta ed., 1946, by Gh. Yazdānī (Lahore: Majlis-i Taraqqī-i Adab, 1972), p. 33; cf. the trans. by Gordon Sanderson, 'Shah Jahan's Fort, Delhi', *ASI*, *Ann. Rep.* 1911–12, p. 16. My trans. differs in some places from his trans. and the one by A.M. Chaghtai, 'Pietra-Dura Decoration', p. 470. I have not adopted, for instance, Chaghtai's trans. of the Persian term for inlaying (*parchīn namūdan*) or inlay work (*parchīn kārī*) as *'pietre dura* decoration'. Kanbō's text runs parallel with the shorter description by Muḥammad Wārith, the official historian of Shāh Jahān's later reign (1647–57), in the third volume of the *Bādshāh nāma*, which exists only in Ms. form. I have used British Library Add. 6556, fol. $405^v/390^v$ Persian pagination. Both authors give the same measurements for the *jharoka* and the arched niche. Shāh Jahān's *dhirā'* corresponds to his *gaz*, which has been calculated as 32 inches (81.28 cm), [W. H. Moreland, 'The Mogul Unit of Measurement', *JRAS* (1927), pp. 102 f.]. These measurements correspond with minor deviations to the actual measurements, when the length of the niche is taken between the capitals of the pillars of the central bay of the hall which frame the niche (5.69 m), and the depth from the outermost band of the intrados (2.01 m against the 2.03 m converted from the 2.5 dhirā'). The measurements of the *bangla* tally, when the length is taken from the outer points of the column bases (3.25 m), and the width from the outer point of the column bases to the railing of the niche (2.41 m against the 2.43 m converted from the 3 dhirā'). The height of the back wall at its apex is 3.66 m.

The architectural setting of the *jharoka* and its arched niche (*ṭāq, pis͟hṭāq*) is bound to the traditional Mughal *jharoka* only in its basic conception. Its vocabulary, style and material reach out into an entirely new direction. It is traditional in being a raised baldachined seat for the emperor that projects from an equally raised gallery (arched niche), meant for the few who were allowed to attend on him in this privileged position. Its actual design, however, embodies a decisive break from the post-and-lintel system of the older *jharoka* form which is composed on the additive principle, with thin, faceted columns supporting the bracketed architraves and the pyramidal roof, the whole resting on corbels like an oriel. This type survives as a counterpart of the Delhi *jharoka* in the palace of the Lahore Fort. Its *jharoka-i k͟hāṣṣ-o-ʿāmm* dates from Akbar's or Jahāngīr's reign, and was integrated in the new hall of the *Dīwān-i-ʿĀmm*, constructed by S͟hāh Jahān in 1628[25] (Fig. 4.6).

A new dynamism and organic feeling, intensified by its plant decoration and by the use of a different material, namely marble, dominates the construction of the Delhi *jharoka* (Fig. 4.2). The stylistic change documents a complete change in taste. The decisive steps in this direction had been taken in the (earlier) palace of the Agra Fort (main alteration done under S͟hāh Jahān between 1628 and 1637). Here, in fusing Timurid and especially East-Indian (Bengali) forms with formal counterparts from European engravings, an entirely new, most influential vocabulary had been created (cf. Fig. 4.18 with Fig. 4.5). It was expressed in marble and used first in the various types of architecture to frame the formal appearance of the emperor, such as *jharoka*s, throne baldachins, and loggias. The common denominator of this repertoire of new forms—the acanthus-decorated baluster column, the semi-circular arch lined with a moulding terminating in leaf buds, and its analogous roof and vault shape; the so-called *bangla*—was their curvilinear shape, apt to embody the new organic concept of architecture which had been developed in the context of what I have described as the vegetabilization programme of the palaces of S͟hāh Jahān.[26]

Whereas these new features were used in the Agra palace in discrete instances of architecture for formal appearances, they were fused in the Delhi *jharoka* into a new architectural entity. Its overall design is moulded upon the two-storied projecting baldachin of the Machchhī Bhawan (completed in 1637) (Fig. 4.5).[27] The major differences from the model are the replacing of the flat roof by the curved Bengali roof derived from the *bangla-i dars͟han*[28]—a shape corresponding to the semi-circular arches of the baldachin—and the insertion of a throne bench between the baldachin and its pedestal. These features brought the *jharoka* close to the concept of thrones of the period[29] (Fig. 4.52). The architecture of the earlier *jharoka* type was thus reinterpreted in a vocabulary suggesting organic growth, and was transformed from an oriel window on corbels into a throne baldachin on a pedestal.

This throne construction was put before a recessed arched niche which was raised to the same level as the bench of the baldachin by an extension of its marble pedestal. The segmental arch of the niche—only partly visible behind the *bangla* construction—results from the adoption of the semicircular arch for niches (Figs. 4.15, 21). This is an innovation that was first introduced into Mughal architecture in the palace of the Delhi Fort, significantly in instances of architecture to frame the appearance of the emperor, as is the case with the segmental arch of the niche behind the *jharoka*. The semi-circular arch of the niche in the verandah of the K͟hwābgāh (sleeping pavilion), that later became known as *Mīzān-i ʿadl*, was perhaps also conceived as a frame for a seat of the emperor.[30] Whereas the actual shape of the

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[25] See the official history of the first twenty years of S͟hāh Jahān's reign by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhōrī, *Bāds͟hāh nāma*, Persian text, I,1, eds. Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmad and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (Calcutta, 1867), pp. 221–3; trans. by Gordon Sanderson, 'The Dīwān-i-ʿĀmm, Lahore Fort', *ASI, Ann. Rep.* 1909–10, p. 34–5.

[26] See 'Baluster Column', this volume, p. 56.

[27] See also our Fig. 3.4.

[28] Often illustrated but not described with this term. See, for instance, Reuther, *Paläste*, pl. 58. See also our Fig. 8.9. The *bangla-i darshan* in the Agra palace represents another instance of the architecture for formal appearances of S͟hāh Jahān where an earlier type of ceremonial building, namely the *jharoka-i dars͟han*, was expressed in new architectural forms. Cf. Lāhōrī, *Bāds͟hāh nāma*, I, 2, p. 240; trans. Nūr Bak͟hs͟h, 'The Agra Fort and its Buildings', *ASI*, *Ann. Rep.*, 1903–4, p. 180.

[29] I am here thinking of S͟hāh Jahān's famous Peacock Throne, compl. 1635; for a brief discussion of its various representations see, for instance, Toby Falk, 'Rothschild Collection of Mughal Miniatures', in *Persian and Mughal Art* (London: Colnaghi, 1976), p. 181; or an earlier example, the throne of Jahāngīr in the darbar scene of the Keir collection (1620), see R. Skelton, 'Indian Painting of the Mughal Period', *Islamic Painting and the Arts of the Book*, ed. B. W. Robinson (London, 1976), pls. 37 (colour) and 127.

[30] For illus. see Reuther, *Paläste*, pls. 67 and 69. The function of this arched niche is not evident from the Persian descriptions where it is only mentioned as *'ṭāq'* (arch), Wāris͟h, *Bāds͟hāh nāma*, fol. 405^{r}/390^{r} Persian pagination.

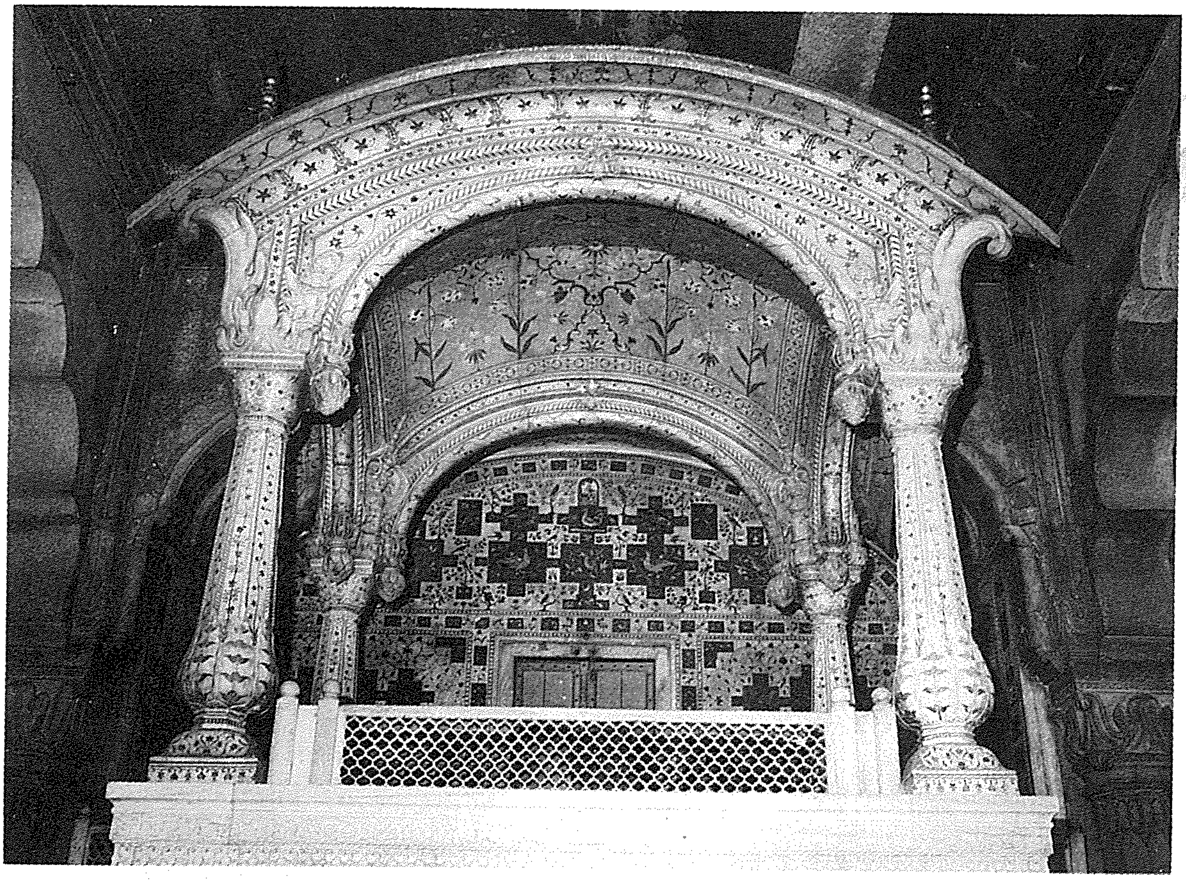
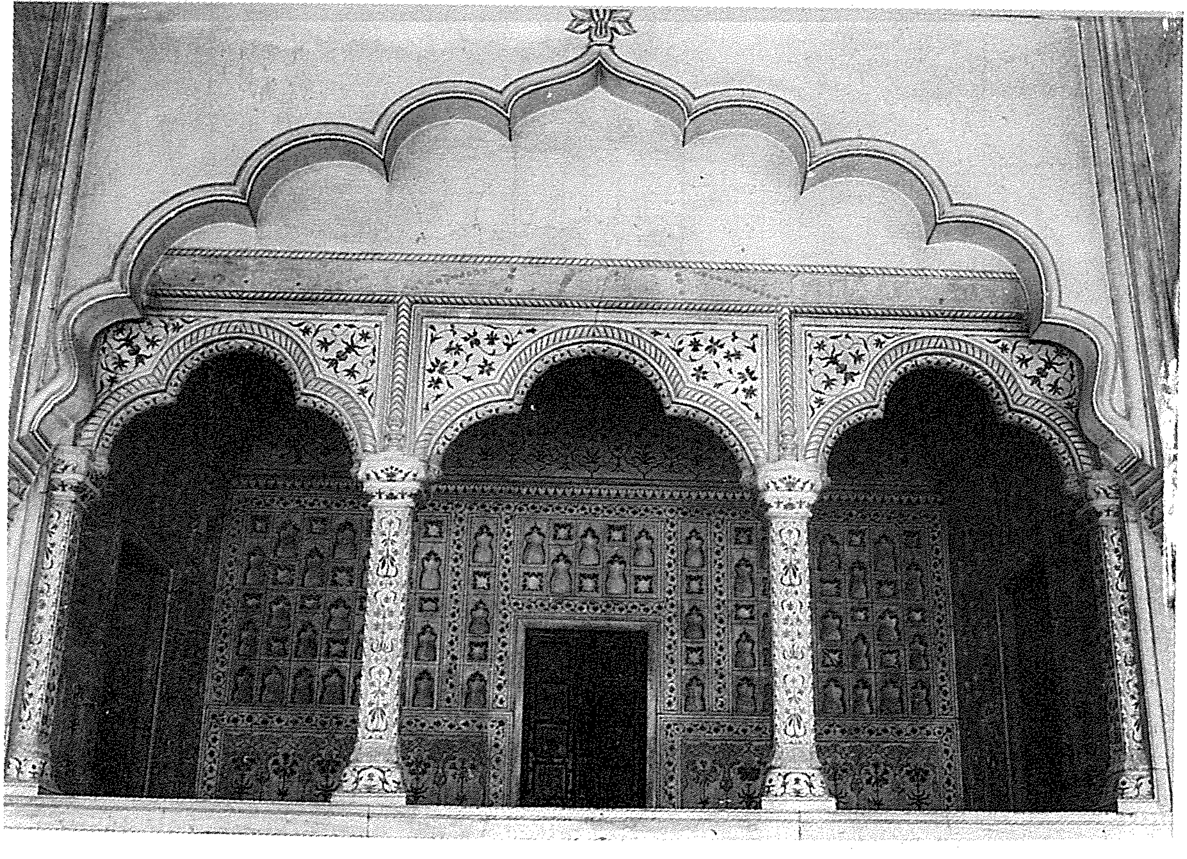


Fig. 4.2 Baldachin of the Delhi *jharoka*.

Fig. 4.3 *Jharoka* of the Dīwān-i ʻĀmm, Red Fort, Agra, completed 1637.



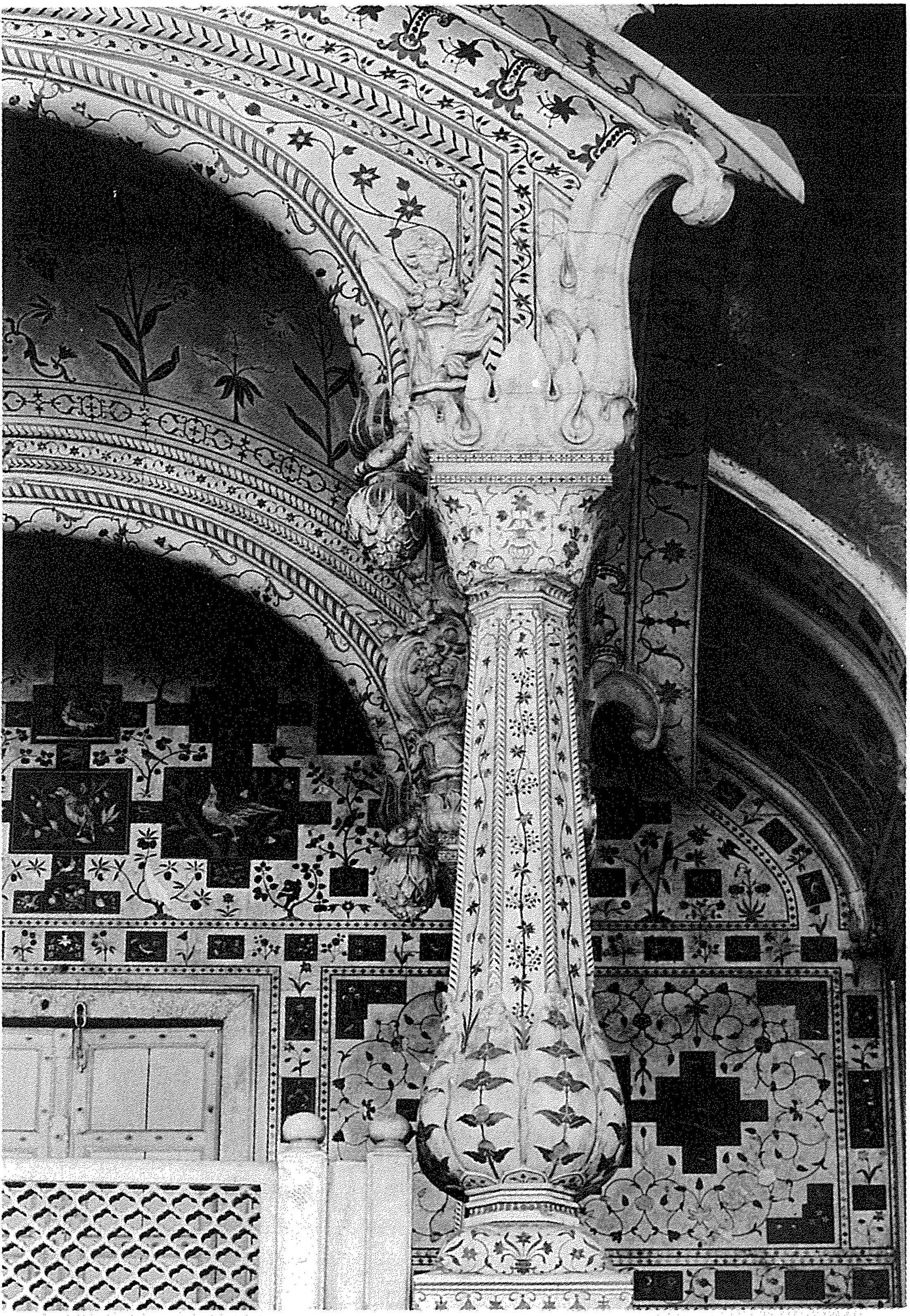


Fig. 4.4 Baluster column of the Delhi *jharoka*.

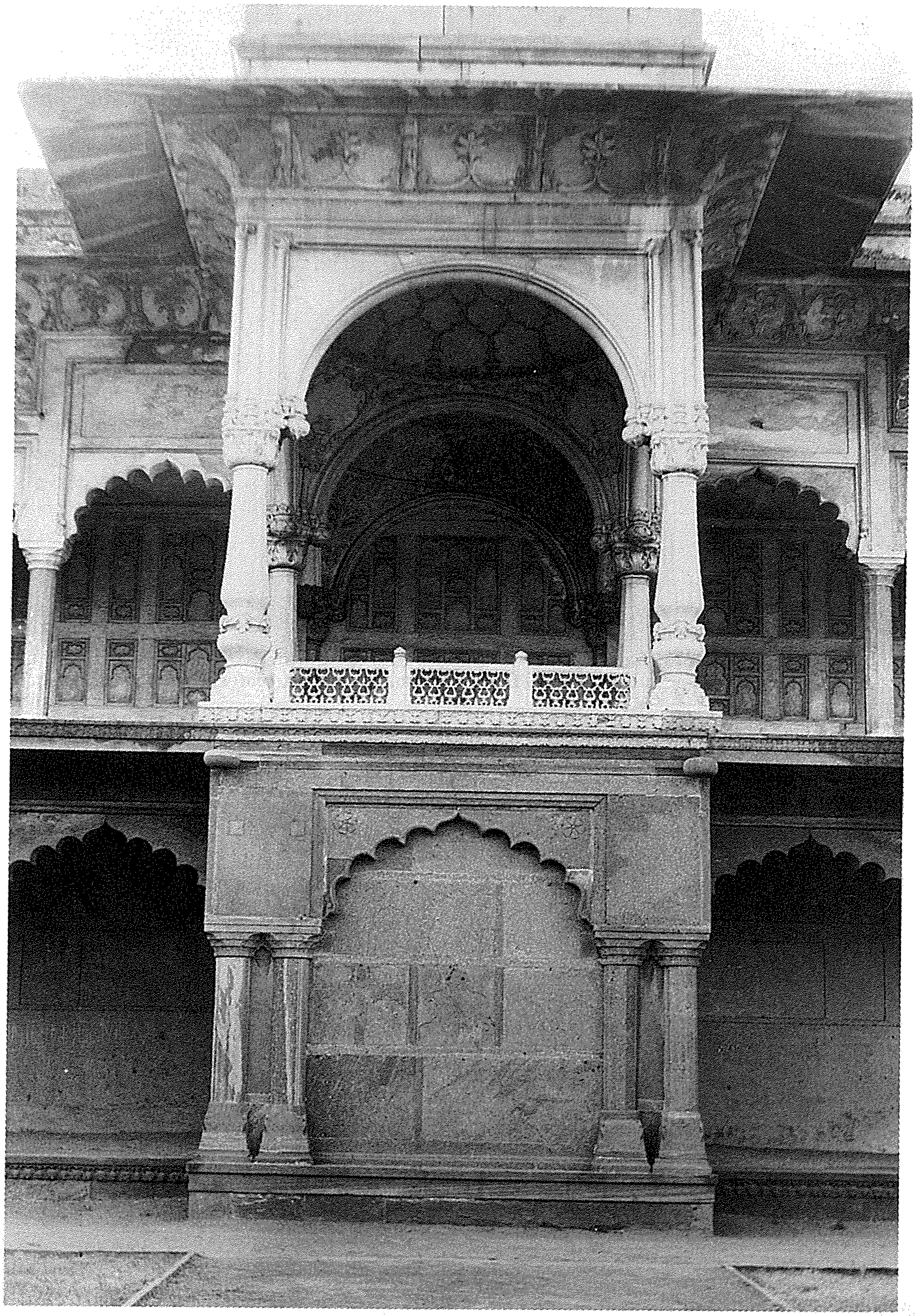


Fig. 4.5 Throne baldachin, Machchhī Bhawan, Red Fort, Agra, completed 1637.

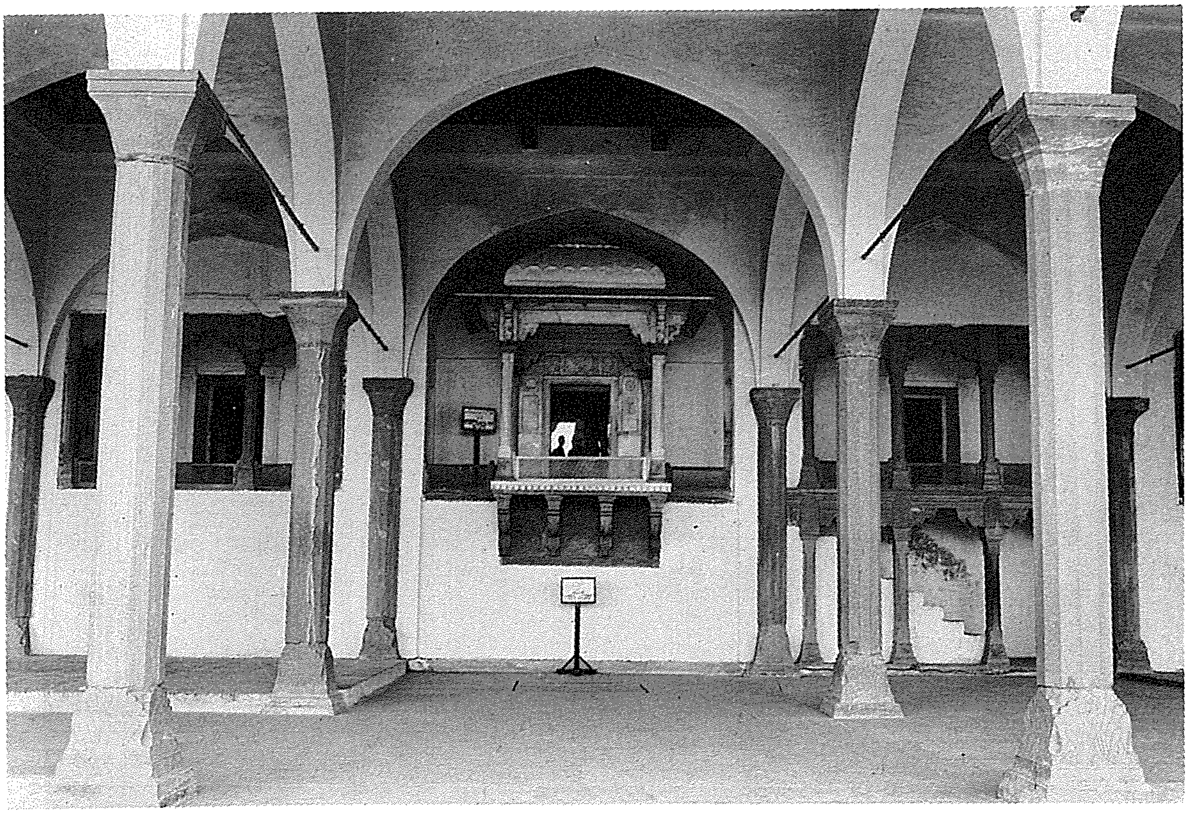
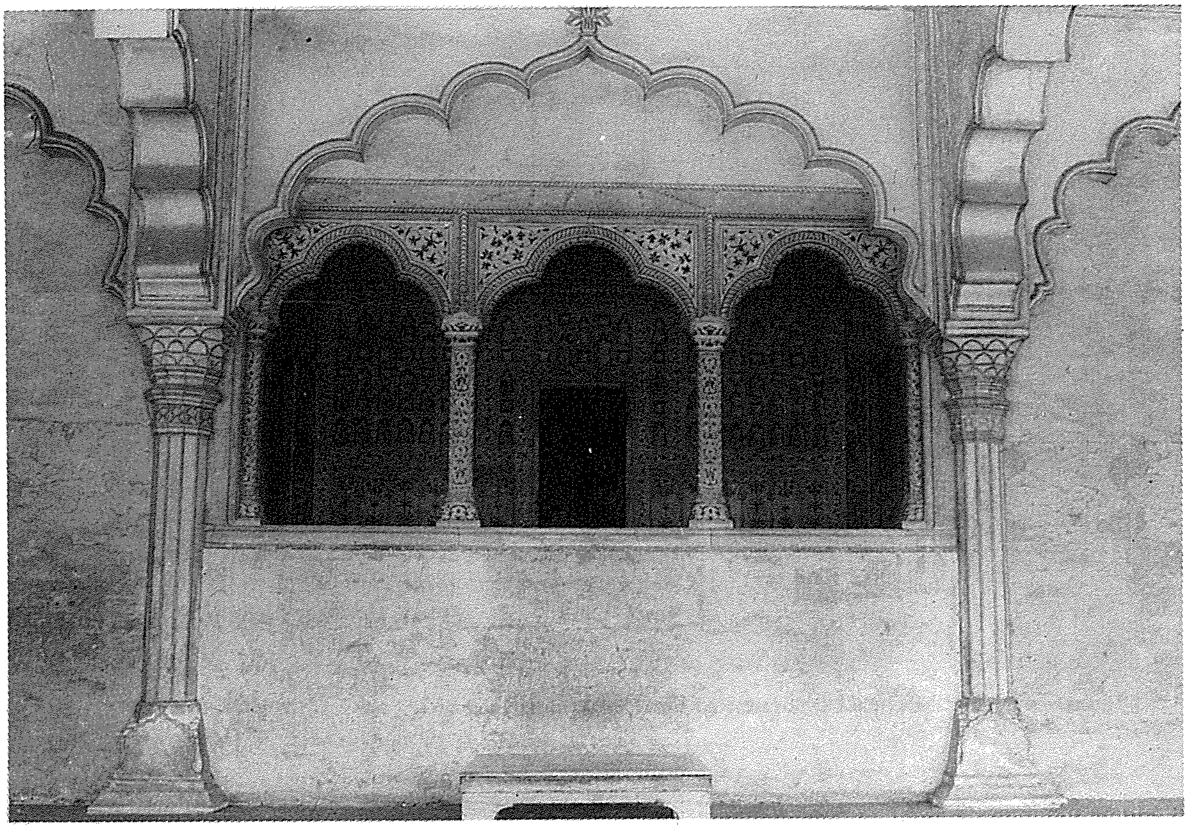


Fig. 4.6 *Jharoka* from Akbar's or Jahāngīr's reign, Dīwān-i ʻĀmm, Lahore Fort, roof with later modifications.

Fig. 4.7 Hall of the Dīwān-i ʻĀmm with the *jharoka* in the back wall, Red Fort, Agra, completed 1637.



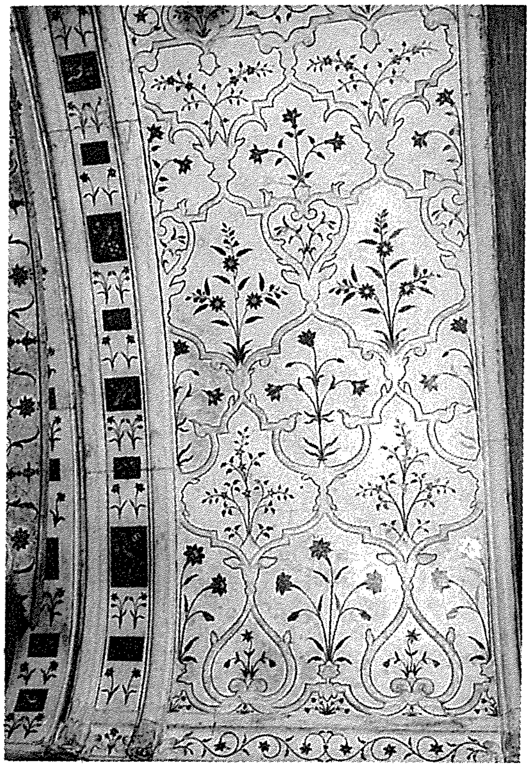


Fig. 4.8 Detail of the intrados of the arched niche behind the Delhi *jharoka*.

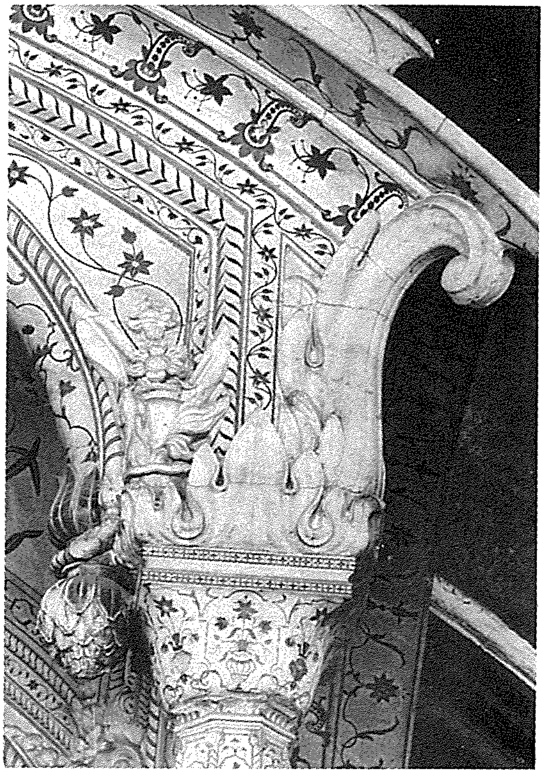


Fig. 4.9 Detail of the Delhi *jharoka*.

Fig. 4.10 Cypress, with flowering trees, tomb of I'timad al-Daula, Agra, completed 1626–27.

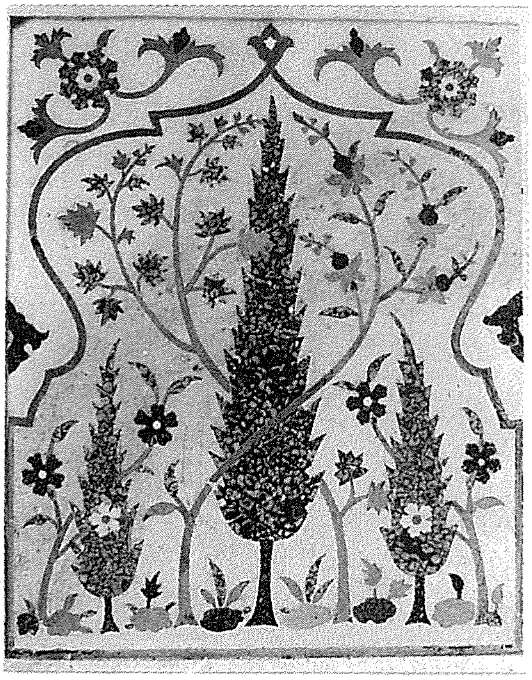
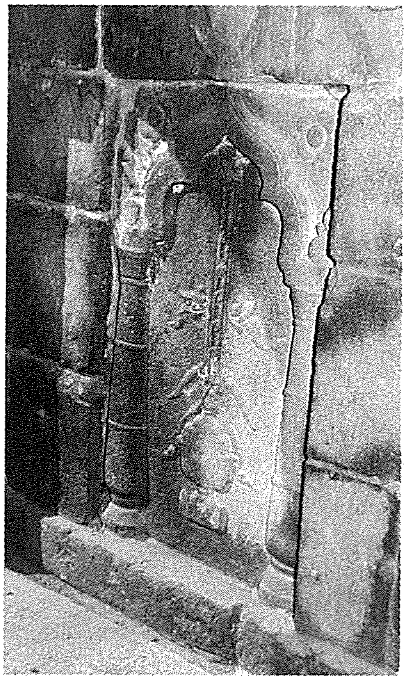


Fig. 4.11 *Miḥrāb* in the form of a baluster arcade, Quṭb S̲h̲āhī Mosque, Pandua, Bengal, 1583–85.



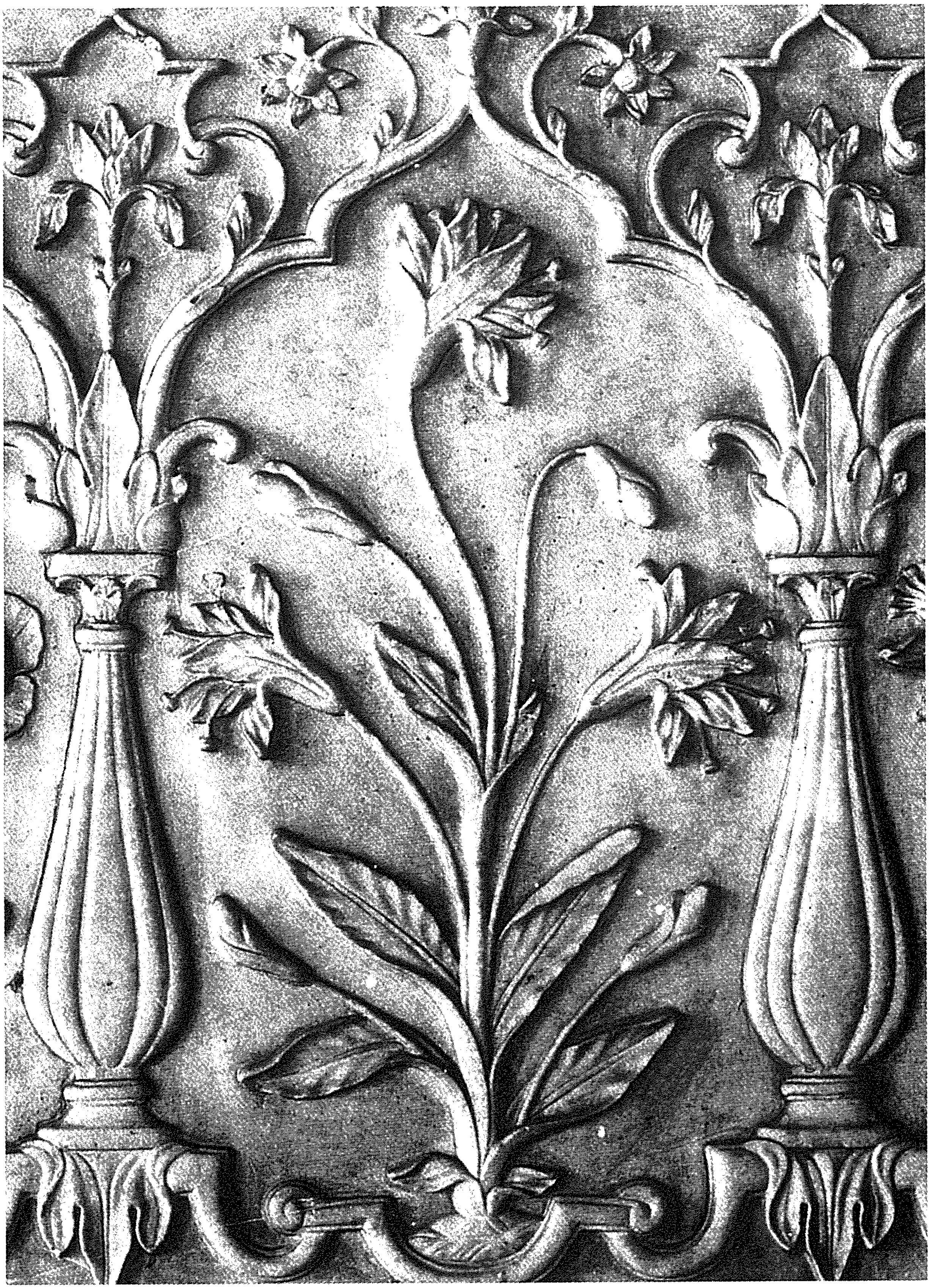


Fig. 4.12 Baluster arcades in relief containing flowers, pedestal of the Delhi *jharoka*.

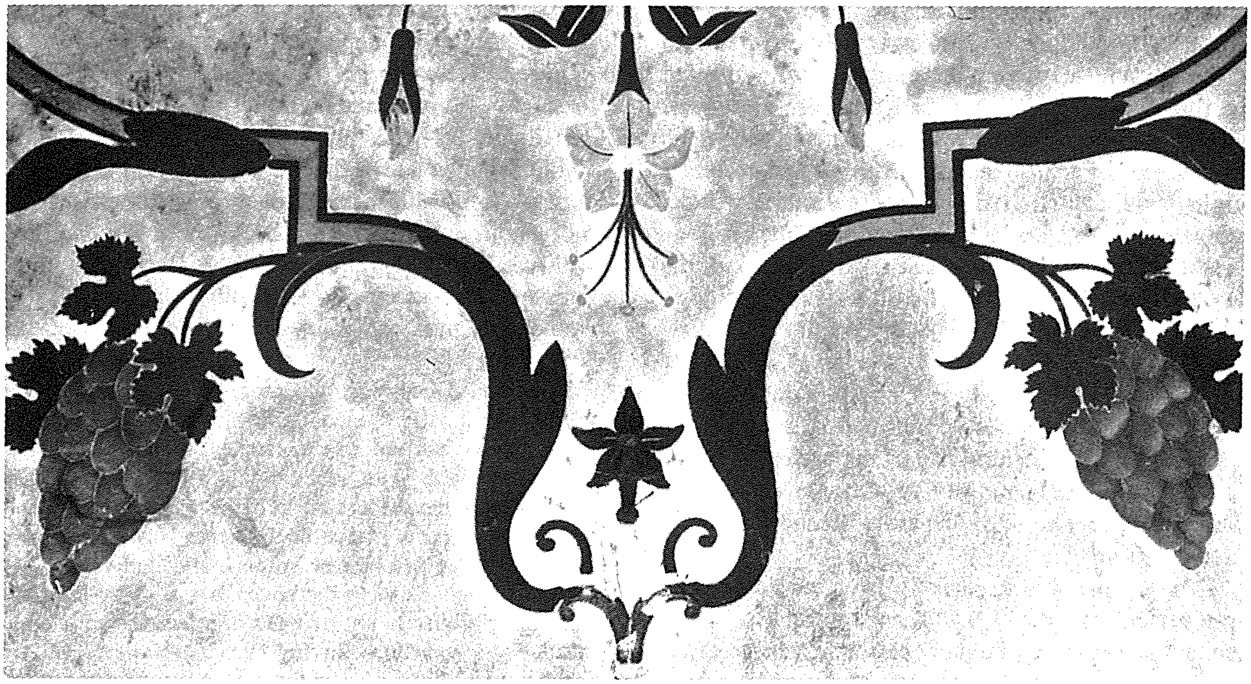
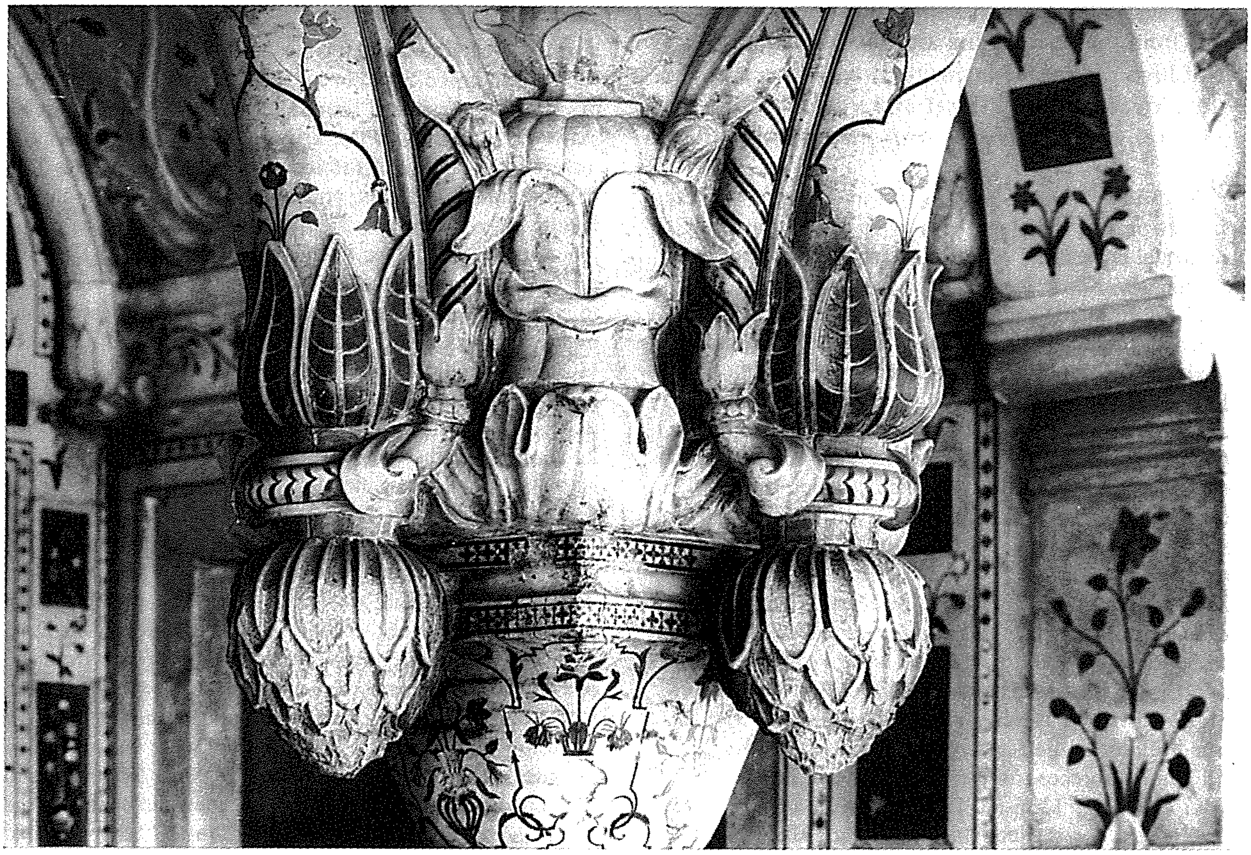


Fig. 4.13 Grapevines in the vault of the Delhi *jharoka*.

Fig. 4.14 Capital and leaf-buds, Delhi *jharoka*.



semi-circular arch in association with the baluster column was derived from European engravings, its adoption for niches with a narrow barrel vault to frame the appearance of the emperor, calls to mind the old *īwān* of the Sasanian Khusraus. The *Ṭāq-i Kisrā* ('Arch of Khusrau') as the standard eulogistic comparison for achievements of Muslim architecture,[31] might have contributed to the creation of a local equivalent of this ancient architectural feature.

Within the context of Mughal architecture, the raised arched niche evolved from the *jharoka-i khāṣṣ-o-'āmm* of the palace in the Agra Fort, the immediate precursor of the Delhi *jharoka* (Figs. 4.3, 7). The Agra *jharoka* departs radically from the conventional *jharoka* tradition in being confined to a raised recessed room in the central bay of the back wall of the audience hall. It opens not in a single arch but—similar to a loggia—in a tripartite arcade formed of three-lobed arches.

This scheme was apparently later considered too 'introverted' to survive on its own, but it was modified and integrated in the more elaborate scheme of the Delhi *jharoka*, where it takes over the function of the gallery of the older *jharoka* type. In this respect, the Delhi *jharoka* represents—despite all its innovative vocabulary—a return to the earlier *jharoka* concept.

Like its counterpart at Delhi, the Agra *jharoka* is set off from the surrounding architecture as a separate unit of high decorative intensity. It was especially the profuse decoration of floral and vegetal motifs in marble relief and *commesso di pietre dure* which influenced the ornamentation of the niche of the Delhi *jharoka*. Both techniques represented the latest achievement of Mughal architectural decoration. The rich use of *commesso di pietre dure* is peculiar to these two *jharokas* and does not occur again in such density in the palace architecture of Shāh Jahān. While the *pietre dure* decoration in the Agra *jharoka* appears to be solely the work of Mughal artists, the indigenous work of the Delhi *jharoka* is combined with the imported Italian material. Both techniques correspond so exactly to each other that a historical connection must be assumed.[32]

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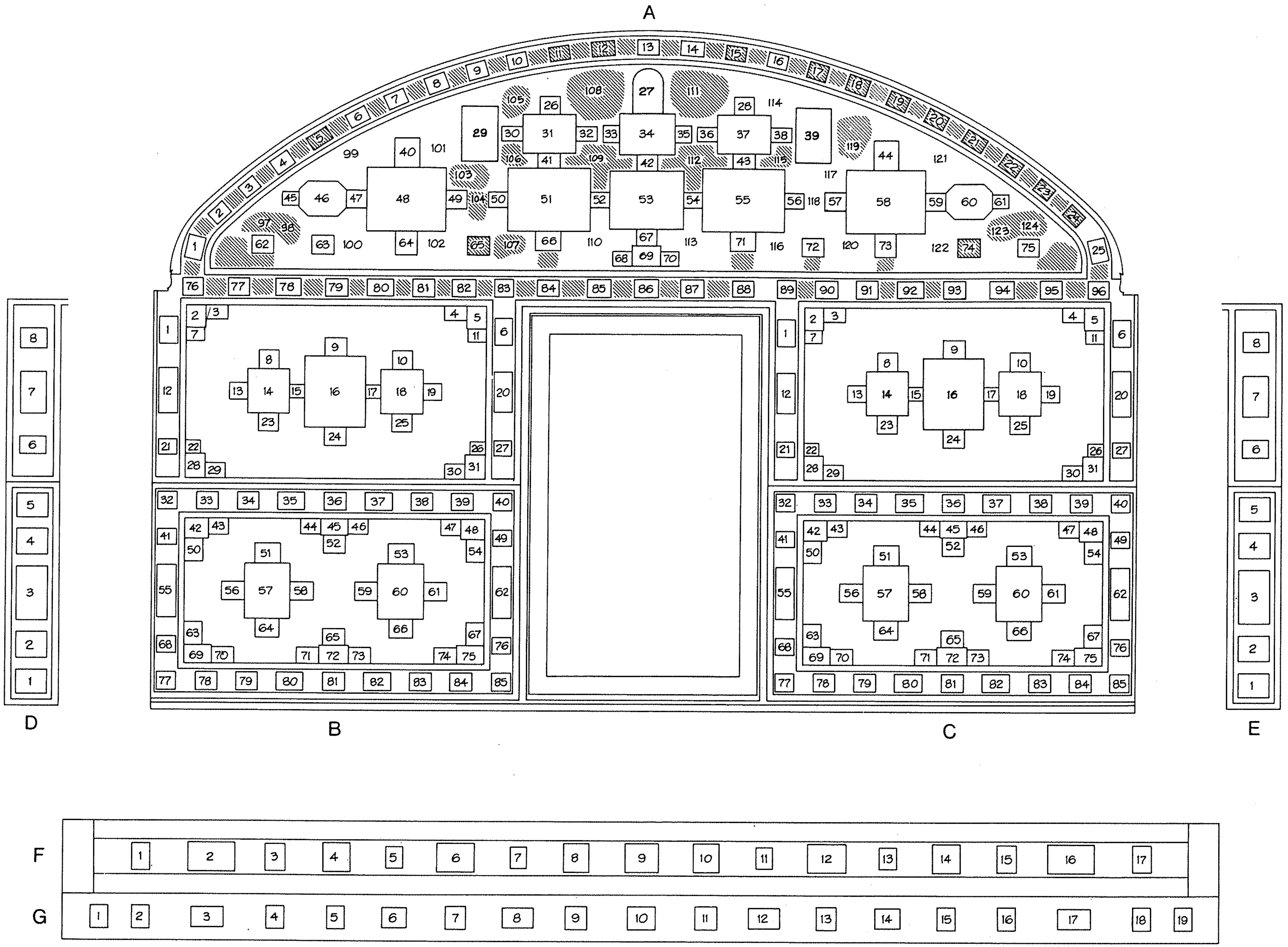
[31] The *Ṭāq-i-Kisrā* or *Iwān-i Khusrau* the (now ruined) Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon, with its characteristic monumental arched hall (*ṭāq*, *īwān*), (see, for instance, Kurt Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden* [1943; Mainz, 1969], pp. 31–5, pls. 5 and 6) is described thus by al-Tha'ālibī (d. in 429 H./1037–38): 'In regard to this palace [*īwān*], it was constructed at Madā' in [Ctesiphon] by [Khusrau I] Anūsharwān [ruled 531–579] or rather, according to certain sources, by Ābarwīz [Khusrau II Parwīz, ruled 591–628]. It is one of the extraordinary buildings and one of the most beautiful monuments which the Persian kings have left behind. One refers to it proverbially as to an example of magnificence and stability'. My English trans. from Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Tha'ālibī, *Gharar akhbār mulūk al-fars wa siyarihim* or *Histoire des rois des Perses*, trans. and ed. H. Zotenberg (Paris 1900), p. 614. The writers of Shāh Jahān's court, e.g. his poet laureate Abū Ṭālib Kalīm Kashānī, (d. 1061–62 H./1650–51), still refer to the *Ṭāq-i Kisrā* in this sense: 'Before the palace of Shāh Jahān [even] the *Ṭāq-i Kisrā* puts its forehead in the dust!', *Dīwān*, Persian ed. P. Bayḍāī (Teheran, 1336 sh./1957), p. 40, *qaṣīda* entitled 'Chronogram for the construction of a palace of Shāh Jahān'. Cf. our p. 110 and n. 91 below.

[32] A detailed analysis of this problem is beyond the scope of the present study. Hence I shall confine myself to raising a few points, not yet given sufficient attention to in the literature about Shāh Jahān's *pietre dure*. One of the reasons, why the discussion has so far remained without any satisfying result is that the difference between the more common stone intarsia or stone inlay, and the highly specialized technique of the *commesso di pietre dure* has not been sufficiently stressed. Both techniques are closely related, the *commesso* having been developed from the stone intarsia. In both cases the design is carved out of the stone surface. For the stone intarsia, pieces of all types of stones—often marble—were used, cut into the appropriate shape and fastened in the hollowed-out depressions.

Commessi di pietre dure are compositions of stones of extreme hardness, like jasper, chalcedony, and agate which are forms of silica. They were cut into various sizes and shapes and fitted together so that the colours and natural markings of the stones formed the desired image. Extreme skill was required of the artisan in the handling of the material, especially in the sawing of the hard stones into the required thin slices, and in the joining of the pieces Ideally, after the composition was polished, the lines of the junctures would not be visible in the final design. Thus it was possible to obtain effects similiar to painting, which led to surprisingly naturalistic representations. For descriptions of the technique see especially H. Weigelt, 'Florentiner Mosaik', pp. 170 f.; E. Neumann, 'Florentiner Mosaik aus Prag', pp. 159–60; and Rossi, *Steinintarsien*, pp. 110–15 (n. 21 above); cf. Bartoli, Maser, *Il Museo dell'Opificio* (n. 20 above). For the corresponding Indian technique, at least as it was practised in the 19th century, see *The Journal of Indian Art, Special Issue on the Indian and Colonial Exhibition* (1886), p. 96. Whereas the origins of the Italian *commesso di pietre dure* are still not certain [see especially A. González-Palacios, *Mosaici e pietre dure* (n. 21 above), pp. 4 ff.], it has been established that it received its final form in the Grand Ducal workshops at Florence from the end of the 16th century onwards, especially in connection with the production of *pietre dure* work for the Cappella dei Principi. Important in this context were a number of families of lapidaries called to Florence by Francesco Medici (died 1587), from Milan, a renowned centre of the art of glyptics and hard-stone carving. In 1572 they founded workshops in Florence. By the end of the century these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Commesso di pietre dure and marble sculpturing are used on the Delhi *jharoka* and its niche with a certain observation of hierarchy. The pedestal is carved solely in marble, with meticulous detail, using all the potential for refinement to which the material lends itself (Fig. 4.12). The baldachin and its prominent vegetal decoration—the calyxes out of which grow the baluster columns, the acanthus decoration above the capitals and the buds of the arches—are carved in marble with the same finesse (Figs. 4.9, 14). In addition, they are inlaid with *commesso di pietre dure*, again of a vegetal nature: arabesques, flowery plants, grapevines, etc. (Figs. 4.4, 13).

As a whole, the decoration shows the same fusion of motifs of various ancestry which we have observed in the vocabulary of the architecture. European motifs are especially prominent, such as the naturalistic flowery plant on the pedestal, the favourite dado motif of S͟hāh Jahānī architecture,[33] that appears here encased in vegetal arcades formed by baluster colonettes (Fig. 4.12). The same motif had been used already on the dados of the Agra *jharoka* with the difference that there the encased flowers were inlaid in *pietre dure*.[34] The motif of baluster arcades as wall relief is of dual ancestry: while three-lobed baluster arcades are a common wall relief in Bengali architecture—both pre-Islamic and Islamic[35] (Fig. 4.11)—the style and the vegetal interpretation of the Mughal version—especially the use of the acanthus leaf—are shaped after counterparts derived from Mannerist engravings[36] (Figs. 4.18, 19).

Already at Agra the adoption of the European models had brought about a change in the stylistic approach. The modelling and undercutting of the marble relief and the naturalistic treatment of the vegetal motifs differ dramatically from the somewhat arid linear quality of the decoration of the earlier *jharoka* type and show a careful study of the naturalistic potential of western engravings. These tendencies are further developed and intensified in the Delhi *jharoka*, where not only the architectural forms and

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workshops were involved in the production of *commessi di pietre dure*. Fock, 'Bylivelt' (n. 21 above), pp. 107 ff.

Whenever later schools of *commesso di pietre dure* came into being in or outside of Italy, an Italian artist, or an artist trained in Italy, was involved in their foundation. [See Neumann, 'Florentiner Mosaik aus Prag' (n. 21 above), p. 166; Rossi, pp. 139 ff.; Gonzáles-Palacios (see above), pp. 60 ff.]. Like its Italian counterpart, the Mughal *commesso di pietre dure* is based on an earlier local tradition of stone intarsia. We find precursors of Mughal stone intarsia in the Islamic architecture of Ahmadabad, for instance, the central *miḥrāb* of the Jāmi' Masjid built in 817 H/1414 [M.A. Chaghtai, 'Pietra Dura' (n. 11 above), p. 467, pl. 11], or in the buildings of the Sultans of Malwa at Mandu, e.g. The K͟haljī mausoleum, 1436–69 [D.R. Patil, *Mandu* (Archaeological Survey of India, 1975), pp. 43–4]. Especially the combination of dark yellow, black, and variegated stones, inlaid into white marble surfaces, reminds us strongly of the early Mughal inlays. The paradigm of this kind of Mughal stone intarsia is found on the tomb of I'timād al-Daula at Agra (compl. 1626–27, our Fig. 4.10). It represents the transitional phase between the earlier stone intarsia technique and the later Mughal *commesso di pietre dure*, since not only soft marbles but also hard stones (jasper) are used for its inlays, E.W. Smith, *Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra* (Allahabad, 1901), p. 19. The use of hard stones in pre-Mughal architecture is still not sufficiently attested. The favourite piece of evidence adduced by R. Nath [*Colour Decoration* (n. 11 above), pp. 29 f.], namely the inlay of hard stones in the temple of Rishabhadeva at Ranakpur in Sadri Pass, Rajasthan, founded in 1438, cannot be traced anymore. Nath quotes after a doubtful reference by James Tod [*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I (London, 1920), p. 337 n. 1] without having verified the actual state of the building. The existence of earlier inlays in hard stones still would not account for the independent local development of a technique corresponding so exactly to the Italian one, nor for its identical concept of naturalistic plant and bird representations. The fact that Italians, or artists trained in Italy, were always involved in the foundation of *pietre dure* workshops, and that European lapidaries were employed at the Mughal court [see, for instance, H. Hosten, 'European Art' (n. 11 above), pp. 115 f.; and 'Four Letters by Austin of Bordeaux' (n. 12 above)], seems to leave hardly any alternative to the assumption that the Mughal *commesso* technique was introduced by European lapidaries. It was, however, adopted very creatively to Mughal designs and purposes. It is also noteworthy that, after S͟hāh Jahān's reign, the *commesso* was hardly ever used in the decoration of Indian buildings. The craft had almost died out and had to be revived in the middle of the 19th century by Dr. J. Murray, Inspector-General of Hospitals, Bengal; see George C.M. Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India* (London, 1880), p. 209; and *The Journal of Indian Art* (see above), p. 96.

[33] For the European origin of these flowers see Robert Skelton, 'A Decorative Motif in Mughal Art', in *Aspects of Indian Art*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Leiden, 1972), pp. 147–52.

[34] For illus. see 'Baluster Column', this volume, Fig. 3.16.

[35] Ibid., pp. 253 f. Further examples are found in the shape of blind dwarf arcades among the ornamental bands of the so-called Gumti Gate, late15th/early 16th century Gaur; on the corner quoins of the so-called Eklakhī Mausoleum, Pandua, early 15th century, and, in a larger version, in the form of a single blind arcade under the *minbar* of the Qutb S͟hāhī, or Golden Mosque, Pandua, 990–993 H./1583–85 (Fig. 4.11). For the most recent discussion of these monuments, see Catherine B. Asher, 'Inventory of Key Monuments', in *The Islamic Heritage of Bengal*, ed. George Michell (Paris: UNESCO, 1984).

[36] See 'Baluster Column', especially pp. 50 ff.

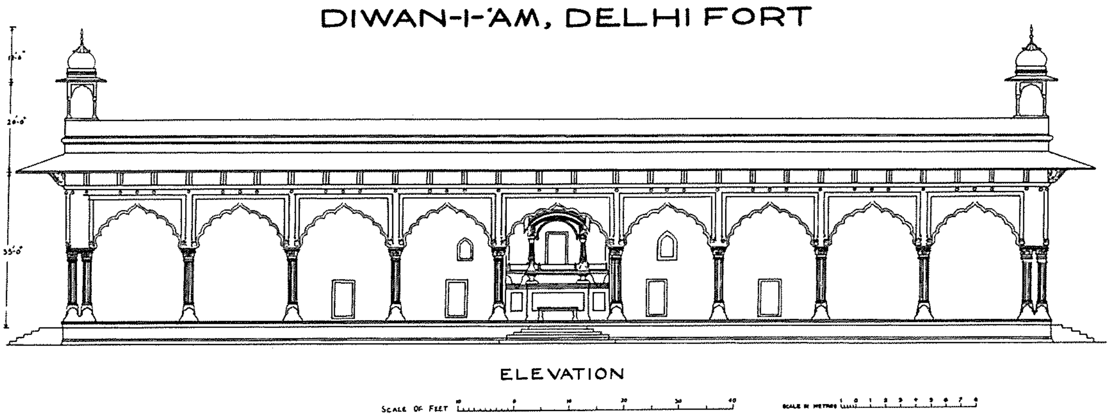


Fig. 4.16 Elevation of the Dīwān-i ʿĀmm, Red Fort, Delhi.

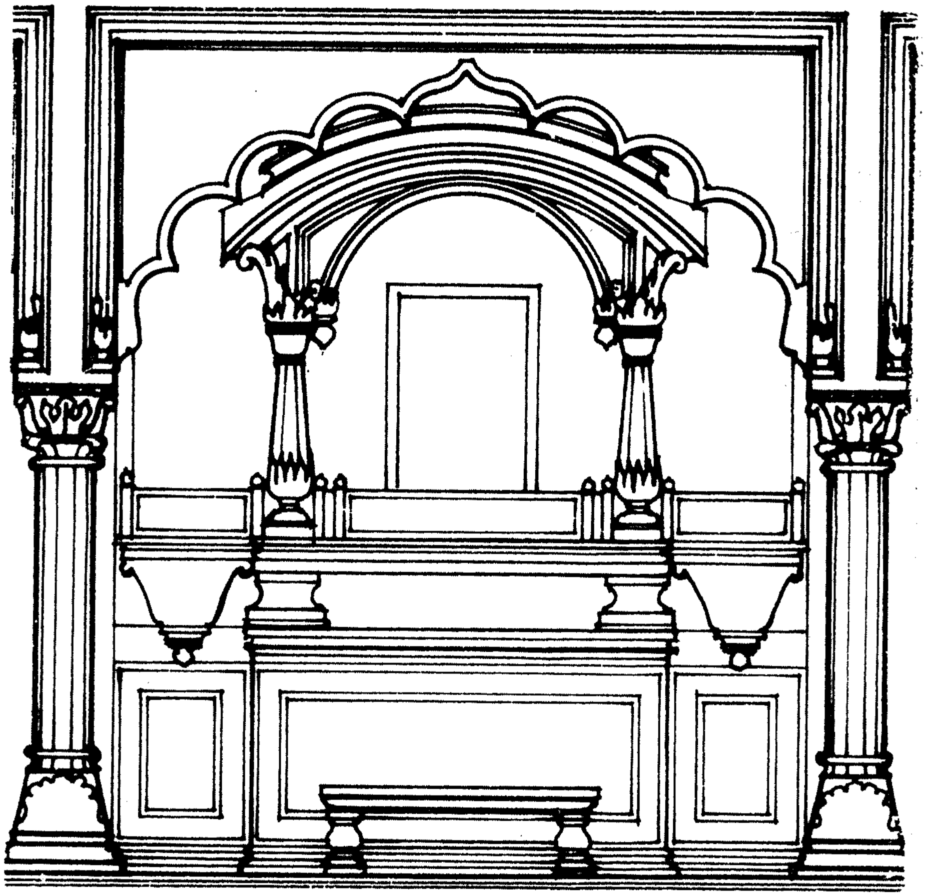


Fig. 4.17 Elevation of the Delhi *jharoka*.

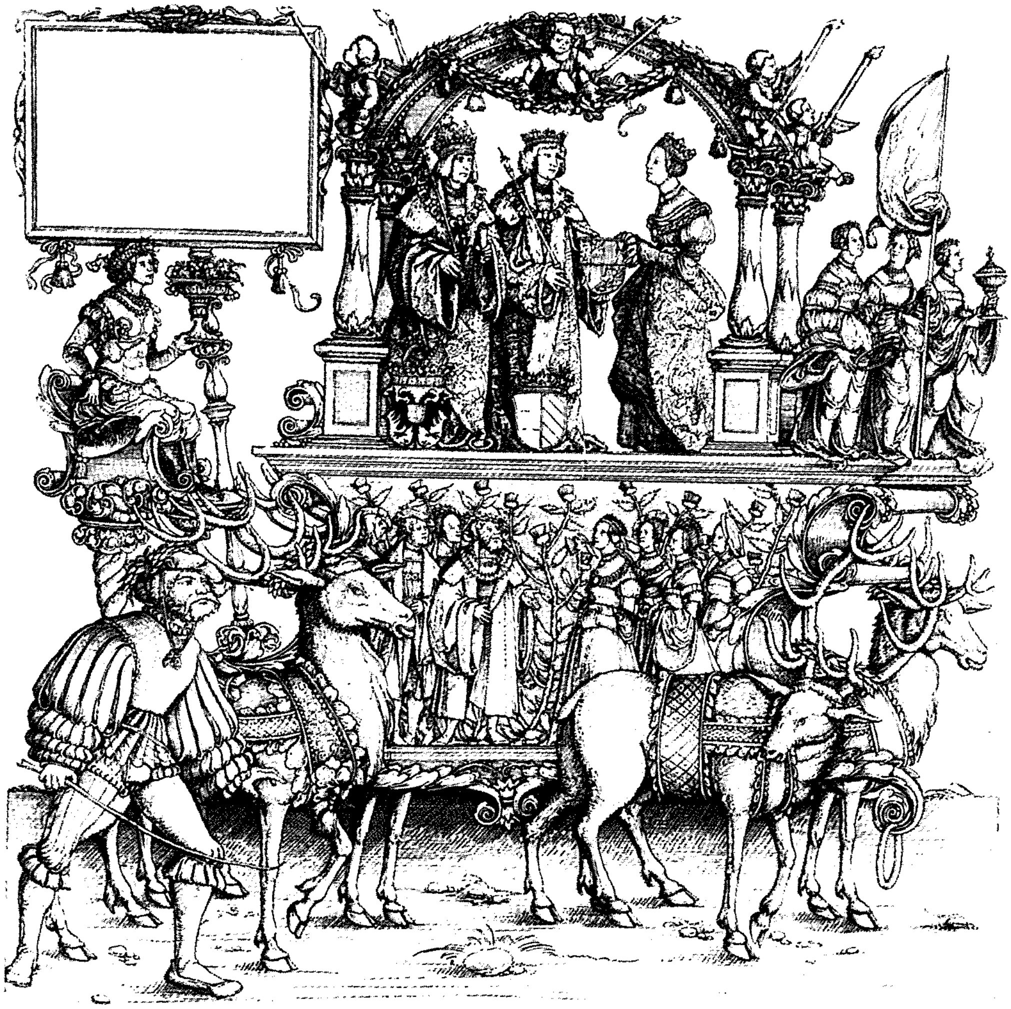


Fig. 4.18 Dürer circle, car from the Triumph of Maximilian I. 1526.

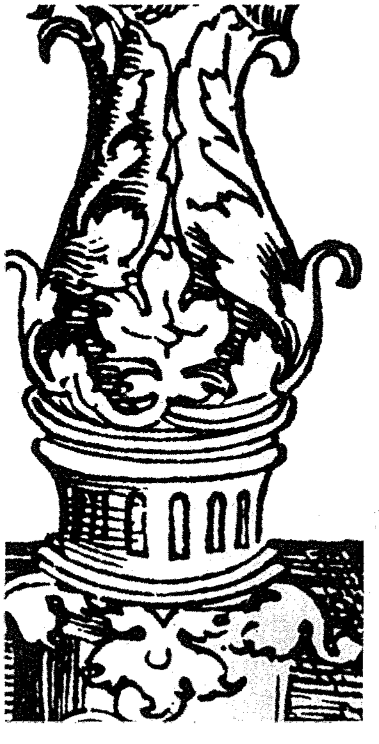


Fig. 4.19 Columnar element formed of acanthus leaves, detail of Fig. 3.18.

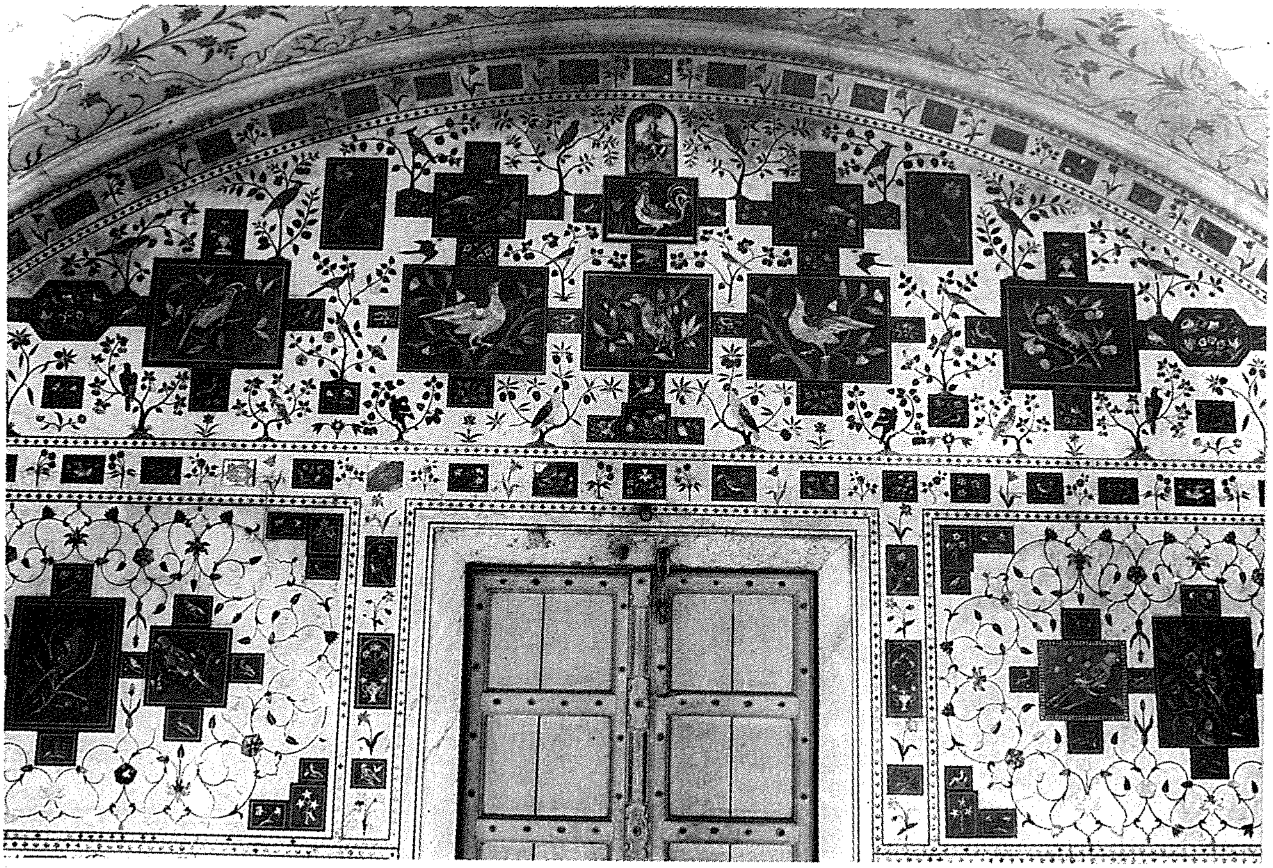
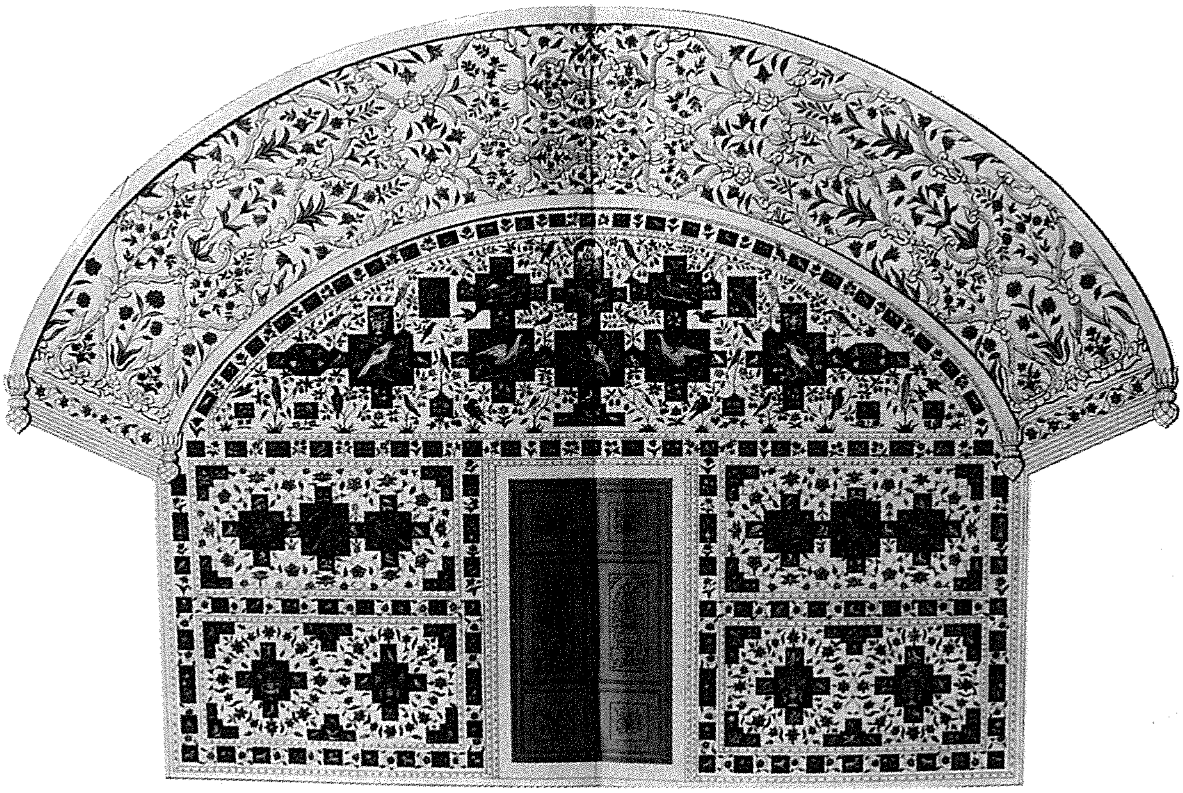


Fig. 4.20 Central upper area of the *pietre dure* wall of the niche behind the Delhi *jharoka*.

Fig. 4.21 Representation of the *pietre dure* work of the niche by H.H. Cole in 1882.



their decoration undergo a process of vegetabilization, but where they are, in addition, superimposed with vegetal *pietre dure* patterns. A very telling transformation of an engraved model on to a three-dimensional plane, not yet found at Agra, is the acanthus leaf between two curled leaves which serves as an impost for the relieved baluster colonettes on the pedestal. In its three-dimensional, magnified version above the columns of the baldachin, one of the curled leaves takes the function of a bracket (cf. Figs. 4.19 and 4, 9).

The Florentine Pietre Dure *Plaques*

Once we are aware of the syncretism, not only of the architectural vocabulary, but also of the elements of its decoration, and the role European art played in the process of its creation, the most extraordinary feature of the decoration, namely the 318 *pietre dure* plaques of supposed Italian origin, which are set in the niche among Mughal *commesso*, appears less bizarre. Apart from the lunette-shaped plaque of *Orpheus Playing to the Beasts* (Fig. 4.24) and two octagonal panels (Fig. 4.37), the plaques are rectangles of various sizes and represent different birds, flower motifs and—a fact that has so far not been noticed—small lions at the foot of the wall (Figs. 4.23, 44).

With the exception of a band of plaques that frames the outer opening of the niche and is doubled in the intrados of the arch (Figs. 4.15, D, E, F, G; 4.8), the plaques are set in the back wall of the niche, where they play the major role in a decorative system of absolute bilateral symmetry (Figs. 4.15, 21). One side of the central axis is mirrored on the other, and each side in its turn includes internal bilateral systems. This symmetrical arrangement is reinforced by the reverse symmetry of the subjects.

The back wall is divided into six sections by a framework of bands made of small rectangular plaques varying in size[37]: a lunette-shaped section (Fig. 4.15 A), the central door below, and two oblong sections on either side (Fig. 4.15 B, C). Each of these sections represents a separate symmetrical unit. The oblong sections are mirrored on the other side of the central axis. The central axis of the lunette above coincides with the main axis, so that its crown—the Orpheus panel—presides over the whole composition. The symmetrical arrangement of the plaques in the rectangular sections includes reinforcements of the corners with small plaques, and configurations of larger and smaller plaques, based on a cruciform pattern.

This basic pattern appears twice, unconnected, in the two lowest sections flanking the doors; it is elaborated in a pattern of three interconnected large plaques in the upper section (Fig. 4.33), and develops into a double tier of a partly interconnected arrangement in the lunette with the plaque of Orpheus as the crown of the whole composition (Fig. 4.20).

The decorative scheme as a whole is as unique in Mughal architectural decoration as its components. It shows, however, a certain relationship to the predominant wall decoration of Shāh Jahān's buildings, in which the wall is divided by similar bands into panels containing symmetrical configurations of blind or real niches. The latter were originally filled with Chinese porcelain (hence their name *chīnī-khāna*), which—judging from representations in contemporary miniatures—must have produced an effect not dissimilar to the figural plaques of the Delhi *jharoka*[38]—especially when seen from a distance. The Agra *jharoka* shows a particularly elaborate version of this decorative system (Fig. 4.3).

The subjects of the plaques echo the symmetry of their setting with remarkable consistency. Within each section the same designs are used in reverse for the left and right sides of the respective central axis, including the frames. This internal reverse symmetry is also transferred to the whole scheme of the composition of the wall—the subjects of the oblong sections to the left of the door forming the central axis are mirrored on the right side (Figs. 4.15, B, C; 4.21).

The small plaques forming the bands of the framework, the reinforced corners, the fillers in the interstices, and the arms of the cruciform configurations, show throughout flowery twigs, or birds sitting on similar twigs bearing flowers or fruits (Fig. 4.40). The vertical bands of the framework introduce in addition longer plaques—but of approximately the same width—with flowery plants and vases (Figs. 4.15, B and C 12, 20, 55, 62; 4.33). Vases are also found in two instances of 'cross arms' in the lunette-shaped section (Figs. 4.15, A 40, 44). The lowest band at the level of the door-sill departs from this scheme by introducing, instead of the birds, small lions with tiger markings lying and standing in a reversed sequence on both sides of a standing lion on the central axis (Figs. 4.23, 44; 4.15, B and C 77, 79, 81, 83, 85).

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[37] They vary in height from about 7.5 to 28.5 cm, the average being *c.* 8–9 cm; and in width from *c.* 9 to 13 cm. These measurements include the frames, which have a width of *c.* 1–2 cm.

[38] Lāhōrī says about the wall decoration of the Agra *jharoka:* 'The *chīnī khāna* of this embellished room, in which are set vessels studded with precious stones, is the embodiment of the world-illummating morning . . .' *Bādshāh nāma* (n. 25 above), I, 2, p. 236; cf. Nūr Bakhsh, 'The Agra Fort and Its Buildings', *ASI, Ann. Rep.*, 1903–4, p. 176. For a representation of *chīnī khāna* filled not only with vessels but also with human figures in 17th century Mughal painting, see 'Jahāngīr weighs Prince Khurram' (later Shāh Jahān), British Library, first quarter of the 17th-century, colour repr. Stuart Cary Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting* (London, 1978), pl. 18.

The lowest sections, which serve as dado, contain two large plaques with flower vases[39] (Figs. 4.15, B and C 57, 60; 4.28, 33). The three large plaques in the section above show a central parrot between two antithetical parrots, all sitting on branches of fruit trees (Figs. 4.15, B and C 14, 16, 18; 4.34, 35).

In the same way, in the lunette the axial features are single, the lateral panels paired. The same designs are used in reverse for the left and right sides (Figs. 4.20, 36). The symmetrical sequence of large plaques below Orpheus shows a cockerel with a tulip on the central axis (Figs. 4.15, A 34; 4.22), flanked by antithetical birds (pheasants?) on branches bearing fruits (Figs. 4.15, A 31, 37), and birds (jays?) on flowery twigs with a butterfly (Figs. 4.15, A 29, 39; 4.25, 39). The tier below is arranged in the same way, with a parrot on a fruit branch on the central axis (Figs. 4.15, A 53; 4.26), flanked by birds (pigeons?) with raised wings on fruit branches (Figs. 4.15, A 51, 55; 4.36), followed by parrots on fruit branches (Figs. 4.15, A 48, 58), and an oblong octagonal panel with various cut flowers arranged in a whirl pattern (Figs. 4.15, A 46, 60; 4.37) The plaques forming the bands that frame the opening of the niche show birds and flowers, and vary more in length than in width (Figs. 4.15, D, E, F, G; 4.8, 42).

With certain reservations, the *pietre dure* panels can be related to the contemporary production of the workshop of the Medici in Florence. After the initial emphasis of its production for the tomb of the Medici, the Cappella dei Principi in the church of San Lorenzo, it had, from the 1630s on, concentrated more on mobile decorative objects. Sets of panels of birds, flowers, and flower vases, using the same cartoons repeatedly, were a favourite export article of the Opificio delle Pietre Dure. Such sets were suitable for mounting on the front of cabinets or as table tops, which were also exported ready-made, or presented as gifts to other rulers by the Medici.[40] Literary evidence—albeit from the beginning of Aurangzēb's reign—testifies that such sets did indeed reach the Mughal court. Tavernier reports that he presented to Nawāb Ja'far K͟hān, uncle of Aurangzēb, on 12th September 1665 'a board, with nineteen pieces to make a cabinet, the whole of precious stones of diverse colours representing all kinds of flowers and birds. The work had been done at Florence, and had cost 2150 livres.[41]

A comparison with the seventeenth-century production of the Opificio will have to be confined to the subjects of the plaques. A stylistic comparison, especially with regard to the nature of the stones and their treatment, is problematic because the Delhi *pietre dure* wall has suffered greatly from later pilfering. Not only individual stones, but also whole plaques were removed—particularly after the reconquest of the Fort by the British in 1857. The wall was restored for the first time in a systematic way by Cole in 1882. He had a diagram made which indicates the areas where the *pietre dure* were then still intact (Figs. 4.15, 21)). These were mainly confined to the lunette which, because of its height, was not easily accessible to plunderers. Of the larger panels only Fig. 4.15, A 27, 29, 39, C 14, 16 (which include Orpheus), can be assumed to have survived relatively unaltered, since they belonged to the lot taken to London in 1857 and were kept in the South Kensington Museum until their restoration to India in 1902.[42]

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[39] The placing of these vases on the dado zone seems to have been inspired by similar vases in marble relief on the dados of the tomb chamber in the Tāj Maḥall (1631–47); for illus. see R. Nath, *Colour Decoration* (n. 11 above), pl. 36.

[40] See H. Weigelt, 'Florentiner Mosaik', p. 169; Neumann, 'Florentiner Mosaik aus Prag', pp. 164–6; Gonzáles-Palacios, *The Art of Mosaics*. Foreword (all n. 21 above); Anthony Radcliffe and Peter Thornton, 'John Evelyn's Cabinet', *Connoisseur*, CXCVII (1978), pp. 254–62, especially, p. 255. I am indebted to Dr. Jennifer Montagu from the Warburg Institute for bringing this article to my attention.

[41] Tavernier, *Travels in India* (n. 11 above), I, p. 114. I thank Ms. Veronica Murphy from the Indian Section, Victoria and Albert Museum, for calling my attention to this passage. Nineteen seems to have been a common number for these sets of panels. See, for instance, John Evelyn's cabinet, or González Palacios, *The Art of Mosaics*, Cat. no. 3.

[42] According to H.H. Cole [*Preservation of National Monuments, India: Delhi*, published by the order of the Governor General in Council for the Office of Curator of Ancient Monuments in India (Delhi,1884)], Col. Sir John Jones removed 12 plaques, which he loaned to the South Kensington Museum. I am greatly indebted to Ms. V. Murphy, who has provided me with further information about the stay of the panels in London in a letter of 24 June 1982, from which I quote: 'Purchased by the India Office from him for £500 in 1869' (letter of 7th August 1869 in an old Indian Museum file here, no SF46, I.M. Donations & Loans). The letter from E. Grant Duff of the India Office, asks Col. Sir John Jones to instruct the SKM to deliver the mosaics to Dr. Forbes Watson at the India Office, on delivery of which an order for £500 would be forwarded to J.J. The items were received at the India Office on 16th August. They next appear in our 1880 book

The seventeenth-century Florentine sets of plaques have been preserved mainly incorporated in contemporary or later cabinets. The characteristic components of such a set are large panels for the central door of the cabinet front (occasionally also for the sides of the cabinet), often showing flower vases or birds (often parrots); panels of the same width, but much shorter, to be placed above and below the central panel; and for each side of the front, small rectangular plaques to be mounted at the front of the cabinet drawers. The favourite subjects of these are birds and flowery twigs; the same cartoons are used in reverse for the left and right sides (Figs. 4.30, 32). Often the same cartoons were also used for different sets.[43]

The majority of the Delhi *pietre dure* plaques can be related to such Florentine sets. The small plaques which frame the various sections and form the 'arms' of the cruciform patterns correspond in size and with regard to their subjects to the type of small plaques used for the front of the cabinet drawers[44] (compare especially Fig. 4.40, plaque Fig. 4.15, A 15 with Fig. 4.32 topmost right plaque; and Fig. 4.38, plaques Fig. 4.15, A 50 and 65 with Fig. 4.32 second tiers of plaques from top). The larger plaques, especially the ones showing flower vases and birds, correspond to the ones used as centre and sidepieces for cabinets[45] (compare Fig. 4.28 with Figs. 4.29, 30 and Fig. 4.25 with Figs. 4.27, 30).

Rarer than the common flower and bird sets seem to have been animal sets. Of the four examples which have come to my knowledge, three have a large panel with *Orpheus Playing to the Beasts* as the centrepiece[46] (Figs. 4.31, 45). These Orpheus panels show the same iconography as the Delhi panel (Fig. 4.24). Orpheus is sitting under a tree in a landscape set in an arched frame. He is playing a *lyra di braccio*[47] and

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here, the register of all the objects which had recently been transferred from the India Office to the custody of the SKM, to form the Indian Section or Indian Museum. They were given accession nos. as follows:

02255 I. S. Table top. White marble, with panels of black marble inlaid with coloured marble and stones. Taken from the Hall of Audience in the Palace of Delhi after its capture on 20th September 1857 by the troops under the command of Col. Sir John Jones. – 02256 I. S. Wooden table top. Black marble panel, with inset panel of a musician formed of various coloured marbles and stones. Taken from the Hall of Audience . . . (as above) . . . the Jones pieces were on display in the Delhi Exhibition of 1902–3. Watt [Sir George, *Indian Art at Delhi. Being the Official Catalogue of the Delhi Exhibition, 1902–3* (Calcutta, 1903)] refers to them and includes a plate of the Orpheus plaque: '. . .[pp. 76 and 476] (pl. 17 A, fig. 5) . . . The pieces remained in India from that time and the order transferring them to the custody of the Govt. of India is ref. no. 6-11/1902. We have unfortunately no record that they were ever officially photographed while in England.' Cole, however, had 'careful full-size water colour paintings made of these 12 plaques . . . which with drawings of others made for Prince Soltykoff at Delhi before the mutiny, some lent by General Cunningham and some obtained at Delhi have enabled me to completely restore the original design . . .' (Cole, above).

For the restitution of the London panels and the later restoration work by a Florentine expert, see J.H. Marshall, *ASI, Ann. Rep.*, 1902–3 (n. 11 above), pp. 23 f.; and G. Sanderson, 'Shah Jahan's Fort, Delhi' (n. 10 above), pp. 20 f.

Sadly enough, the pilfering of the *piete dure* has gone on to the present day. Since 1979, when I photographed the wall for the first time, an Italian plaque (Fig. 4.15, A 83) and a Mughal bird (A 113) have disappeared (compare our Fig. 4.20 with Fig. 4.36).

[43] For further examples of cabinets with such 17th century Florentine sets of plaques see, for instance, González Palacios, *The Art of Mosaics*, cat. nos. 3, 5 *et passim;* id., *Mosaici e pietre dure*, pp. 30, 38; cf. *La Cappella dei Principi*, pls. 143, 144 (all n. 21 above).

[44] The plaques on the front drawers of John Evelyn's cabinet (c. 7 × 11 cm excluding the frame) and the plaques on the front drawers of the cabinet in the Kaiserliches Hofmobiliendepot, Vienna, Inv. no. TD 71 (8.7 × 12 cm excluding frame) fit within the range of measurements we get from the small plaques of the Delhi wall. Cf. n. 37.

[45] Compare, for instance, the measurements of the plaque with the flower vase as centre piece of the Vienna cabinet mentioned above, 23.5 × 18 cm (excl. frame), with the 23.8–24.6 × 17.6–18.6 cm of the plaques with vases of the Delhi wall (excl. frame). I am indebted to Dr. Peter Parenzan from the Kaiserliches Hofmobiliendepot for having been allowed access to the Vienna cabinet in order to examine it.

[46] According to Anthony Radcliffe and Peter Thornton ['John Evelyn's Cabinet' (n. 40 above), p. 260 and n. 49] 'Orpheus singing to the beasts is a not an uncommon theme for the inset *pietre dura* plaques in Italian Baroque cabinets'. They quote as a typical example the Orpheus on the central door of a cabinet now at Chirk Castle, Clwyd, Wales. I am grateful to Capt. D.F. Myddelton, the son of the previous owner of Chirk Castle, for the permission to photograph and publish the cabinet. Dr. Reinier Baarsen very kindly assisted me in my quest for further Orpheus plaques in the photographic archive of the Dept. of Furniture and Woodwork, Victoria and Albert Museum, where it was possible to locate two more examples of 17th-century Italian cabinets with an Orpheus—animal set (nos. M. 8418 and F 4813). Since then two more examples, datable to the 1620's, have come to my notice; See Riccardi-Cubitt, 1992, pl. 20 and pp. 174–5; *The Detroit Institute of Arts: A Visitor's Guide*, ed. Julia P. Henshaw (Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts in association with Wayne State University Press, 1995), p. 155, pl. 4.

[47] I thank Dr. Rose Marie San Juan for identifying this instrument which often takes the place of the classical lyre in Renaissance and Baroque representations of Orpheus.

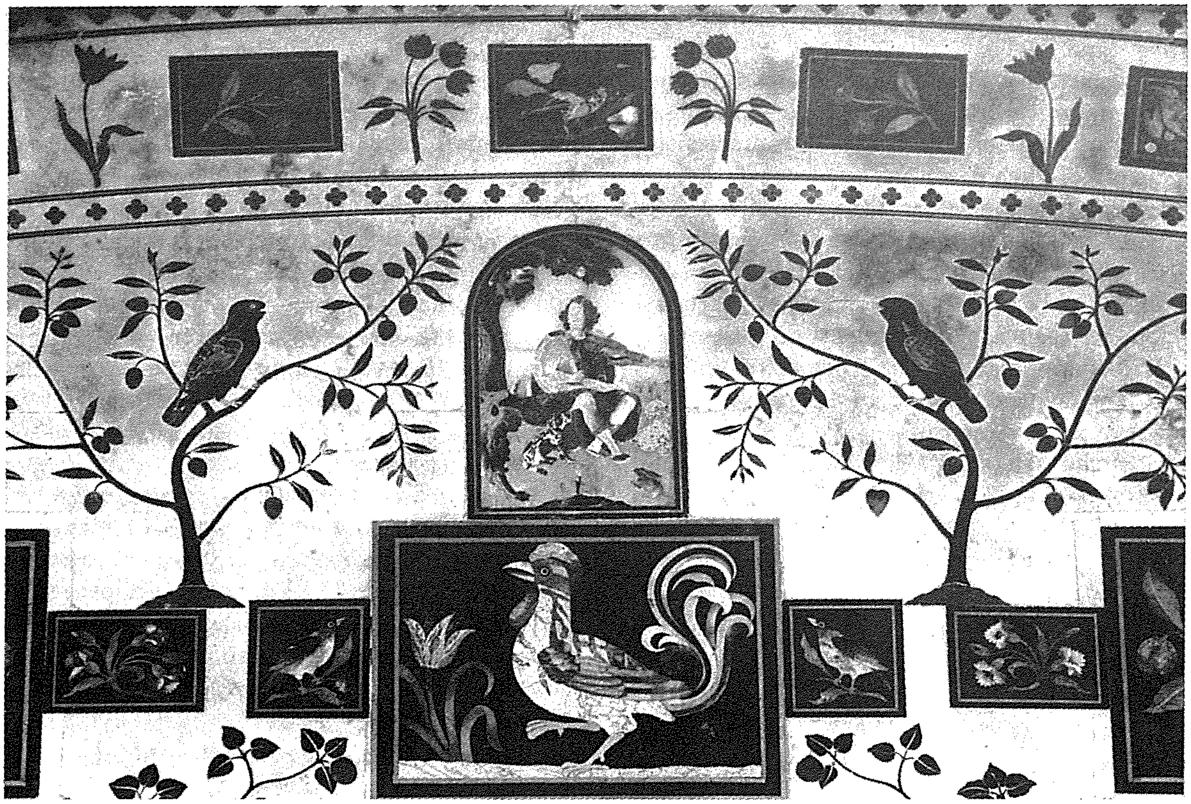
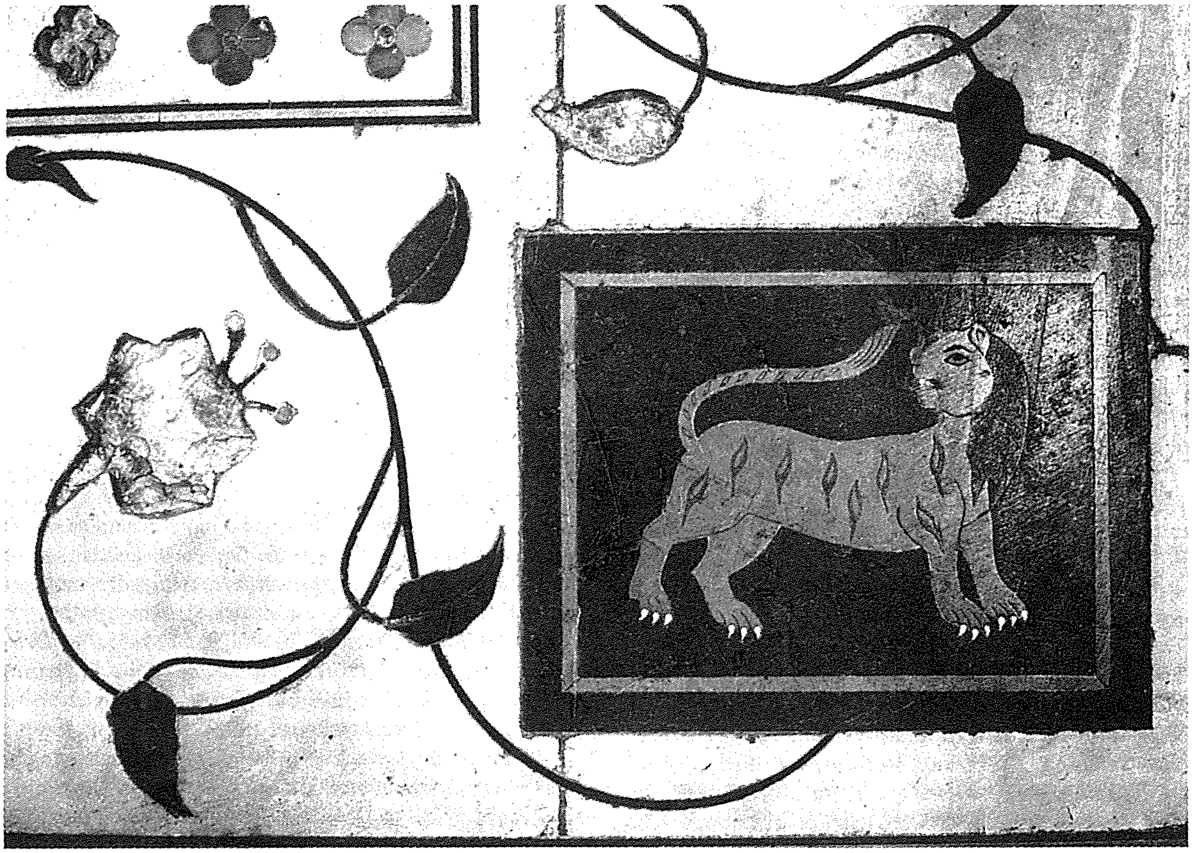


Fig. 4.22 Top-most area of the *pietre dure* wall.

Fig. 4.23 Plaque with lion showing tiger marks (Fig. 4.15, B 85).



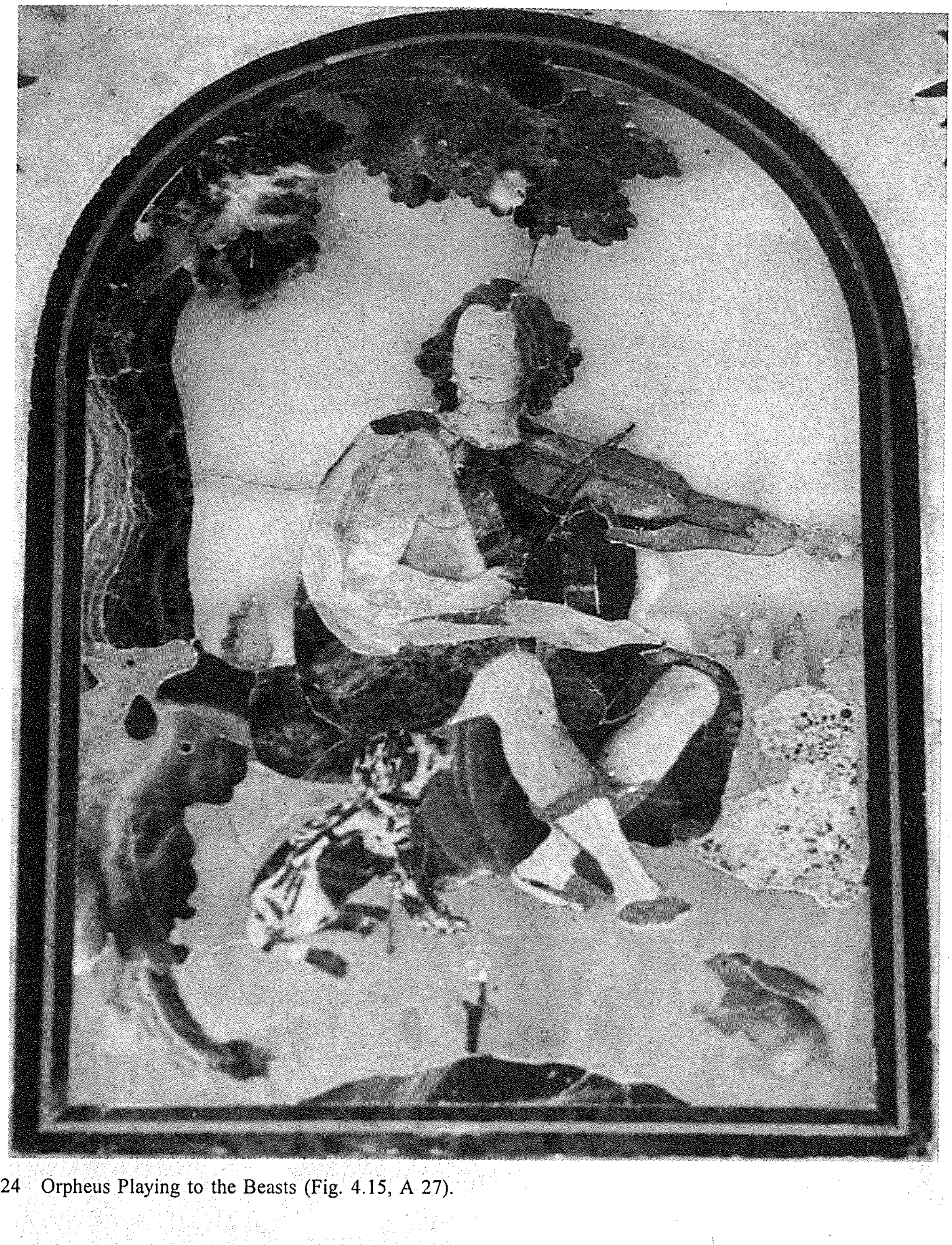


Fig. 4.24 Orpheus Playing to the Beasts (Fig. 4.15, A 27).

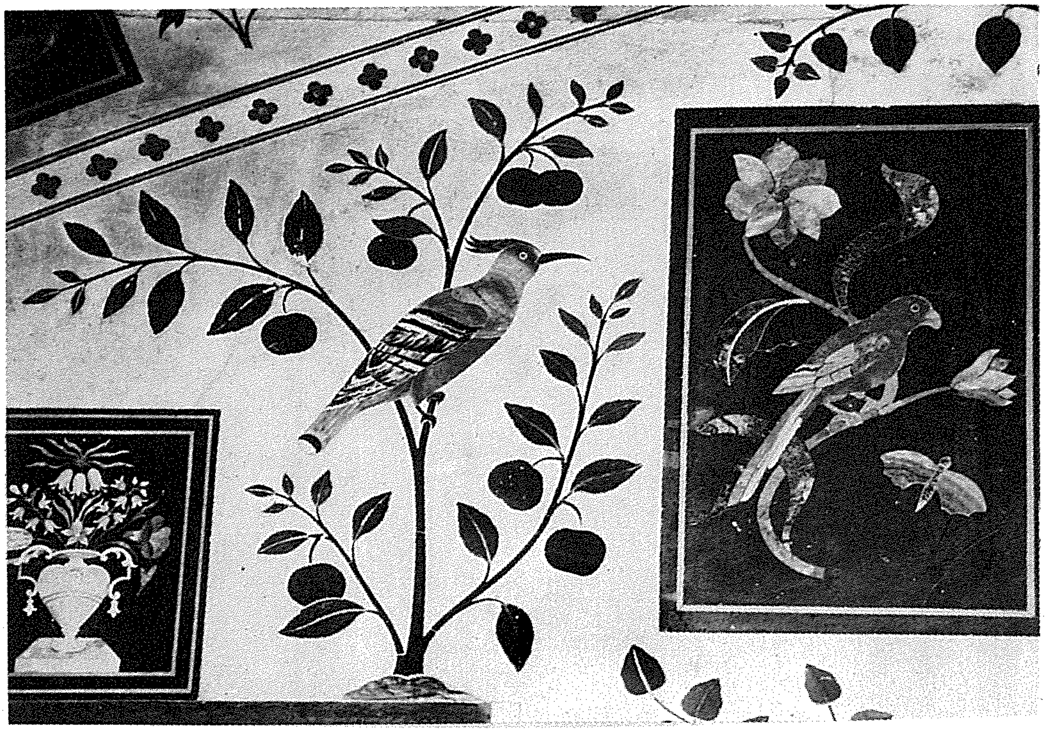
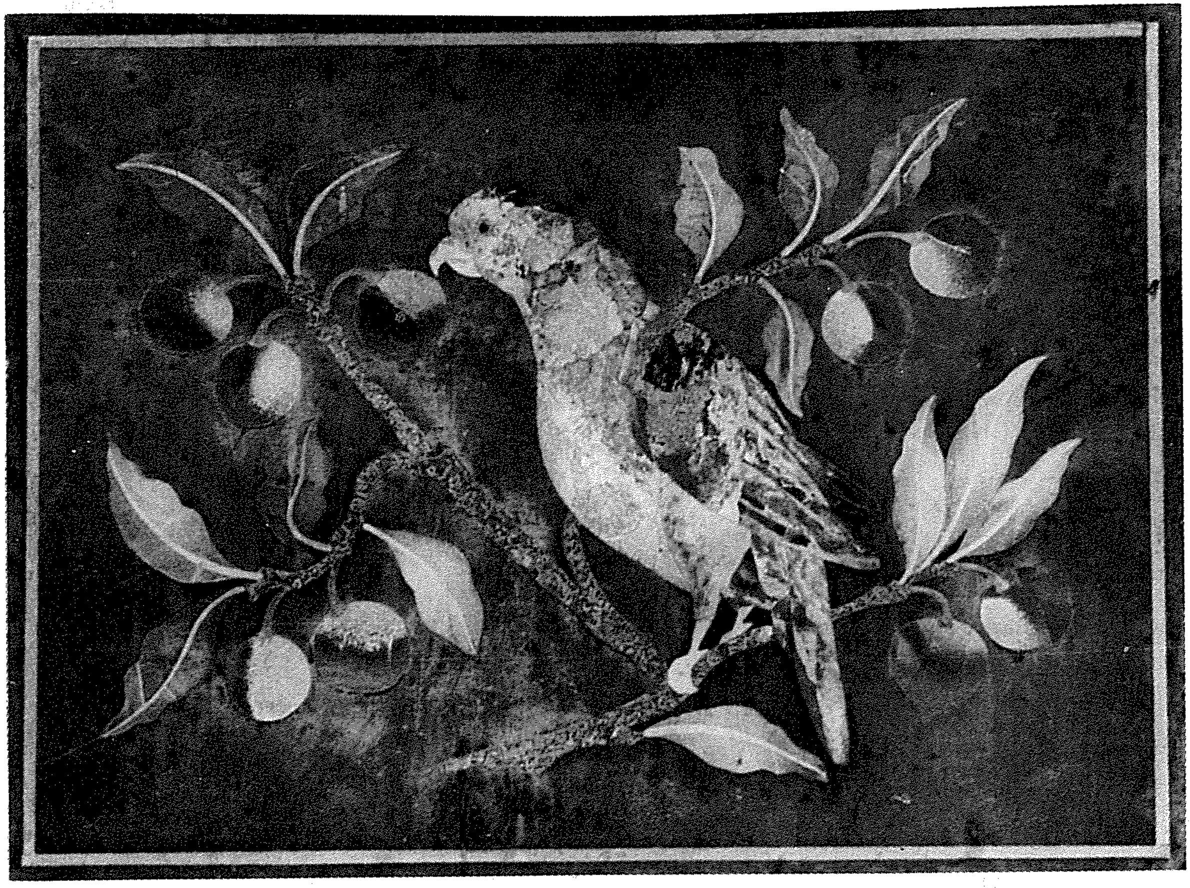


Fig. 4.25 Hoopoe (Fig. 4.15, A 101) and plaque with bird (Fig. 4.15, A 29).

Fig. 4.26 Parrot (Fig. 4.15, A 53).



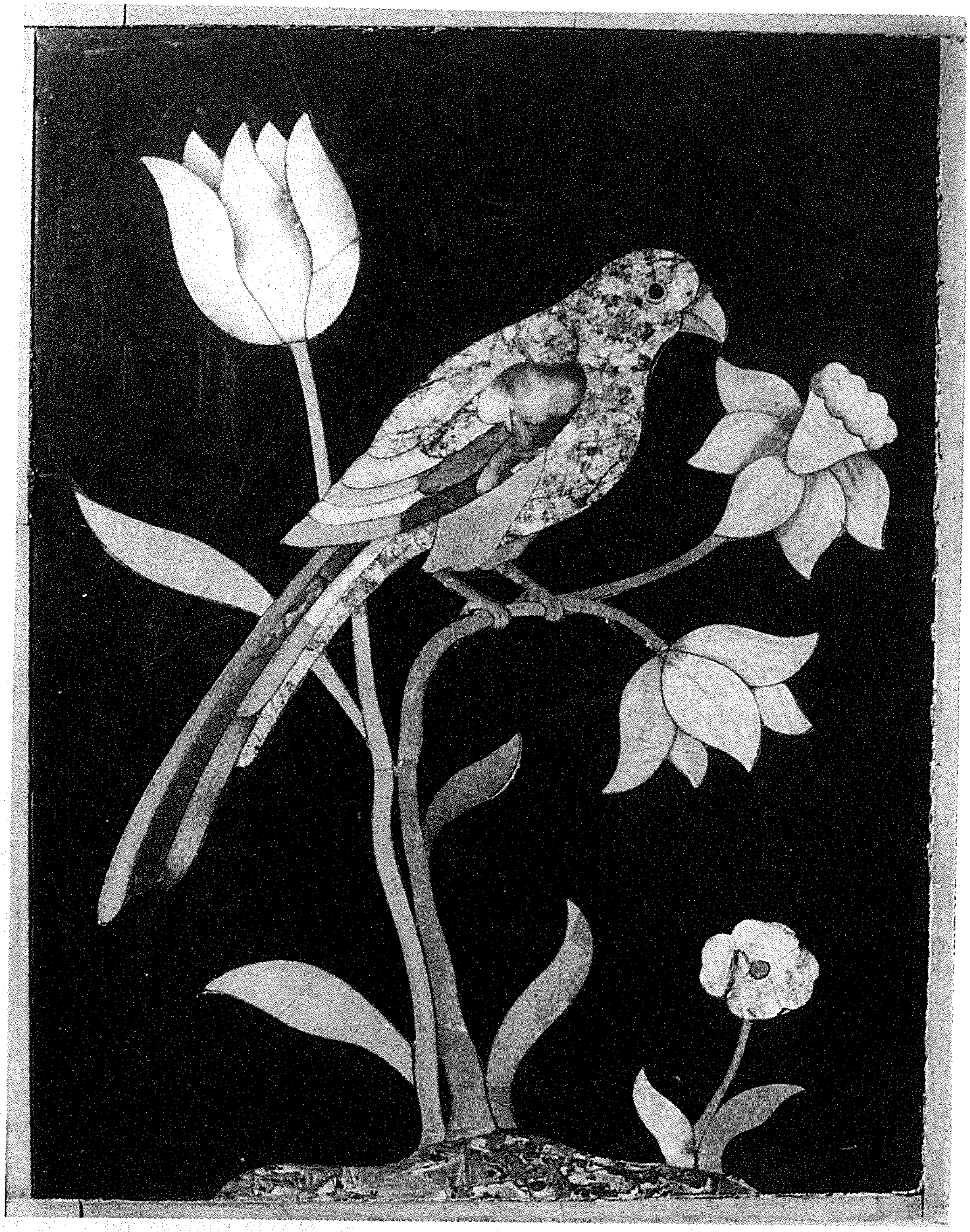


Fig. 4.27 Plaque with bird, set in the side of the cabinet of Fig. 4.30.

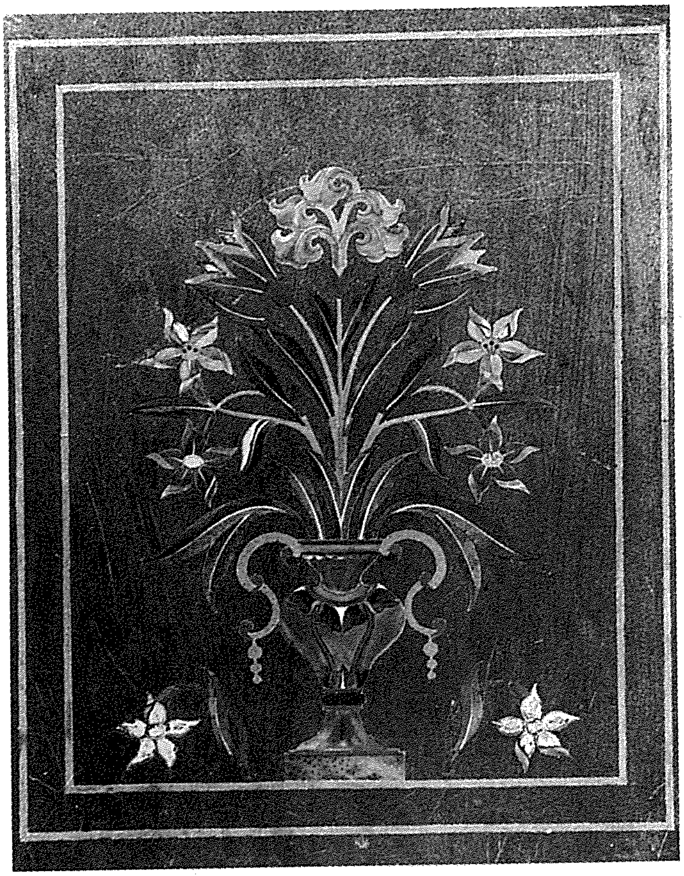


Fig. 4.28 Vase with flowers (Fig. 4.15, C 57).

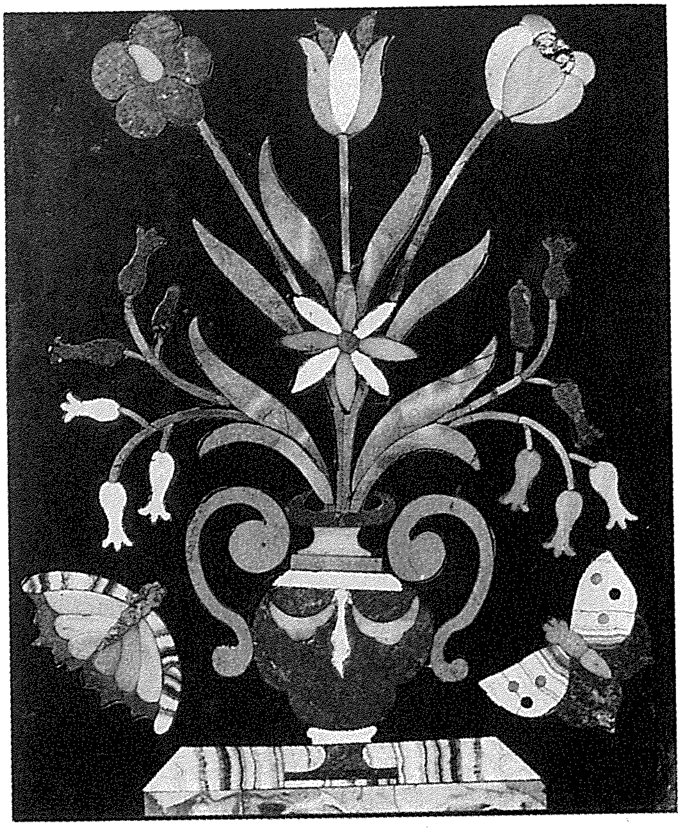


Fig. 4.29 Vase with flowers, set into the central door of the cabinet of Fig. 4.30.

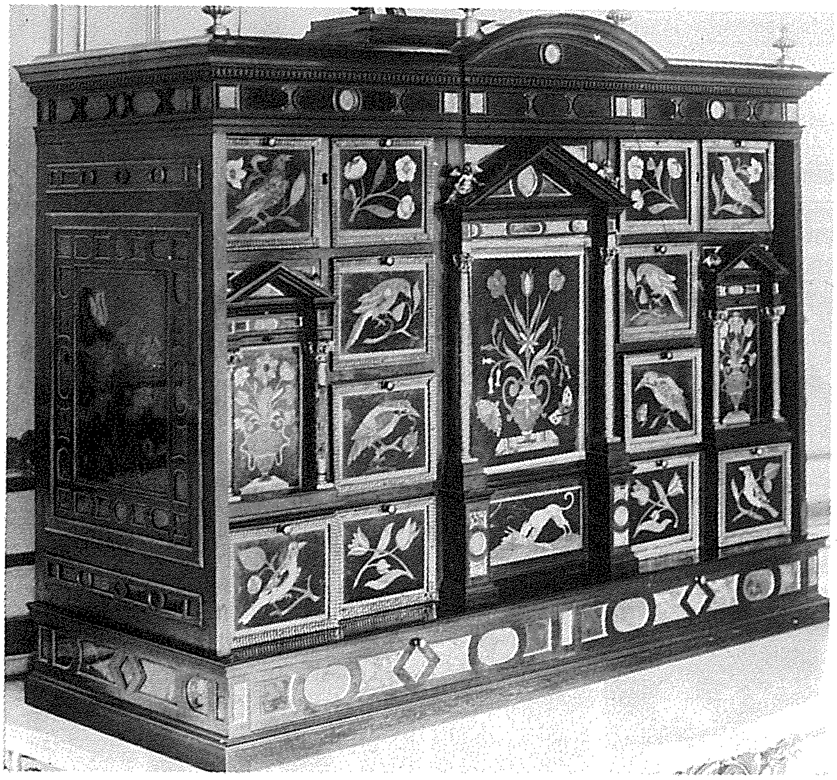
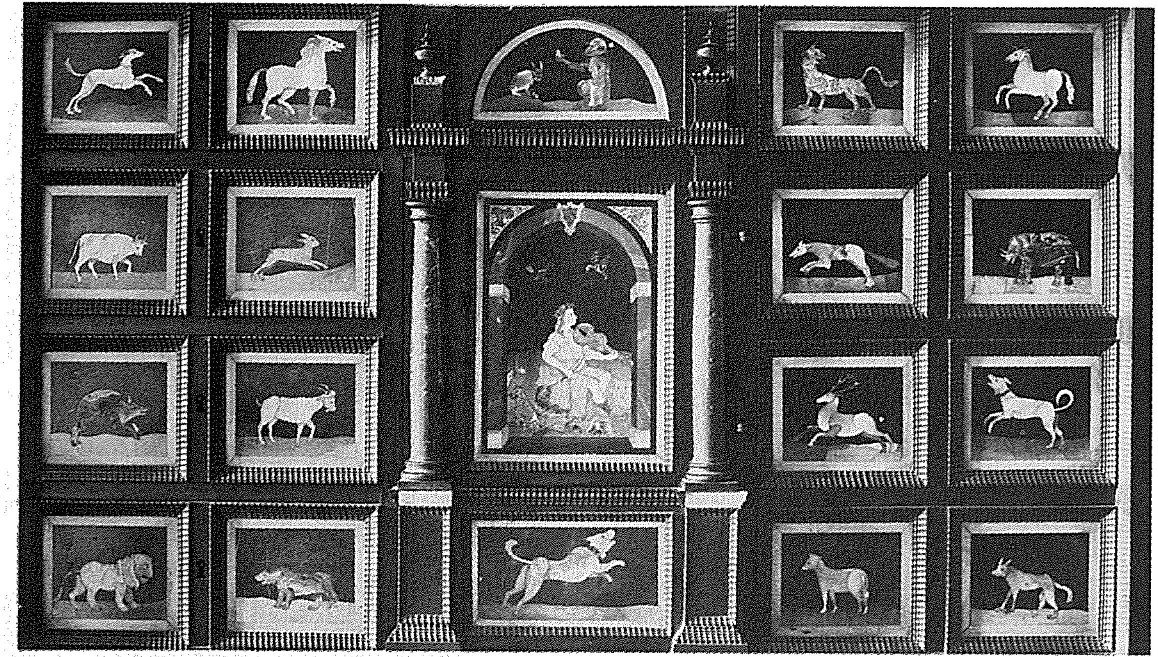


Fig. 4.30 Cabinet with birds, flowers, and flower vases, Italy, 17th century with later modifications. Kaiserliches Hofmobiliendepot, Vienna.

Fig. 4.31 Cabinet with a large plaque of Orpheus on the central door, and small plaques with animals on the front of the drawers, Italy, c. middle of the 17th century. Chirk Castle, Clwyd, Great Britain.



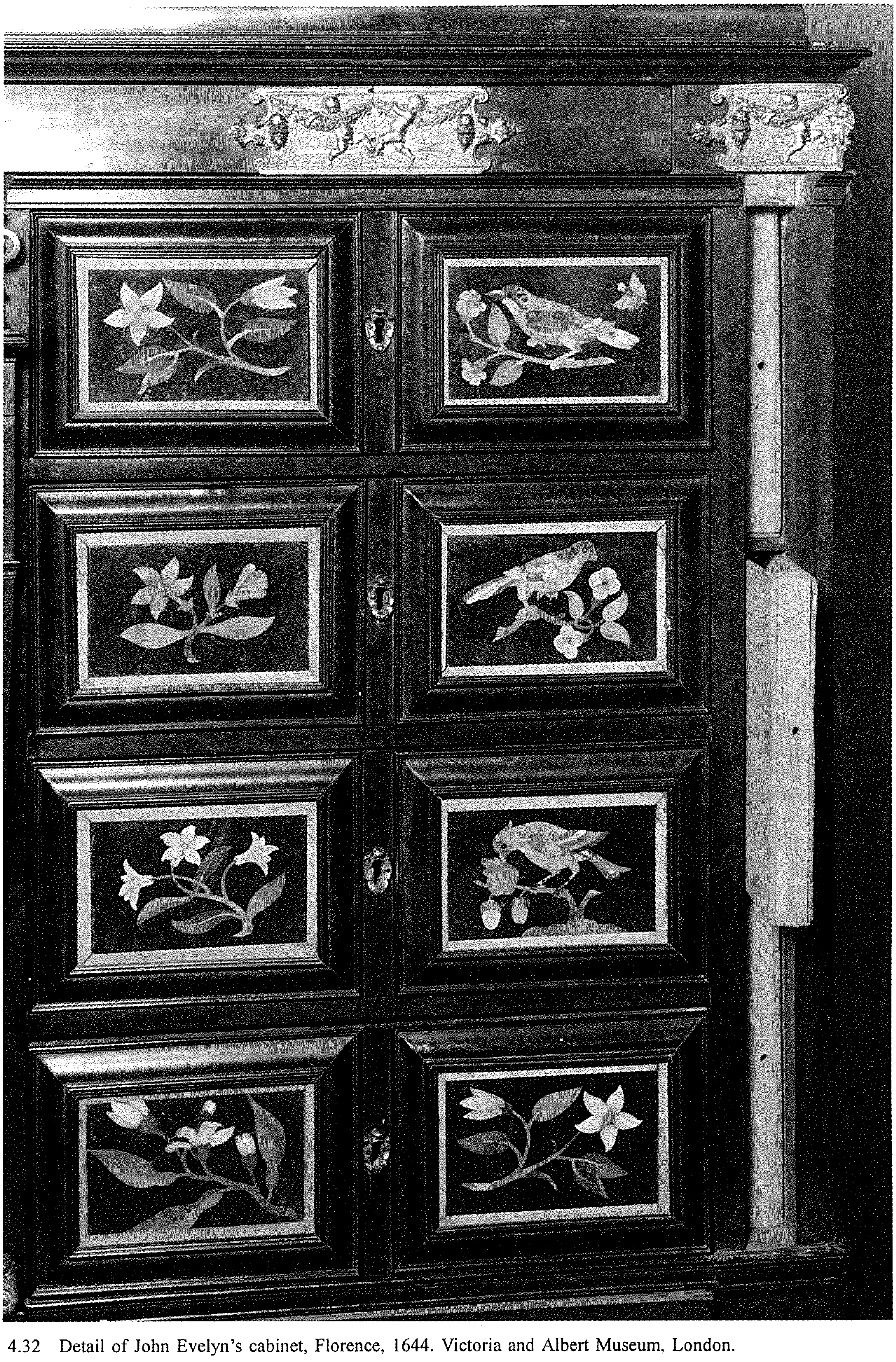


Fig. 4.32 Detail of John Evelyn's cabinet, Florence, 1644. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

is surrounded by wild and tame beasts that are listening peacefully to his music—a lion, a panther, a dog, a wolf (?), and a hare can be identified on the Delhi panel. Stylistically, the Delhi Orpheus differs from this group of somewhat thin-limbed puppet-like Orphei. In style, concept, the treatment of the stones, and its high quality the figure is very close to the *pietre dure* works produced for the Cappella dei Principi at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It compares particularly well with the Samson, who was originally intended for the ciborium of the Cappella,[48] in the modelling of the body and the treatment of the blue lapis lazuli[49] garment baring the right shoulder (Fig. 4.46).

The Delhi Orpheus might have been part of such an animal set. In this case, it is significant for our interpretation that from among the various animals only lions were chosen to be incorporated in the programme of the throne niche. The sets of the above-mentioned cabinets include feline animals in all the postures of the lions at the base of the Delhi wall (standing, standing with the head turned back, and lying down). The bizarre breed of tiger-lion, which we encounter there at present, might derive from the reinterpretation of a given shape by later restorers.[50] It is, however, also possible that the original lion plaques of the Delhi wall were copies after Italian ones, since it is most unlikely that one set would have included the number of lions (10) needed to line the base of the wall.

As a matter of fact, the possibility must be considered that some of the flower and bird plaques might also be Mughal copies after Italian originals, since the large number of plaques makes it doubtful that all of them were Italian imports. Some of the small plaques, and especially the ones that frame the arch of the niche which show birds not typical of the Italian sets (Fig. 4.42), could be such copies. This is of course now difficult to determine because of the thorough later restoration and also because of the fact that the Mughal artisans, by that time, had mastered the new technique to an astonishing degree.

The Mughal Pietre Dure *Decoration*

The Italian *pietre dure* panels are embedded in a white marble surface covered in its turn by Mughal *commesso di pietre dure*. In the lower sections flanking the central door, arabesques, consisting of thin scrolls connected by red flowers, enframe the cruciform patterns (Fig. 4.33). While these can be related to Mughal *pietre dure* decorations at Agra of an earlier date[51] (Fig. 4.3) as well as to contemporary ones at Delhi,[52] we find new motifs in the intrados of the arch of the niche and the lunette and its ornamental border. The intrados of the arch is covered by a diaper trellis pattern of cartouches moulded in marble which contain *pietre dure* flowers growing out of the junctions of the pattern (Fig. 4.8).

This arrangement shows close affinities to the decorative framework of another throne of S̲h̲āh Jahān as represented in miniature painting, namely the border of an album page with S̲h̲āh Jahān on the Peacock Throne (Figs. 4.50, 52).

In contrast to the plant decoration sculptured in marble, which becomes more naturalistic, fleshy, and 'active' than its predecessor at Agra, the development of the *pietre dure* flowers at Delhi goes in the opposite direction.[53] They become more stylized, ornamental, and 'bloodless', with symmetrically arranged thin interlaced stems. Similar tendencies are to be seen in contemporary miniature painting, such as the flower representations in the Dārā S̲h̲ukōh album (assembled *c.* 1633–42) of the India Office Library.[54]

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[48] Today the plaque is kept, together with other fragments of the altar and its ciborium, in the Museum of the Opificio delle Pietre Dure at Florence. I thank its director, Dr. Anna Maria Giusti, for the photograph and the permission to publish it. The similarity between the two plaques has been seen independently by L. Bartoli, 'I rapporti tra la Firenze dei Medici e l'India . . .' (n. 11 above), p. 62. For the planning of the ciborium see *inter alia* Weigelt, pp. 171 f. or *Il Museo dell'Opificio*, cat. nos. 68–75 (both n. 21 above).

[49] The use of dark blue lapis lazuli was characteristic of the production of Florentine workshops. See Neumann, 'Florentiner Mosaik aus Prag' (n. 21 above), pp. 186 f.

[50] The putting of tiger markings on lions, in a curious way visualizes the double meaning of the Persian term *s̲h̲er*, which means both tiger and lion. I have found a similar concept of lion representations in miniature painting in an 18th century copy of the *Bāds̲h̲āh nāma* written for S̲h̲āh Jahān by Muḥammad Amīn or Amīna-i Qazwīnī, British Library, Add. 20735, fols. 366^r and 608^r.

[51] They are a favourite decoration of the spandrels of arches of the Tāj Maḥall [for illus. see, for instance, Wayne E. Begley, 'Amānat Khān and the Calligraphy on the Tāj Maḥal', *Kunst des Orients*, XII (1978–9), pls. 2, 5, 7, 9], and of several buildings of the palace in the Agra Fort, i.e. the *jharoka-i k̲h̲āṣṣ-o'āmm*, our Fig. 4.3, or the spandrels of the sunken tank in the S̲h̲āh Burj; for illus., see R. Nath *Colour Decoration* (n. 11 above), pl. 29.

[52] See, for instance, the scrolls framing the dados of the Dīwān-i K̲h̲āṣṣ, the K̲h̲wābgāh, Ḥammām, Sāwan, Bhādon; for illus. see O. Reuther, *Paläste*, pls. 70, 71.

[53] Similar flowery plants are found on the dados of all the buildings mentioned in n. 52.

[54] Now Oriental and India Office collections, British Library. See Toby Falk and Mildred Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library* (London, 1981), pp. 72–81, pls. 68, fols. 42^r, 50^r, 52^r, 53^v, 54^r, 61^v, 63^v, 64^r, 67^v, 68^r.

Another new feature is the motif of the 'cut' flowers in the band framing the lunette and the upper sections flanking the central door (Figs. 4.37, 40). They 'float' on the background, without roots or any other fixation, and might have also been inspired by Italian *pietre dure* models, e.g. the flowers in the octagonal panels (Fig. 4.37).

The most important and unique indigenous *pietre dure* contribution to the whole decorative programme is found in the lunette. In the interstices formed by the arrangement of the imported plaques, birds are set which are sitting on fruit trees and flowering trees, in the same strict reverse symmetry that is observed on both sides of the central axis in every instance of this composition. The imported *pietre dure* plaques are the only instance of the use of such plaques in Mughal palace decoration. In the same way, the Mughal *pietre dure* birds were the only ones of their kind ever to appear in a Mughal palace. The birds take up the theme of the imported panels and provide a complementary Mughal counterpart to it, not only on a formal level, as an interstitial pattern, but also in the re-enactment of the principle of naturalistic bird representations. Hence the Oriental version of western theme is expressed in the artistic language of the West. The Mughal birds and trees are placed in the interstices between the Italian plaques. Like the scrolls and flowery arabesques in the lower sections, they have the formal function of embedding the configuration of cruciform patterns in a more organic environment and binding them into the arch of the lunette[55] (Fig. 4.20). Ten birds are sitting on trees growing out of little knolls set on the border of the ornamental strip which forms the base of the lunette. The rest of the trees with their birds are set on top of the Italian plaques, so as to close the gaps between the cruciform patterns. Three pairs of trees with birds facing each other, placed above each other, give a special emphasis to the central axis crowned by Orpheus. The arrangement reminds one of a tree-of-life motif.

Like their Florentine counterparts, the Mughal *pietre dure* birds are no phantasy birds but based on nature studies of birds found in India. Most of them can be identified, especially the ones which survive—according to Cole—more or less unaltered in their original state.[56]

Orpheus is framed by two original white-breasted kingfishers (*Halcyon smyrnensis*, Figs. 4.15, A 108 and 111; 4.22). Next to them on each side are two hoopoes (*Upupa epops*, Figs. 4.15, A 101, 105, 114, 119; 4.25, 39), of which 105 and 119, according to Cole, are original. Then follow—still lining the arch of the lunette—two birds eating moths (Fig. 4.15, A 99, 121) which cannot be identified with certainty (cuckoos?). On the same level towards the centre appear four parakeets, apparently meant to be Indian red-breasted parakeets (*Psittacula alexandrini*, Figs. 4.15, A 106, 109, 112, 115; 4.22, 36), which are original. The same species is found again in the corners of the lunette flying (Fig. 4.15, A 97, 124) over two beautiful martagon lilies, and sitting on fruit trees (Figs. 4.15, A 98 and 123; 4.37, 48). Both groups seem to be original. On the trees of the same level are placed four more pairs antithetical birds, among which mynas (Figs. 4.15, A 107, 116; 4.38, 41) and (Indian?) lorikeets (Figs. 4.15, A 110, 113; 4.36) can be identified, although their colours seem to have been partly altered by later restorers. In the remaining two interstices flowering trees are set. On each one two scarlet minivets (*Pericrocotus flammeus*, Figs. 4.15, A 103, 104 original; 4.38, 49; and A 117, 118) are sitting, the upper one eating a moth.

With regard to the genesis of their design, these naturalistic bird representations in *pietre dure* also show a surprising analogy to the Florentine bird and flower representations, which are closely associated with natural history drawings, especially those by Jacopo Ligozzi (1547–1626). He was court painter of the Medici and worked not only in close connection with the famous naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi, who was patronized by the Medici, but also prepared designs and cartoons for the production of the Opificio.[57] The Mughal bird representations are based on a similar development. They are very close to the bird studies from nature in Mughal miniature painting—especially to the work of *ustād* Manṣūr,[58] which were commissioned by the imperial naturalist Jahāngīr[59] (Fig. 4.47).

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[55] This blending of the European with the Mughal pictorial material brings to mind the principle of Mughal *muraqqa*'s (albums), where European engravings were often mounted (with Mughal miniatures) within a calligraphic frame, either produced for the occasion or pasted together from earlier materials. Examples are found in the Dārā Shukōh Album (see n. 54 above), pls. 68, 42^v, 43^r, and especially in the earlier *muraqqa*'s of Jahāngīr, see Milo Cleveland Beach, 'The Gulshan Album and Its European Sources', *Museum of Fine Arts Boston Bulletin*, LXIII, no. 332 (1965), pp. 63–91 with further literature.

[56] I thank Stanley and Belinda Breeden for kindly assisting me in the identification of the birds based on Sálim Ali and Dillon Ripley, *A Pictorial Guide to the Birds of the Indian Subcontinent* with illus. by John Henry Dick (Oxford University Press, 1983).

[57] For J. Ligozzi and his relation to Aldrovandi, see Odoardo H. Giglioli, 'Jacopo Ligozzi disegnatore e pittore di piante e di animali', *Dedalo*, IV, 1 (1923–4), pp. 554–70; Mina Bacci and Anna Forlani, *Mostra di disegni di Jacopo Ligozzi* (1547–1626), (Florence, 1961). For Ligozzi's work for the Opificio, see H. Weigelt, 'Florentiner Mosaik', p. 175; C.W. Fock, 'Bylivelt', p. 123; Baldini,

The trend continued in Shāh Jahān's time, especially in the bird and flower studies of the already mentioned Dārā Shukōh album.[60] The Florentine *pietre dure* birds gave the incentive to transfer the Mughal bird studies into the medium of precious and semi-precious stones, a process for which Shāh Jahān's patronage of the art of glyptics, intaglio, cameo, and other hard stone carving was certainly a determining factor.[61]

The Mughal patronage of natural history drawings and their transposition in *pietre dure* has so much in common with the patronage of the Medici that one is inclined to see here more genealogies than analogies. The artistic and naturalistic interests of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān indeed show striking parallels to those of European rulers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[62] The Great Mughals' interest in European rulers and their art is well enough documented.[63] Yet, it would be going too far to suggest a direct influence for each and every related feature. Instead, it seems more likely that similar tastes and interests of the Mughal patrons and artists, such as in our context scientific naturalism and involvement in precious stones and their courtly uses, led to similar artistic expressions, once the initial lesson of the European form and technique had been absorbed.

The Mughals were quick to realize the potential of the European form for their own requirements and in the end similar solutions might have been produced by an artistic development that had become quite independent from its initial impetus. Thus, it is not always easy to define the exact debt of the Mughal artists to the European models. A specific sensibility for the European form was always inherent in this art; an ever-present readiness to enter into new dialogues with the European form which accounts for the use of

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Giusti, Martelli, *La Cappella dei Principi*, pls. 12 (cat. 10), 17 (cat. 12), 123 (cat. 94), 124 (cat. 95), 126–32 (cat. 96); F. Rossi, *Steinintarsien*, pp. 128 f., 137 ff.; Gonzáles-Palacios, *Mosaici e pietre dure*, pp. 26 ff. (all n. 21 above).

[58] For the work of *ustād* Manṣūr, see especially Aśok Kumar Das, 'Ustād Manṣūr', *Lalit Kalā*, XVII (1974), pp. 32–9; and Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India 1600–1660* (Williamstown, MA, 1978), pp. 137–43. For a study of a myna from Jahāngīr's period, *c.* 1615–20, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, comparable to the two *pietre dure* mynas of the Delhi wall (Figs. 4.15 A 107, 116; 4.41), see Karl Khandalavala, 'The Heritage of Islamic Art in India', *The Arts of Islam in India, Marg*, XXXV, no. 2 (1984), p. 30, pl. 25.

[59] Jahāngīr's study of the sarus crane and his observations on the gestation period of elephants are original contributions to zoology. See M.A. Alvi and A. Rahman, *Jahangir—the Naturalist* (New Delhi, 1968), p. 5.

[60] See Falk and Archer, *Indian Miniatures* (n. 54 above), for bird representations see pls. 68, fols. 8^r, 9^v, 10^r, 31^v, 32^r, 71^v, 72^r. Even the minute birds populating the decorated margins (*ḥāshiyas*) of Shāh Jahān's album pages and miniatures are studies from nature (our Fig. 4.50). In the group of marginal decorations-attributed by A. Welch to a 'Master of the Borders' [Anthony Welch and Stuart Cary Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book: The Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan* (New York, 1982), cat. no. 73 with further references] we find, among others, the same birds as on the wall of the Delhi throne niche: white-breasted kingfishers and (in this case blossom-headed) parakeets.

[61] This aspect of Shāh Jahān's patronage is still awaiting a systematic study. The most important of Shāh Jahān's hard stone carvings have recently been assembled and briefly discussed by Robert Skelton in his *The Indian Heritage: Court Life and Arts under Mughal Rule* (London, 1982), pp. 117–24, who stresses the contribution of European lapidaries to this Mughal craft. The *commesso di pietre dure* was a reserve of especially rich princes or princes ruling over countries rich in precious stones (see E. Neumann, 'Florentiner Mosaik aus Prag', n. 21 above, p. 158)—both proverbial attributes of the Great Mughal. This seems to have motivated the attempt by Ferdinando I Medici in 1608 to send buyers of semi-precious stones to India. See Zobi, p. 239; Hosten, pp. 135 ff.; and Zangheri (all n. 11 above). For a general overview of the precious and semi-precious stones of the Mughals, see Abdul Aziz, *The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughals* (Lahore, 1942).

[62] I have dealt with some aspects of this problem in 'The Influence of the Jesuit Mission', pp. 1–2, 5, 8, 11, and 'The Baluster Column', pp. 51–2, 57–60, this volume. As to the analogies between the scientific animal and bird representation patronized by Jahāngīr and the art of scientific naturalism in Europe at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries, they were already noted by Jan Bialostocki, 'Les Bêtes et les humains de Roelant Savery', *Bulletin des Musées des Beaux Arts*, VII (1958), pp. 69–89; Jaromír Šip, 'Die Paradieses-Vision in den Gemälden Roelandt Saverys', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LXV (N. F. XXIX), (1969), pp. 29–38, suggests on a rather vague basis a direct influence of 'Asian miniature painting' (including Indian miniatures) on the work of Savery, made possible by the political connections between the court of Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612) at Prag and the Safawīd Court (I am indebted to Prof. Günther Heinz for bringing Šip's article to my notice).

[63] See the passages of my two essays quoted in n. 62 and Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Imperial Image: Painting for the Mughal Court* (Washington, D.C., 1981), pp. 30–1.

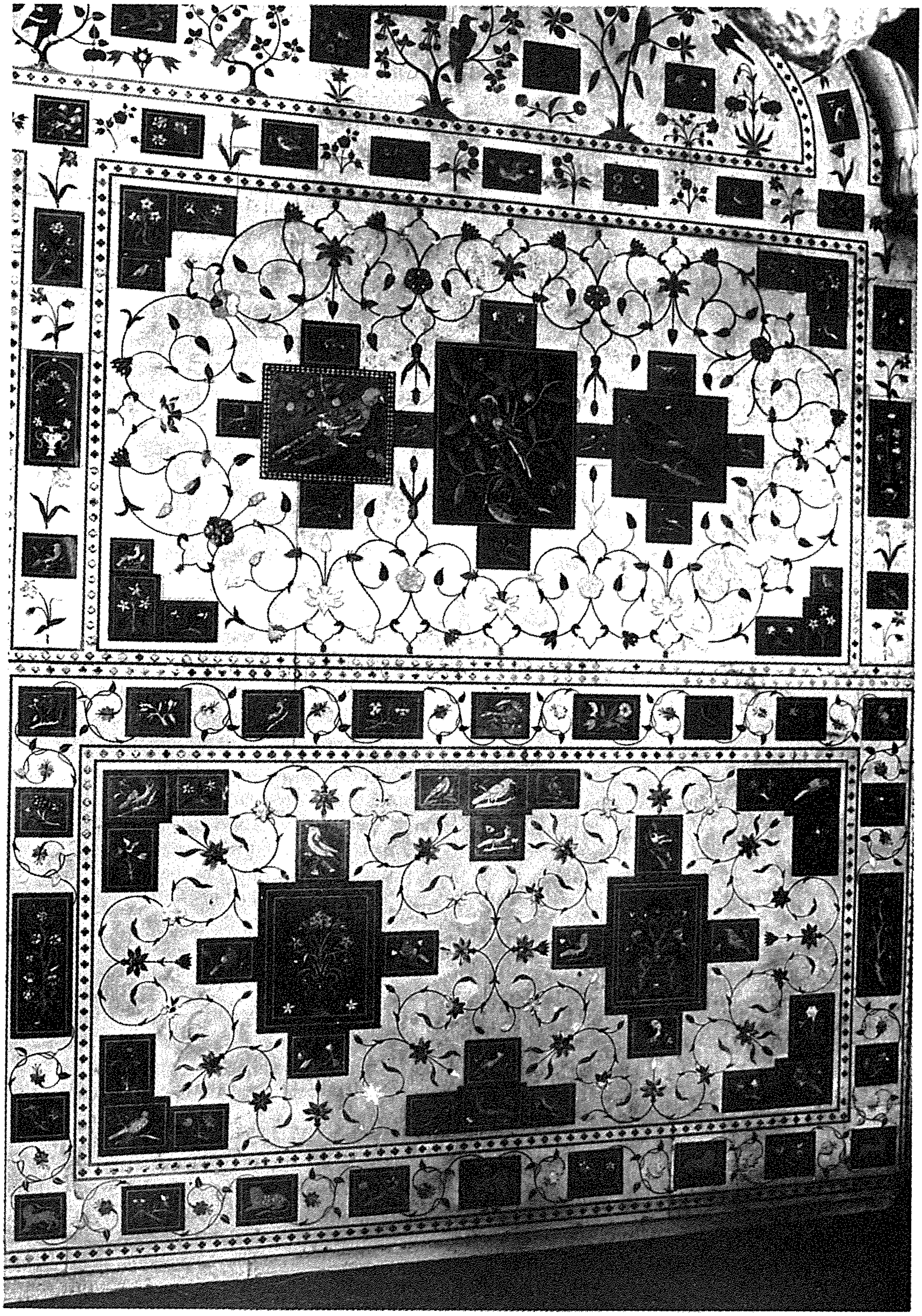


Fig. 4.33 Detail of the Delhi *pietre dure* wall to the right side of the door.

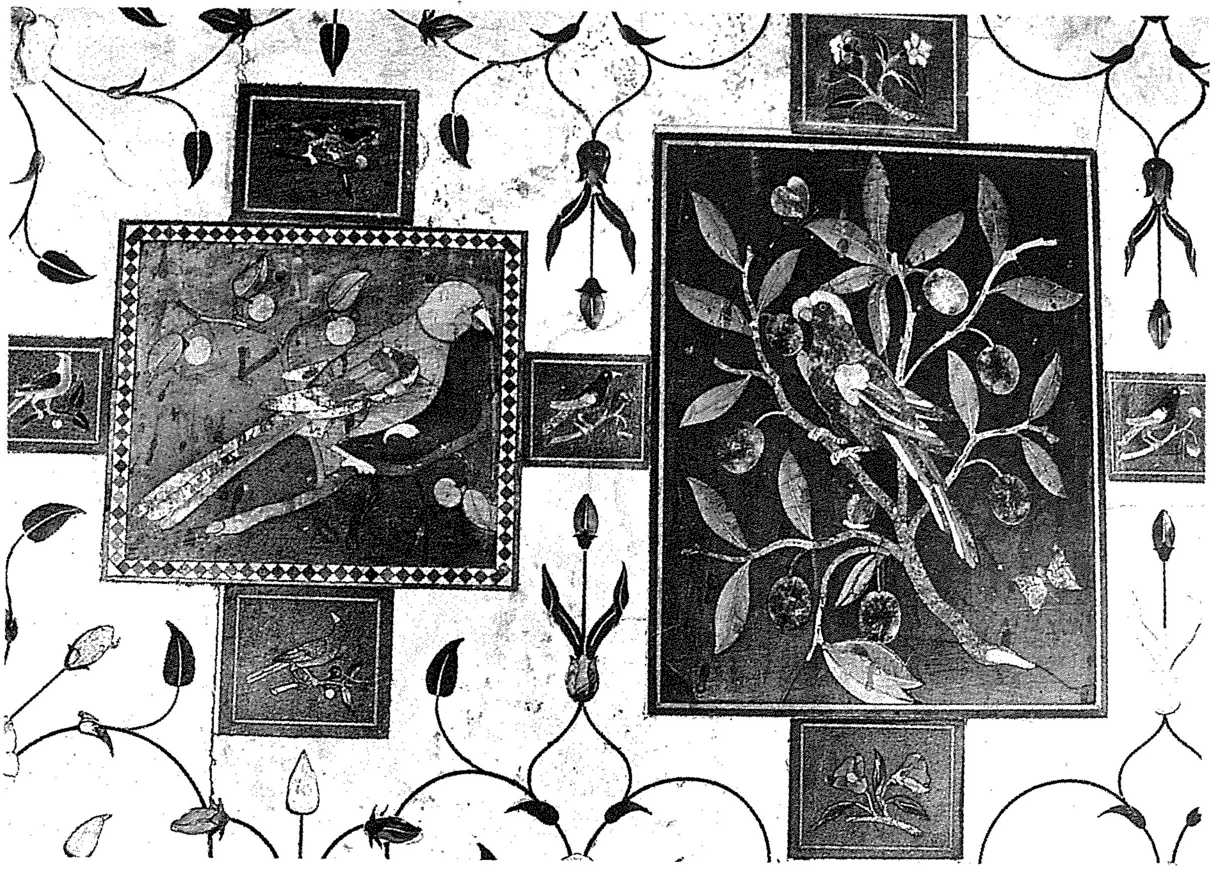
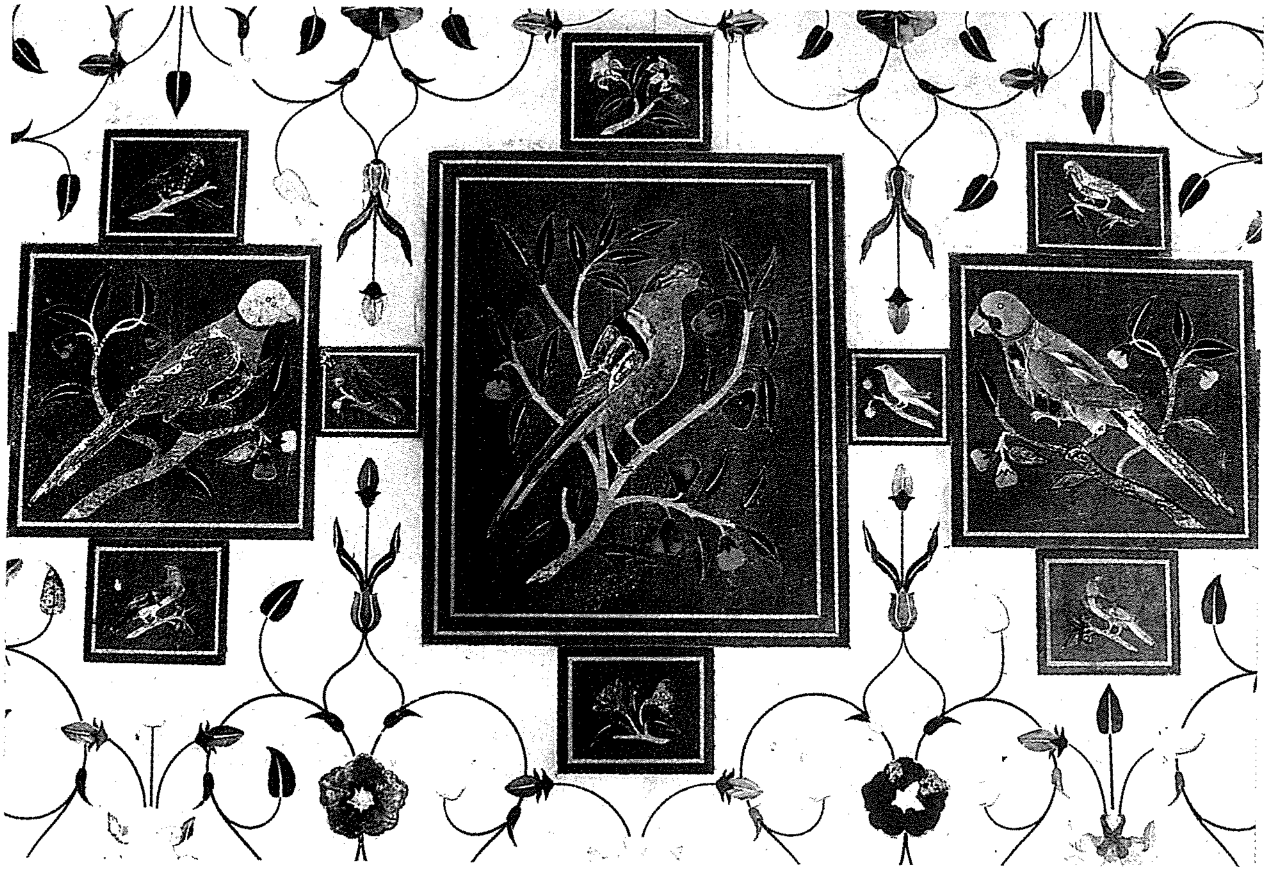


Fig. 4.34 Two plaques with parrots (Fig. 4.15, C 14 and C 16).

Fig. 4.35 Three plaques with parrots (Fig. 4.15, B 14, 16, 18).



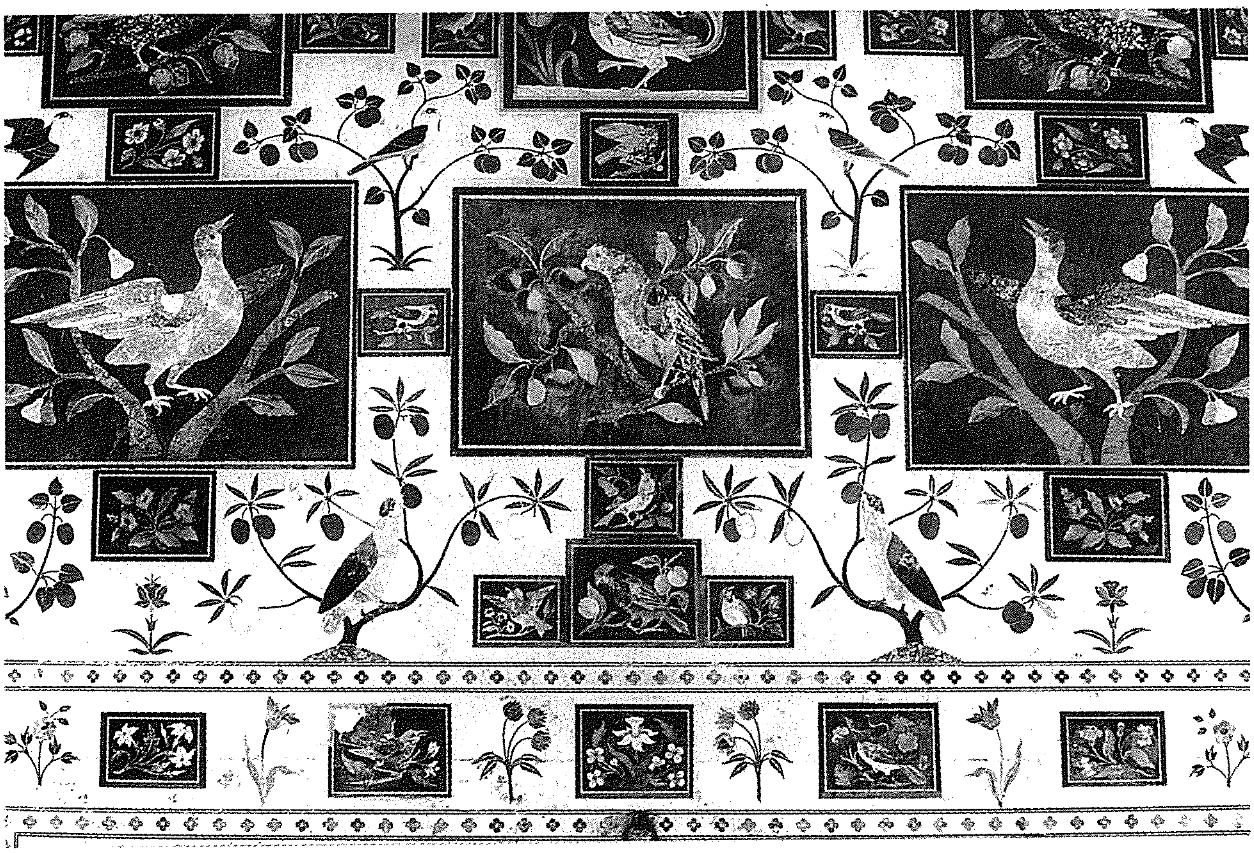
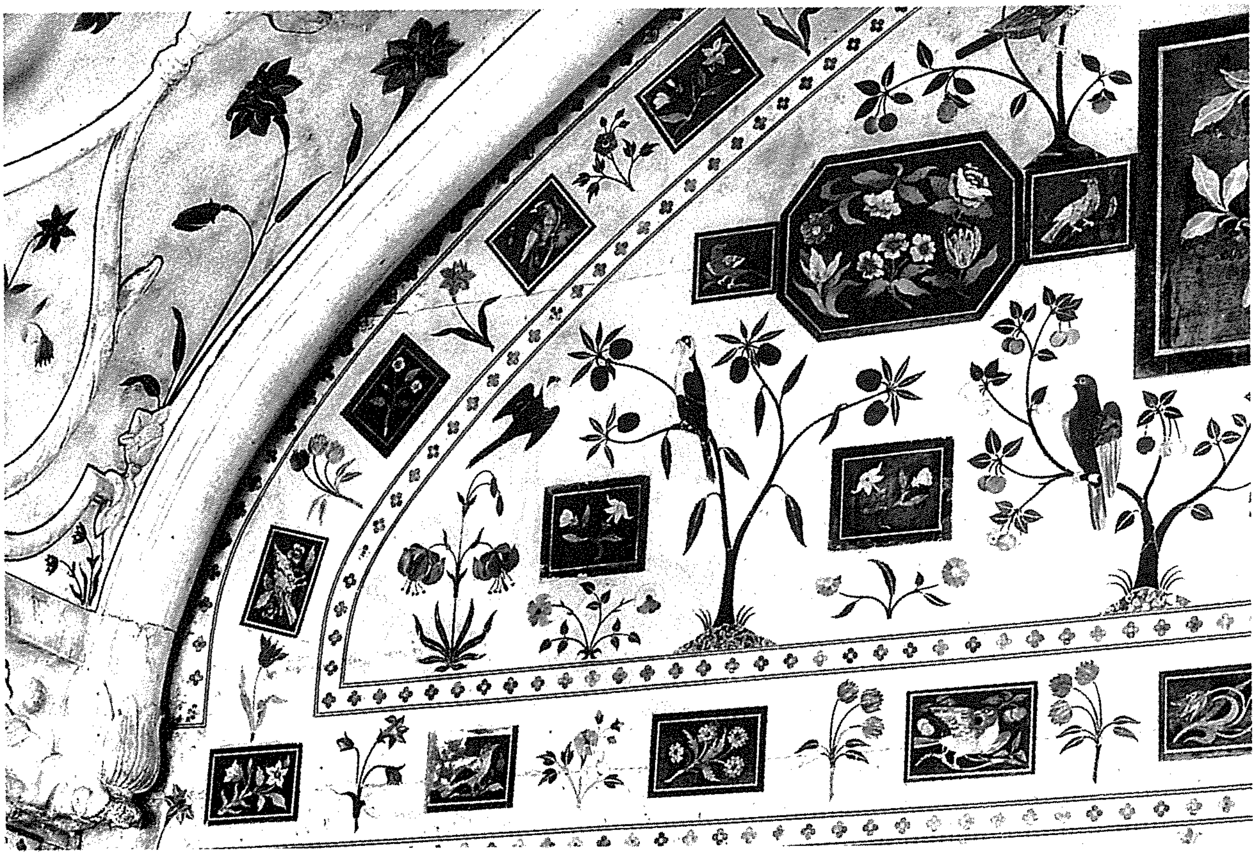


Fig. 4.36 Birds in the central area of the lunette-shaped section of the *pietre dure* wall.

Fig. 4.37 Left spandrel of the lunette-shaped section of the *pietre dure* wall with martagon lily, two red-breasted parakeets (Fig. 4.15, A 97, 98) and an octagonal panel filled with cut flowers in a whirl pattern (A 46).



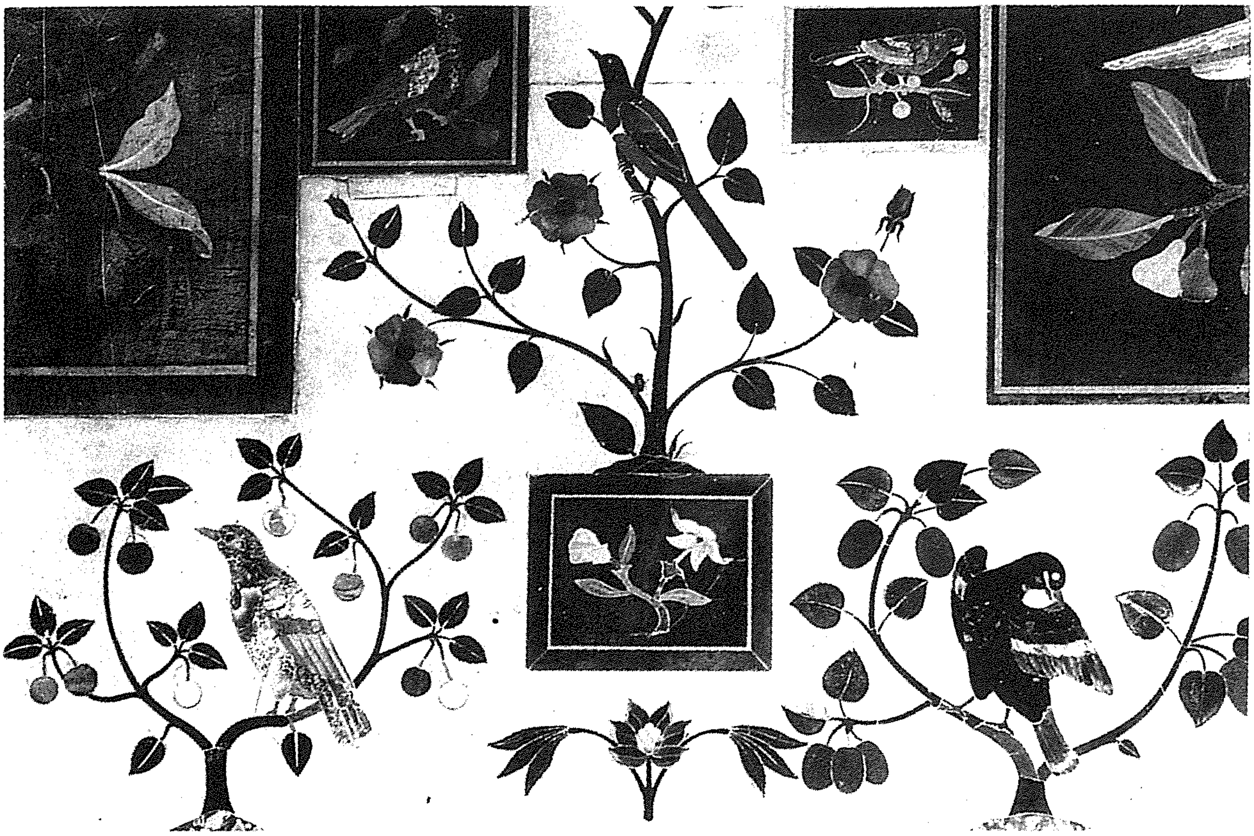
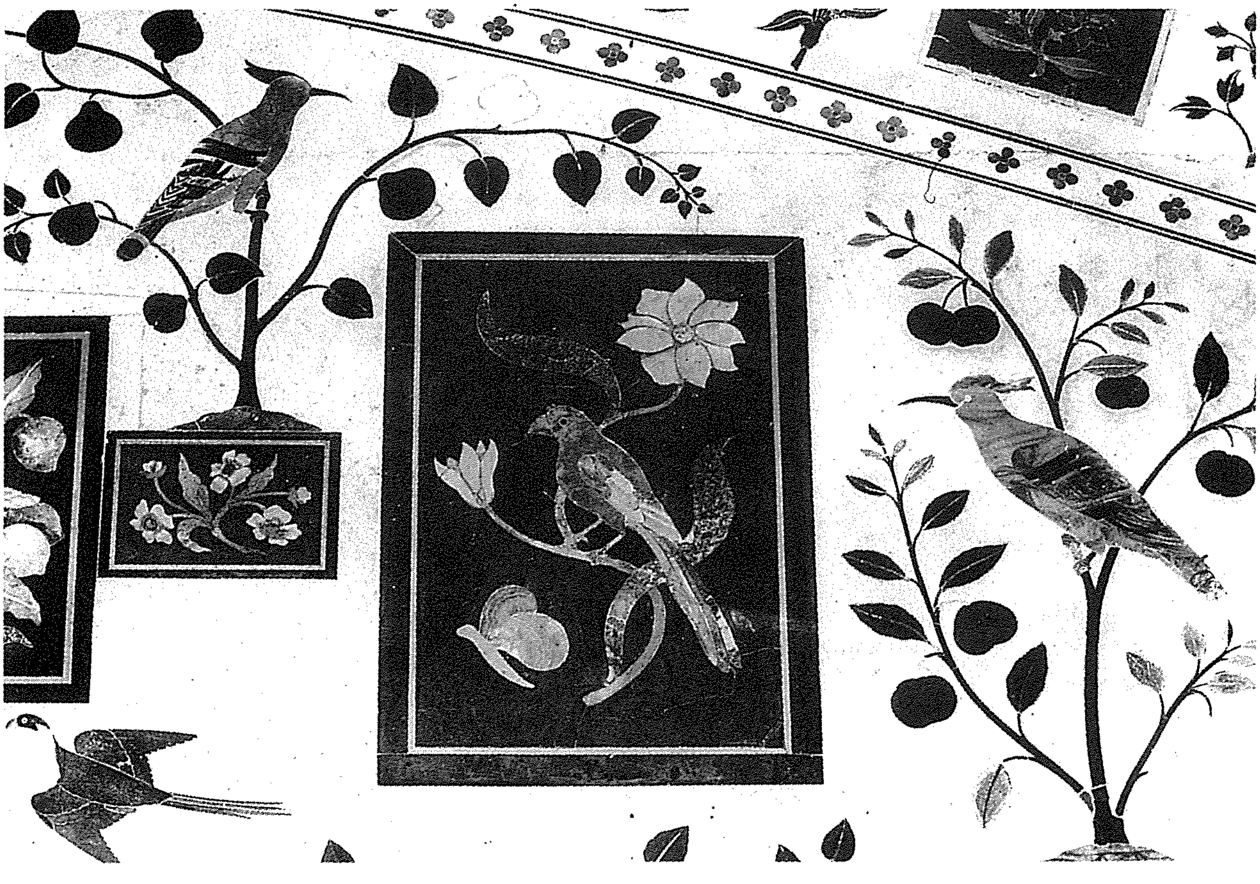


Fig. 4.38 Mynas (Fig. 4.15, A 102, 107), scarlet minivets (A 104) and small plaques with flowery twig (A 65) and birds (A 49, 50).

Fig. 4.39 Plaque with bird (Fig. 4.15, A 39) framed by two hoopoes sitting on fruit trees (A 114, 119).



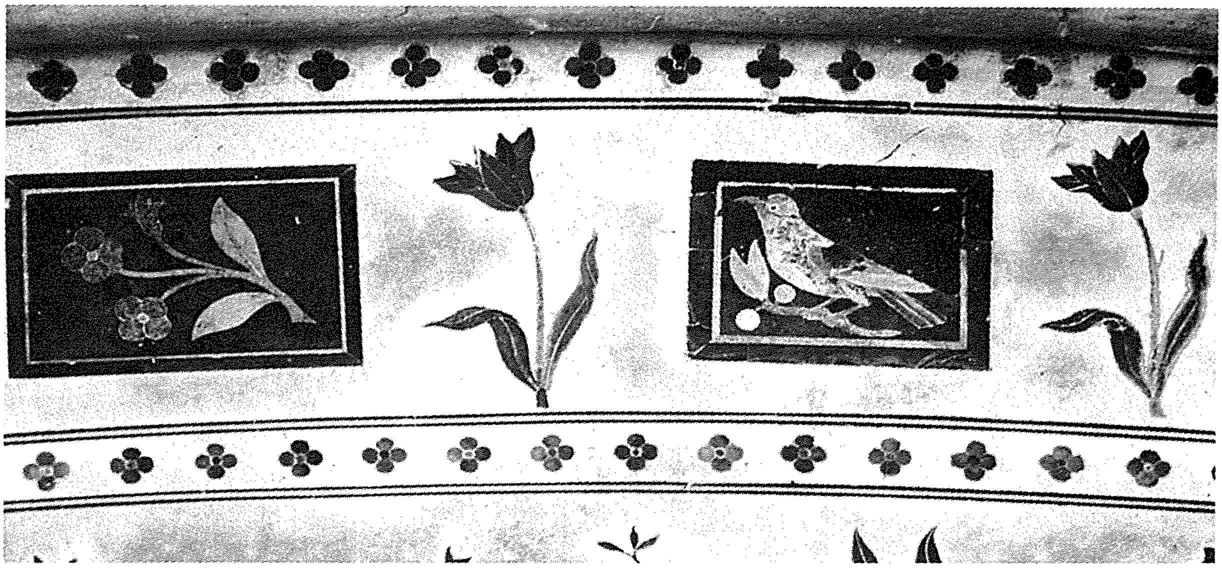
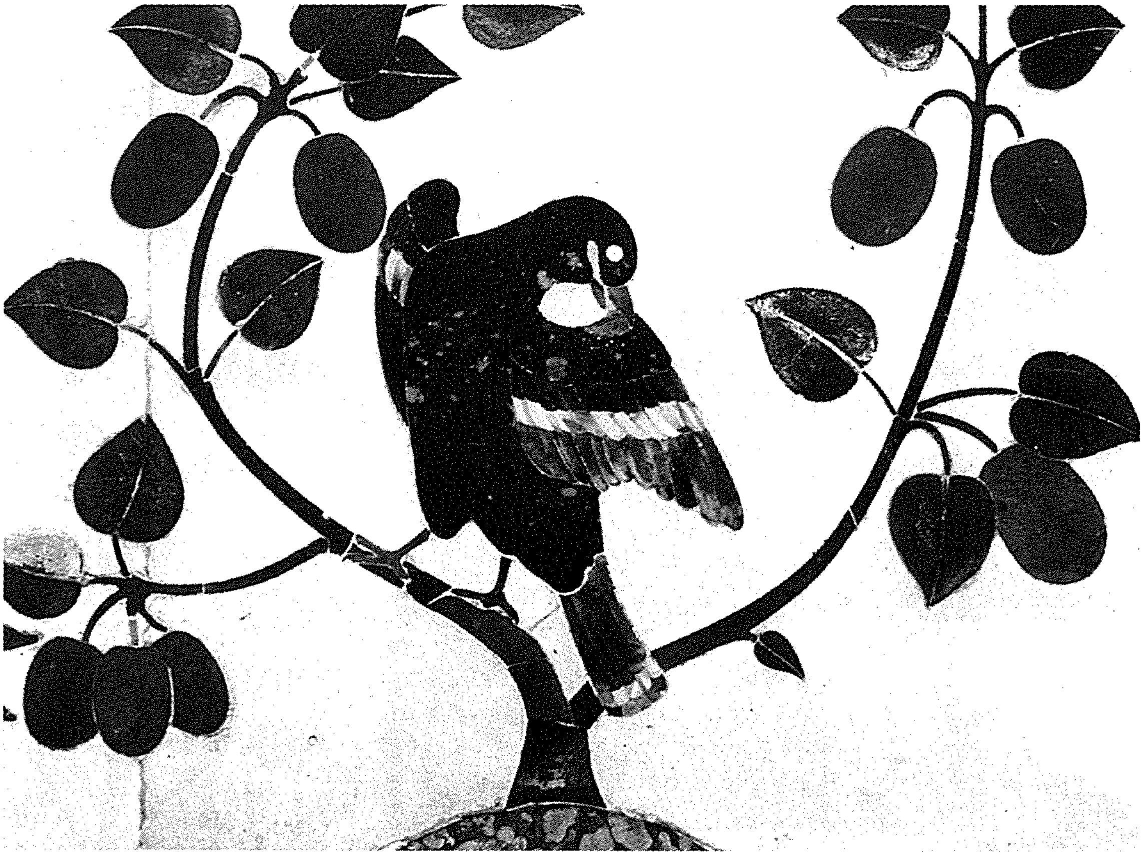


Fig. 4.40 Two small plaques showing a flower (Fig. 4.15, A 14), and a bird (A 15).

Fig. 4.41 Myna (Fig. 4.15, A 107), cf. Fig. 4.38.



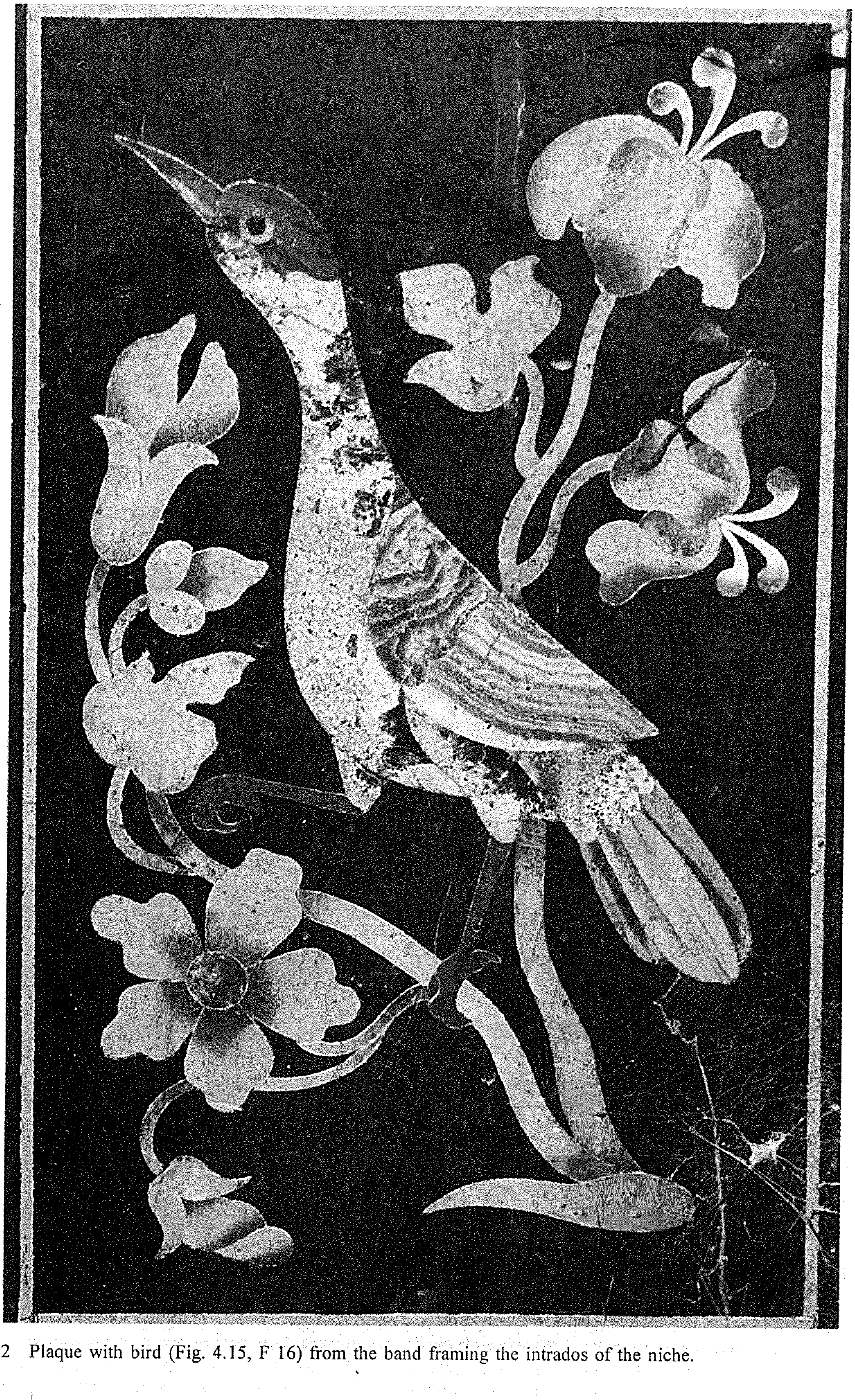


Fig. 4.42 Plaque with bird (Fig. 4.15, F 16) from the band framing the intrados of the niche.

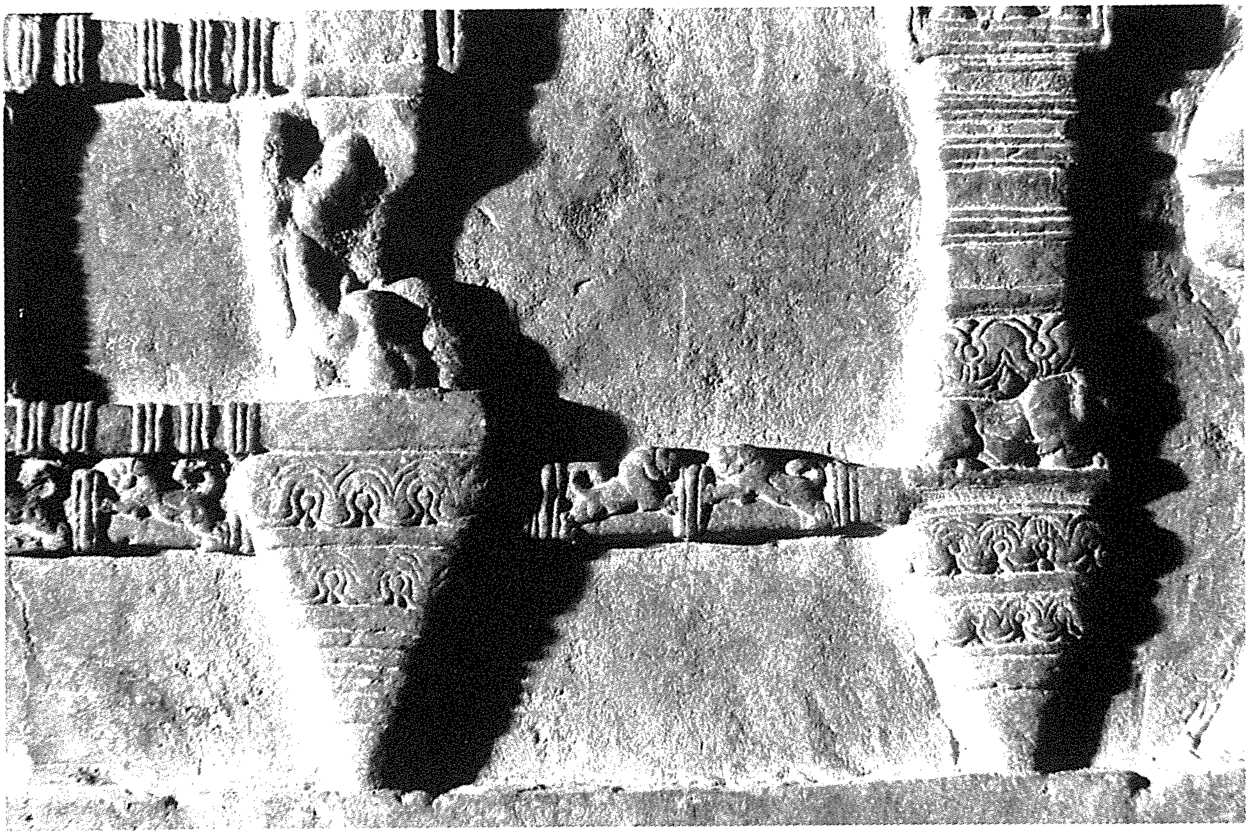
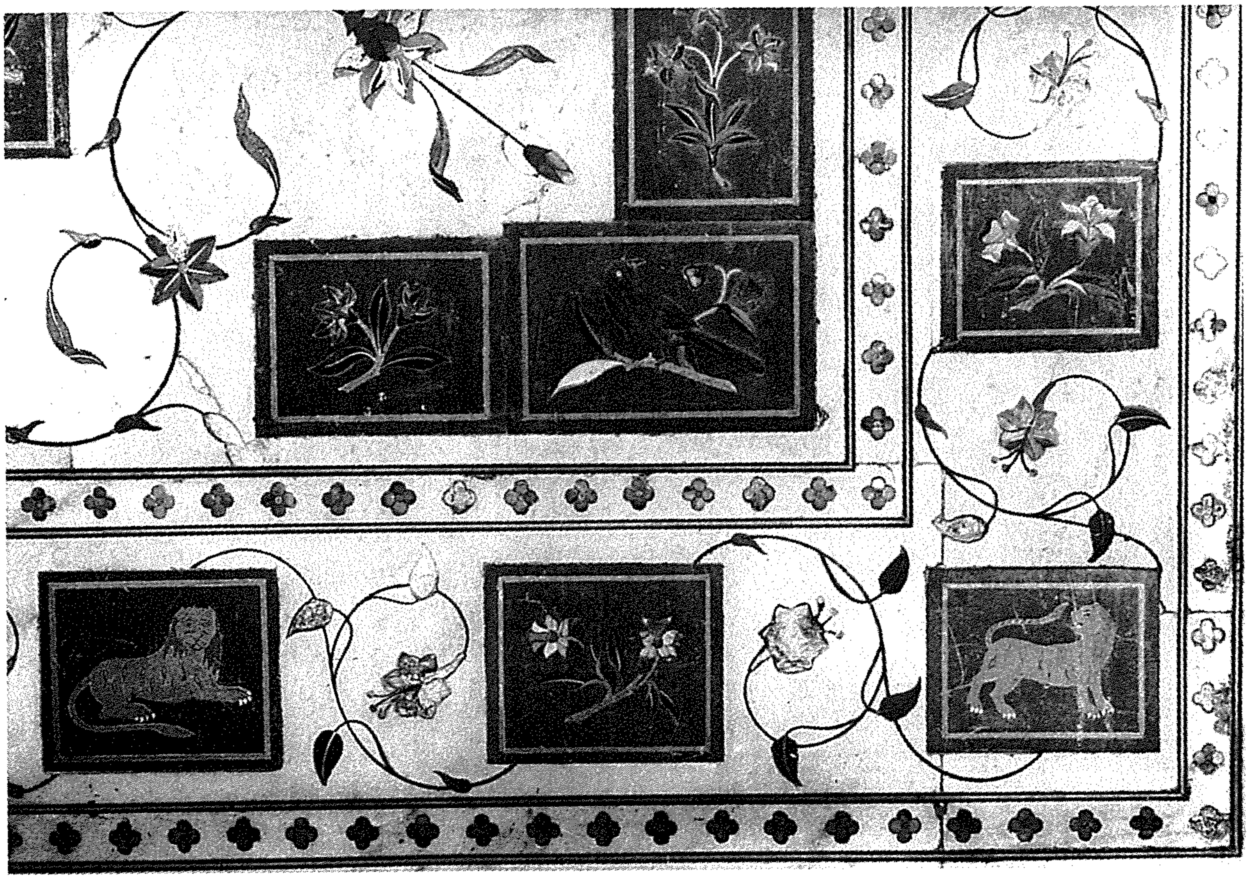


Fig. 4.43 Lions on the throne couch of Ashurbanipal, detail of a relief from Nineveh, 7th century B.C. British Museum, London.

Fig. 4.44 Plaques with lions at the foot of the *pietre dure* wall (Fig. 4.15, B 83, 85), cf. Fig 4.23.



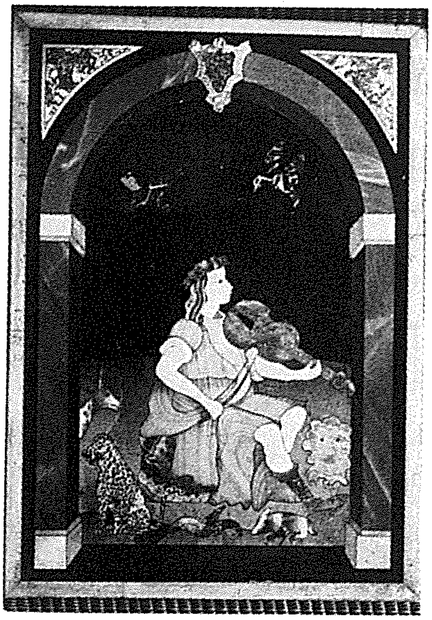
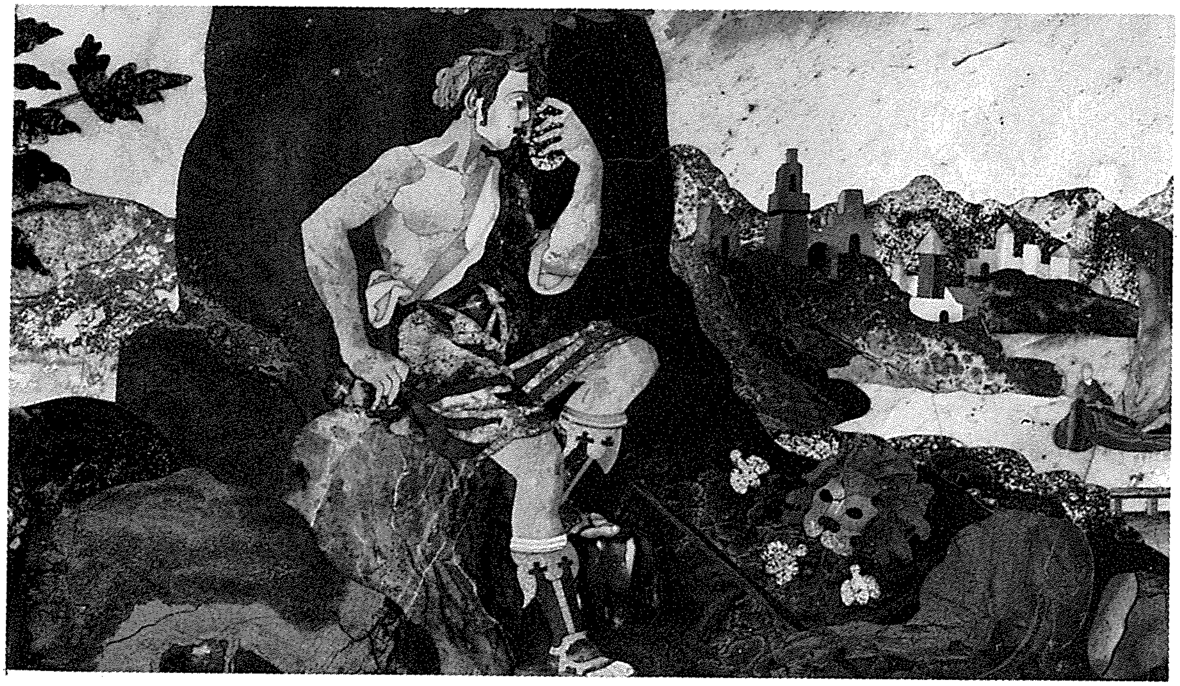


Fig. 4.45 Orpheus Playing to the Beasts from the Chirk cabinet; cf. Fig. 4.31.

Fig. 4.46 Samson and the Lion, detail, early 17th century. Museo delle Pietre Dure, Florence.



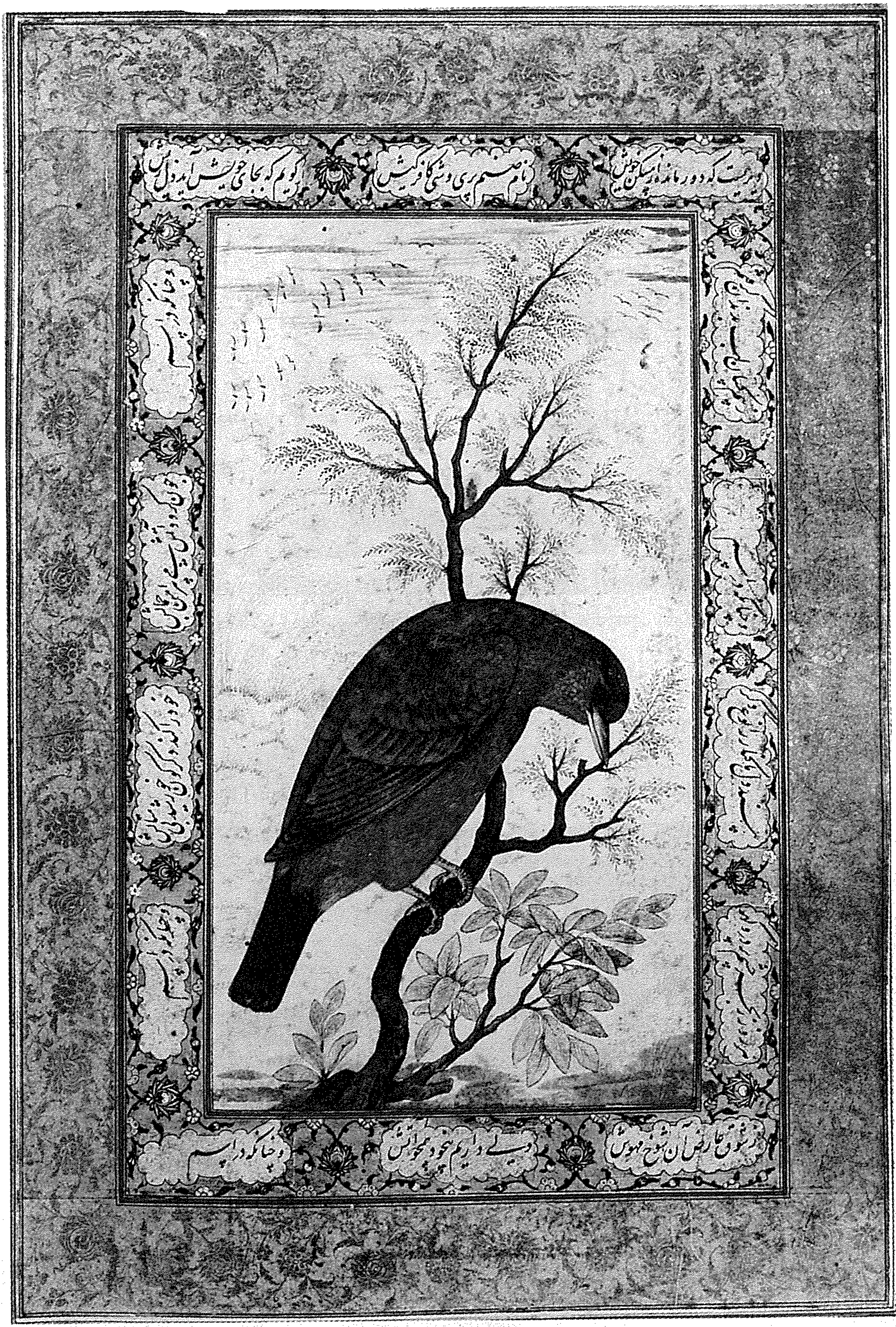


Fig. 4.47 Manṣūr, Himalayan Blue-Throated Barbet. C. 1615. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

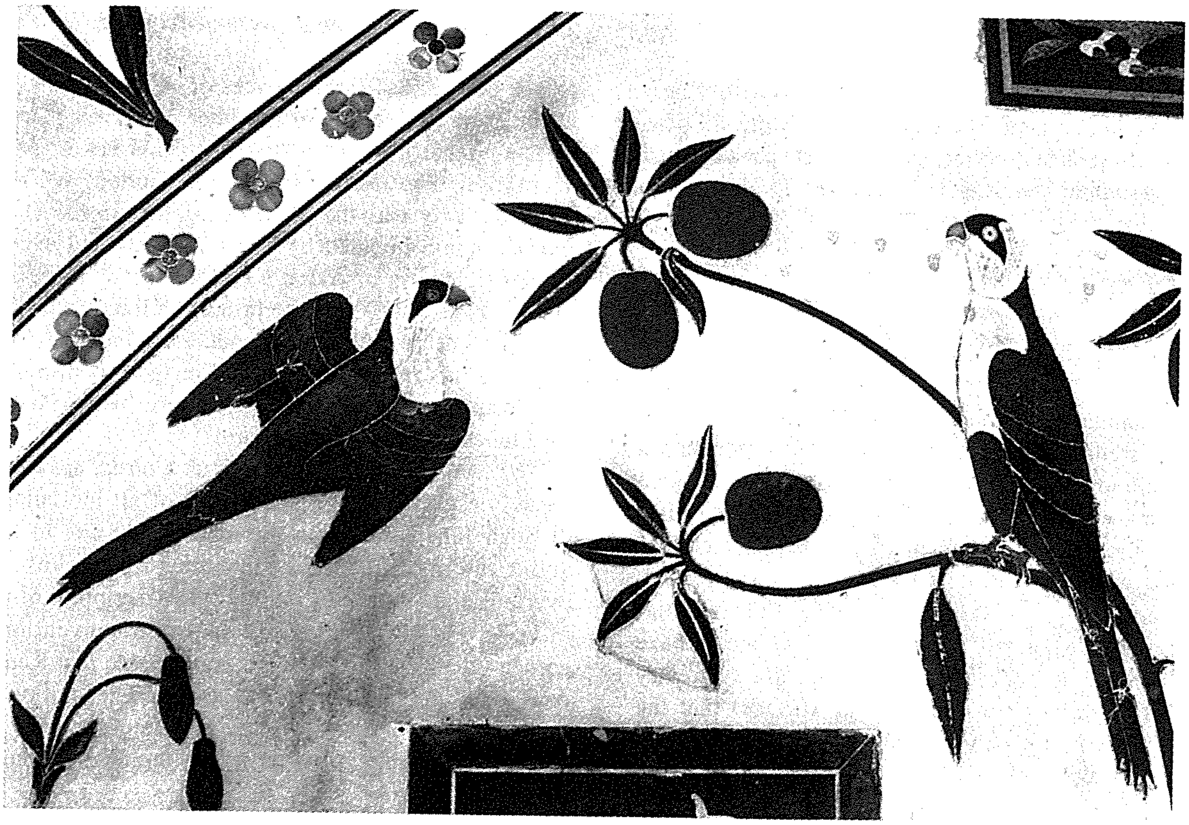
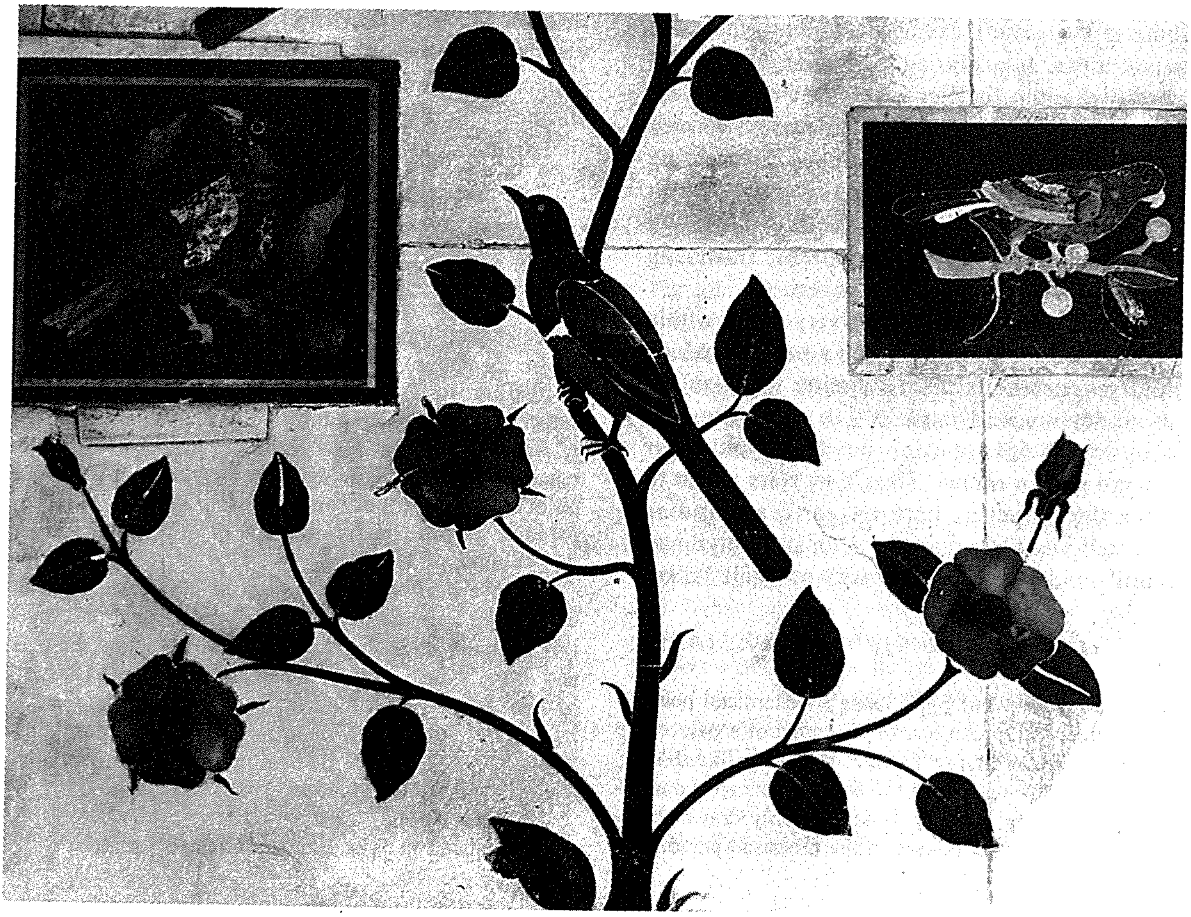


Fig. 4.48 Red-breasted parakeets, cf. Fig 4.37.

Fig. 4.49 Scarlet minivet and two plaques with birds, cf. Fig. 4.38.



the *pietre dure* plaques and the creation of their Mughal counterparts. The parallels to European ideas in this throne arrangement are, however, not confined to iconographic and stylistic aspects.

The Meaning

The Throne Jharoka *and Its Niche as a Solomonic Throne*

The examination of the setting of the throne *jharoka* and its arched niche has shown that it represents a compendium of the most novel forms which Mughal architecture and architectural decoration had to offer at the time, '. . . a fusion of . . . disparate elements coupled with the realistic portrayal of natural forms'. This, according to Skelton, 'typifies the essential features of Mughal art'.[64] The discrete elements have been merged so successfully (by absolute symmetry and homogeneous treatment of the surface) that the resulting harmony may easily deceive us as to their heterogeneous provenance.

Will it be legitimate to assume that this procedure which can be detected on the formal level, may equally serve as a clue to establish the programme of the throne *jharoka* and its arched niche? That, in other words, do the seemingly disparate elements contribute to the same meaning or, at least, the same complex of ideas? In analysing the throne *jharoka* and its arched niche, the first iconographic interpretation that suggests itself is that of a sort of bower, formed by 'cypress-shaped' columns entwined by flowering climbers that carry a baldachin decorated with flowers, various plants and grapevines. It is put before a garden room with flowers, fruit trees, flowering trees and trellis-work filled with flowers.

So far, the decoration had been very much within the usual decoration of Shāh Jahān's palaces, which was chiefly vegetal. Its main function was—as the sources underline and explain—to transform the palace buildings into garden pavilions and their interiors into garden rooms. Thus, they were meant to create for the emperor, here on earth a paradise garden which would surpass its Qur'ānic, mythical and natural models.[65] What survives of Shāh Jahānī palace decoration in the palaces of Agra, Lahore and Delhi itself (as well as of all other preserved palaces of Shāh Jahān), adheres strictly to this lawful plant decoration. The *jharoka*s are no exception. We may ask then, why was the plant decoration in the Delhi *jharoka* again invaded by birds, animals and even a human figure, as in Akbar's or Jahāngīr's[66] time, and indeed under many Islamic princes before them, who disregarded the orthodox iconoclastic factions. And why was this re-use of animated imagery confined to the decoration of *jharoka* architecture, which in this case takes on a throne-like form?

The Mughal texts fail to give us a direct answer to these questions. Even Kanbō, who of all the authors of Shāh Jahān would be the most likely one to talk about the significance of a work of art, chose to overlook the animated motifs in his description of the *jharoka*. He presents us just with the conventional garden interpretation.[67] Or is it conceivable that Kanbō considered the meaning of the animated decoration of the throne *jharoka* as already understood, since he had dealt with the issue earlier, in the description of the palace?

In his introduction to this description of Shāhjahānābād and its palace fortress, Kanbō accords us one of the rare instances in Mughal writing which deals with the importance and function of art for the absolute God-chosen ruler.[68] To illustrate his theoretical, somewhat apologetic argument with an especially telling example, he refers to the famous throne of Solomon, the prophet king and ideal ruler of Islamic thinking:

> For this self-evident statement reason bears witness. What is comparable in meaning has been

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[64] See R. Skelton, *Indian Heritage* (n. 61 above), cat. no. 356.

[65] This is the leitmotif of Shāh Jahān's writers and poets in their eulogical interpretations of the emperor's palaces. Kanbō's description of the palace of Shāhjahānabād abounds in such allusions: 'With the beauty of its splendour [the Imtiyāz - or Rang Maḥall], it has not only drawn the veil before the castles and houses of the promised paradise but also, in every respect, the envy of the garden houses of the celebrated Iram is situated in it', Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, III (n. 24 above), p. 32. The Bāgh-i Iram or Iram Bāgh, according to Islamic myth the terrestrial paradise constructed by Shaddād bin 'Ād [T.P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam* (1885; rpt. New Delhi, 1976), p. 215], features repeatedly in Mughal eulogical comparisons of gardens and palaces. For the concept of Shāh Jahān's palaces as paradise garden (rooms) see also 'The Baluster Column', this volume, p. 56.

[66] I have dealt with this aspect of the palace decoration of Jahāngīr's period in the essay 'Jahangir and the Angels', this volume (for Shāh Jahān's orthodox reaction see p. 37), and in my 'Notes on the Painted and Sculptured Decoration of Nur Jahan's Pavilions in the Ram Bagh (*Bagh-i Nur Afshan*) at Agra', in *Facets of Indian Art*, eds. Robert Skelton, A. Topsfield, S. Strong, and R. Crill (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986). pp. 51–65.

[67] See page p. 67.

[68] Translated in 'The Baluster Column', p. 56.

> related in the Book concerning his Lordship Solomon—blessings and peace be upon our Prophet and upon him!—that this sovereign sits in the assembly of order and law-giving on a golden throne ornamented with rare jewels. It has been arranged with perfect grandeur, exaltation, elegance and beauty. On its legs and on its sides frightening animals of the tiger-lion [*sher*] variety with strong bodies and fierce claws have been given an utterly dreadful shape, a courageous [expression] in their face, and an appearance true [to their nature]. Therefore, by some kind of mathematically worked-out devices, they are operated with a small gesture, and quite fearful sounds come out of their interior. In the same manner, on the top of the throne, huge-bodied birds of silver and gold have been installed. Whenever these birds, according to the said technique, spread their wings, various kinds of perfumes are scattered over the head of his Lordship. Observing these wondrous figures, criminal and truth-denying persons have been overcome by utter fear and horror and have admitted the truth.[69]

Kanbō's description is not based on the Qur'ān, as his reference to 'the Book' would lead us to believe, but on the complex body of Arab-Jewish legends that had developed around the figure of the prophet king. These legends had absorbed various influences from related literary traditions, as for instance from India and Iran.[70] The myth of Jamshed shows particularly close affinities to the myth of Solomon.[71] A constant give and take between all these traditions took place, especially in the 'classical time of the Arabic Solomonic legend' between the third and fifth century Hijri.[72] In the literature of this time we find the closest models for Kanbō's Persian description:

> Description of the throne of Solomon—peace be upon him! And God the Exalted One said: 'And we threw a body on his throne: then he returned repentingly'. It is said that the prophet of God, Solomon, peace be upon him, ordered the shaitans to make a throne on which he would sit down to administer justice, and it should be wondrous and terrible so that when a liar or false witness would see it, he would be taken by fear and confusion. Therefore, they made for him a throne of ivory and set in it *yāqūt* and pearls, chrysolite and other gems, and surrounded it with four golden palm trees, the branches of which were red *yāqūt* and green emerald: on top of two of the palm trees sat two golden peacocks, and on top of the two others, two golden eagles, opposite each other.
>
> To the sides of the throne they put two golden lions, on the head of each one was a column of green emerald; above the palm trees were fixed vines of red gold, the grapes of red and yellow *yāqūt*, so that a bower of vines and palm trees gave shade to the throne . . . when he [Solomon] stood on the top-most step, the vultures and eagles which sat on the palm trees, took musk and ambergris, crumbling it over him . . . whenever the throne turned, the lions reached out with their paws and flapped their tails on the ground, while the eagles and peacocks spread their wings. Through all this the witnesses became afraid and terror-stricken, and did not speak but the truth.[73]

Shāh Jahān must have been intensely familiar with these literary traditions, since 'works on morals and history containing an account of prophets and saints and events of the old kings and adventures of the past rulers', were read out to him every night.[74]

The identification of Muslim princes with Solomon, the ruler par excellence, can be considered the main theme expressed in their art and literature. As the 'second Solomons', that they prided themselves to be, they were especially interested in the embodiment of the literary concept of the Solomonic throne in their real throne architecture as well as in their pictorial throne representations. None of them, however, went as far as the antagonists of the early caliphs, the Byzantine emperors. With their Solomonic throne in the Magnaura, operated with mechanical devices, they had realized the literary prototype with a remarkable consistency.[75] Muslim princes contented themselves with imitating selected, outstanding features of the Solomonic throne, and with displaying them independently, or with integrating them into a new context of throne architecture. This phenomenon of 'partial copying' can be connected with what Krautheimer has described as the characteristic procedure or medieval copying altogether, including copies after literary descriptions.[76] The outstanding elements would evoke what was most important for a medieval copy: the content and significance of the prototype. The selective transfer of significant features of the prototype into a related setting would serve the same purpose. At the same time, it was possible to enrich the copy by adding to it elements quite foreign to the original.[77]

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[69] Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣālih* (n. 24 above), III, pp. 18–19, my trans.

[70] Paulus Cassel, *Kaiser- und Königsthrone in Geschichte, Symbol und Sage* (Berlin, 1874), especially pp. 18 ff.; Georg Salzberger, *Die Salomo-Sage in der semitischen Literatur* (Berlin-Nikolassee, 1907), pp. 1–32; id., *Salomos Tempelbau und Thron in der semitischen Sagenliteratur* (Berlin, 1912), p. 57.

[71] Cassel, p. 19; Salzberger, *Die Salomo-Sage*, pp. 2–5, 8, 23; id., *Salomos Tempelbau und Thron*, p. 57. The similarities between Jamshed and Solomon were already recognized by Arab writers such as al-Maqdisī, 10th century (Salzberger, pp. 23 f.); or al-Tha'ālabī (*Histoire*, n. 31 above), p. 11. See also our page 116 and n. 119.

[72] Salzberger, *Die Salomo-Sage* (n. 70 above), pp. 22–3.

[73] Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad b. M. al-Tha'labī (died 427H/1036), *'Arā'is al-majālis: Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, my trans. with slight adjustments after Salzberger, *Salomos Tempelbau und Thron* (n. 70 above), pp. 102–4. I have not adopted his inconsistent trans. of the term *yāqūt* as 'sapphire' and 'ruby'. For the problem of translating this term, see A. Aziz (n. 61 above), pp. 316 ff. Cf. the description of the Solomonic throne which is given in *The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa'i* [*c.* 1200], trans. and annot. by W.M. Thackston (Boston, 1978), p. 306; cf. Salzberger, pp. 104–8.

[74] Lāhōrī, *Bādshāh nāma* (n. 25 above), I, 1, pp. 153 f.; cf. Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ* (n. 24 above) I, (1967), p. 209.

Thus, two motifs acquired a special significance in the imitations of the Solomonic throne: One is the motif of the jewelled tree with or without artificial birds (sometimes operated mechanically). It is an age-old, universal motif that had its beginning in Mesopotamia.[78] Already the Achaemenids used it in the context of throne architecture.[79] After it had been integrated into the context of the Solomonic throne, it became—now impregnated with a Solomonic significance—a special favourite of the early caliphs.[80] It may still have carried a Solomonic connotation when it was used at the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna (ruled 998–1030),[81] or in the tents of Tīmūr (ruled 1369–1405), the great ancestor of the Mughal dynasty.[82]

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[75] We have textual evidence of the *Solomonteios thronos* in the Magnaura since the 10th century, see J.J. Reiske, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Imperatoris de Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, II (Bonn, 1830), pp. 566 ff., 641 f.; cf. Jean Paul Richter, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* (Vienna, 1897), pp. 294, 302–3. For discussions of the throne in the Magnaura, see, for e.g., P. Cassel (n. 70 above), p. 71; Andreas Alföldi, 'Die Geschichte des Throntabernakels', *La Nouvelle Clio*, I–II (1949–50), pp. 538 ff.; Lars-Ivar Ringbom, *Graltempel und Paradies* (Stockholm, 1951), p. 61; André Grabar 'Trônes épiscopaux du XI$^{\text{eme}}$ et XII$^{\text{eme}}$ siècle en Italie méridionale', *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XVI (1954), pp. 37 ff.; Frederick P. Bargebuhr, 'The Alhambra Palace of the Eleventh Century', *JWCI*, XIX (1956), p. 208, n. 48. Salzberger (*Salomons Tempelbau und Thron*, p. 98) suggests a possible influence of the throne in the Magnaura on later descriptions of the Solomonic throne.

[76] Richard Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture"', *JWCI*, V (1942), pp. 1–33.

[77] Ibid., especially pp. 13–20.

[78] It appears first as the marvellous garden of precious stones of the gods in the Gilgamesh Epic. A brief survey of artificial trees is given by Eva Börsch-Supan, *Garten-, Landschafts- und Paradiesmotive im Innenraum* (Berlin, 1967), pp. 151–5.

[79] According to the Greek historians, the Achaemenids used to administer justice under a golden plane tree and a golden vine (set with precious stones). See Hans Haberkorn, *Beiträge zur Beurteilung der Perser in der griechischen Literatur* (Greifswald,1940), pp. 77 f.; cf. P. Cassel, *Kaiser- und Königsthrone* (n. 70 above), pp. 82 f.; L.I. Ringbom, *Graltempel* (n. 75 above), p. 65; Börsch-Supan (n. 78 above), p. 152. This tradition has found its way into descriptions of the thrones of the mythical and historical rulers of Iran as represented by Firdausī in the *Shāh nāma* (compl. in 1010). He describes, for instance, the throne of Kay Khusrau as standing under a tree with a trunk of silver, branches of gold, rubies and other gems, leaves of cornelian and chrysoprase with golden fruits. The fruits were hollow and filled with musk dissolved in wine, and whoever sat under the tree was enveloped by its perfume. Jules Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois par Abou'l Kasim Firdousi*, III (Paris, 1846), pp. 364–5; cf. P. Cassel, p. 24.

[80] According to Ibn Kathīr, the caliph al-Muktafī (ruled 902–908) had the Palace of the Tree constructed at Baghdad, in which a golden tree was put up, with fruits of precious stones, on which sat artificial birds which could spread their wings and chirp. See Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Gemäldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen großer moslimischer Herrscher der ersten sieben Jahrhunderte der Hidschret*, II (Leipzig und Darmstadt, 1837), p. 183; Abu'l Fidā', who described the embassy of Constantine Porphyrogenitus to the court of the caliph al-Muqtadir (ruled 908–932) in 917 mentions a similar tree. See Reiske, *De Ceremoniis Aulae* (n. 75 above), II, pp. 642 ff. Cf. Cassel (n. 70 above), pp. 68–70; and Ernst Herzfeld, 'Der Thron des Khosrō, Quellenkritische und ikonographische Studien über Grenzgebiete der Kunstgeschichte des Morgen- und Abendlandes', *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLI (1920), p. 145, n. 4. Further artificial trees fashioned in imitation of the Solomonic throne are discussed by F. Bargebuhr, 'The Alhambra Palace' (n. 75 above), p. 208, n. 48; cf. L.I. Ringbom, *Graltempel* (n. 75 above), pp. 60 ff.

[81] Hammer-Purgstall, *Gemäldesaal* (n. 80 above), IV, pp. 136–8.

[82] Clavijo, who described the tents of Timur's court in 1404, mentions a golden tree with fruits of precious stones on which sat birds of enamelled gold with spread wings in the pose of picking fruits. See *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour at Samarcand A.D. 1403–6*, trans. Clements R. Markham (1859; rpt. New York,1970), p. 161. According to Guillaume Rubruquis, a similar tree had been made for the Mongol Īlkhān Mangu Khān (1208–59) by a French artisan. See *inter alia* E. Herzfeld, 'Der Thron des Khosrō' (n. 80 above), p. 145, n. 4.

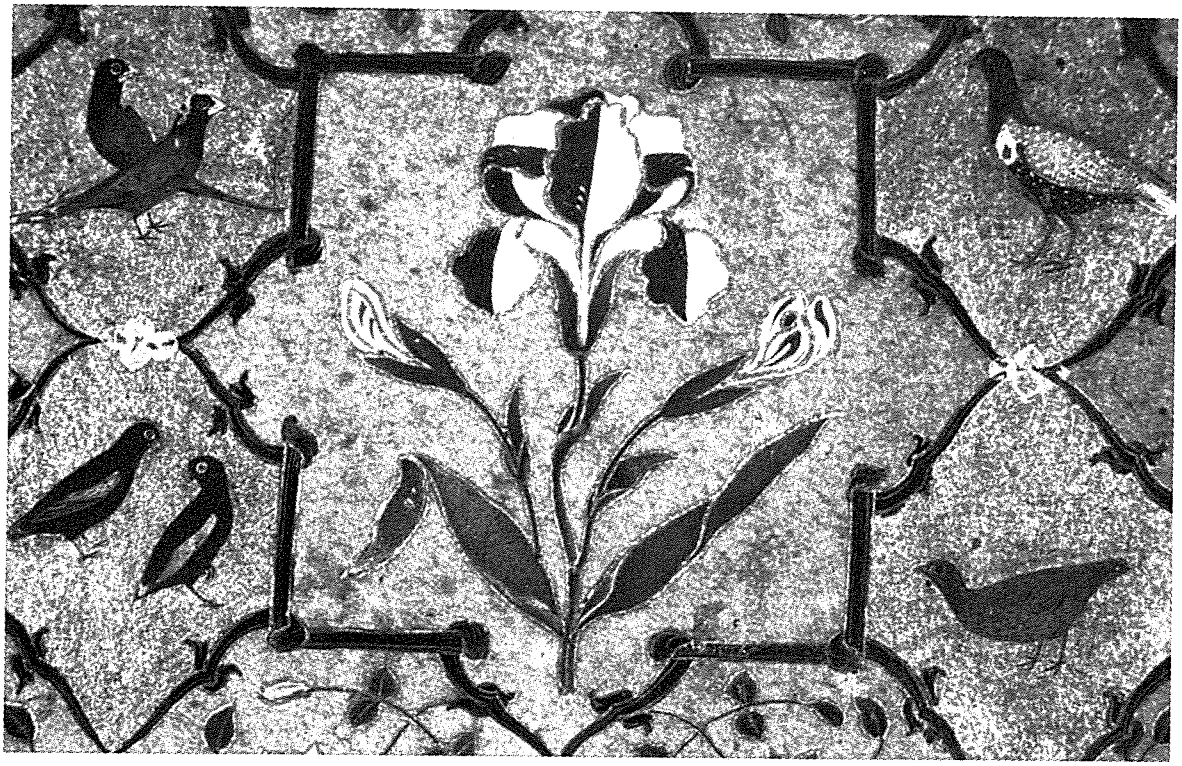
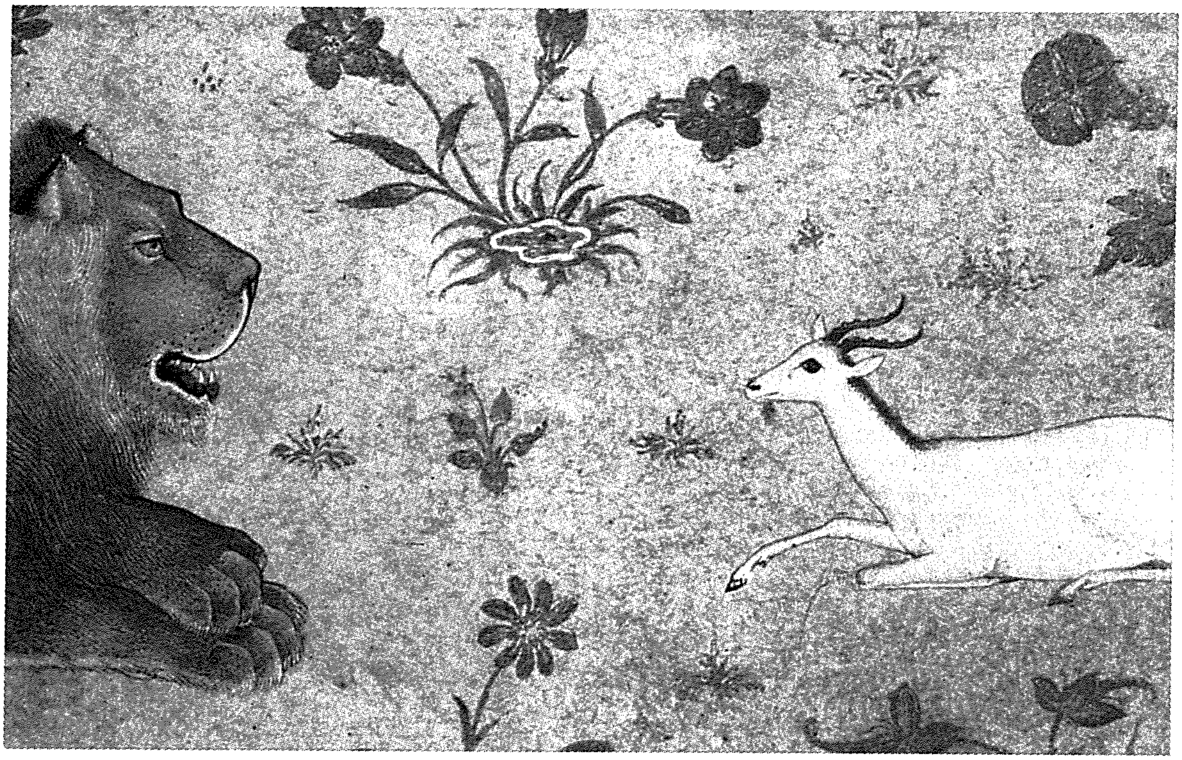


Fig. 4.50 Trellis pattern containing flowers and birds, detail from the border of S͟hāh Jahān on the Peacock Throne, cf. Fig. 4.52.

Fig. 4.51 Lion and gazelle from the border of S͟hāh Jahān in Old Age, cf. Fig. 4.61.



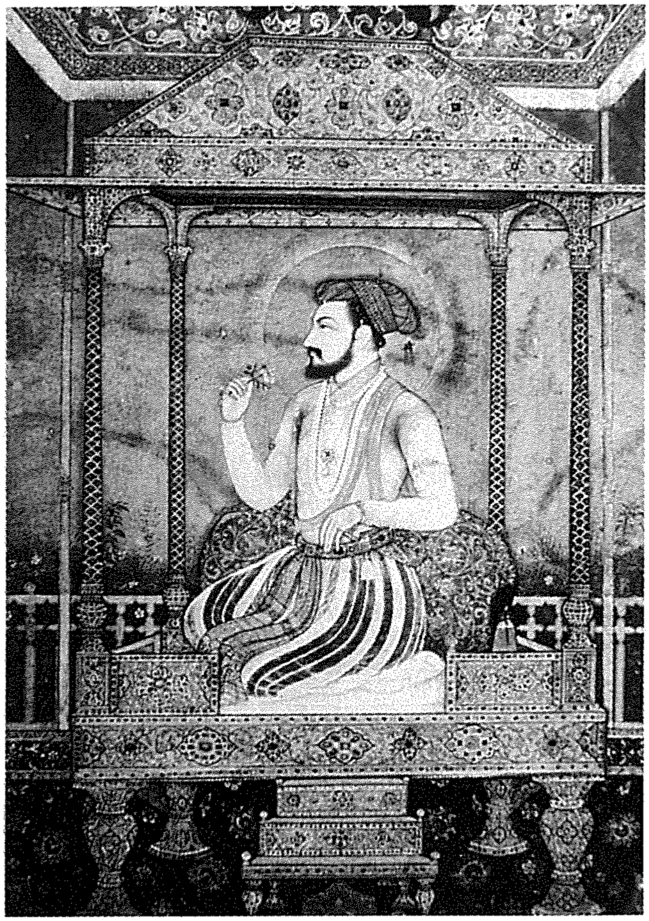


Fig. 4.52 Attributed to Govardhan, Shāh Jahān on the Peacock Throne. C. 1635. Private collection.

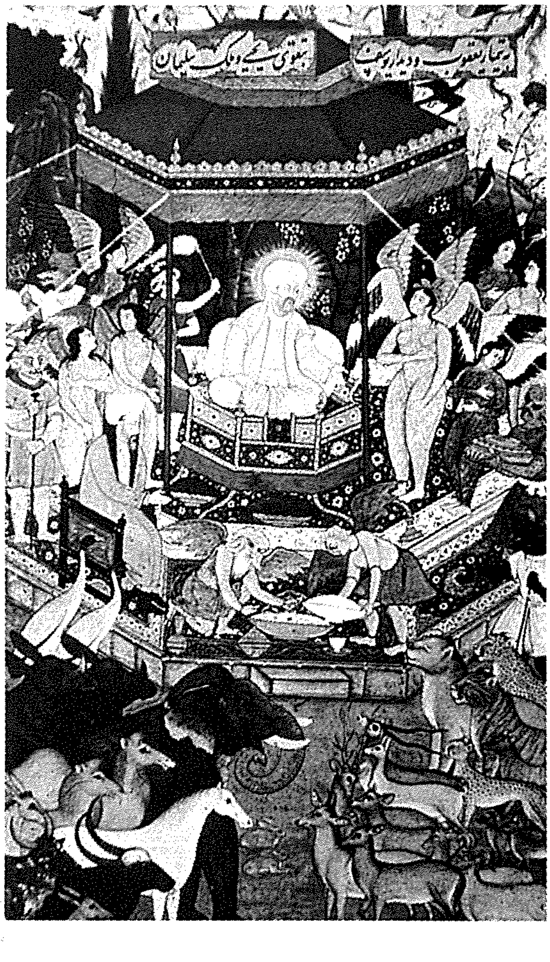


Fig. 4.53 Mādhu Khānazād, King Solomon's Court. C. 1600. Collection Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Geneva.

The other one is the motif of birds and/or lions near or under the throne. The lion especially, as 'one of the archetypical Middle Eastern symbols of regal status and power'[83] is a motif of similar universal appeal. Whereas Oriental thrones and their depictions often included lion motifs[84] (Fig. 4.43) they became an indispensable feature of the Solomonic throne. Thus, they gave later thrones or throne representations a special Solomonic significance, particularly when used for thrones of Muslim princes[85] (Fig. 4.56).

To the modern eye, the similarities between the Delhi *jharoka* and its niche, and the Solomonic throne as described by Kanbō, might seem rather vague. When seen in the light of the principle of medieval copying, however, where a few selected features would suffice to make the copy comparable to its prototype, the Delhi *jharoka* appears as an elaborate imitation of the Solomonic throne. It contains not only the birds and lions,[86] which Kanbō had singled out to stress the 'educative' elements of the throne, but also the motif of the artificial trees made of precious stones. The original three-dimensional unity of the literary prototype has, however, desintegrated and the outstanding features have not only been transferred into a different setting, but also been expressed in new forms and techniques.

The motif of the jewelled trees can be recognized twice, once in the throne baldachin on a three-dimensional level, and again, on the wall of the arched niche on a two-dimensional level. The bower-like throne baldachin, covered with vegetal decoration of *commesso di pietre dure*, calls to mind the arbour formed of jewelled trees and grapevines above the throne of Solomon (Fig. 4.2). While the vine leaves and grapes appear on the Delhi *jharoka* in a similar position, as part of the *pietre dure* decoration of the vault of the *bangla* (Fig. 4.13), the palm trees of the prototype were changed to arboreal forms more familiar to the Mughal art scene. The 'cypress-bodied' baluster columns (Fig. 4.4) covered with flowery creepers in *commesso di pietre dure* evoke—as their Mughal epithet *sarw-andām* indicates[87]—the favourite motif of Persian, Timurid, and Mughal painting and decoration: the cypress entwined with flowering trees[88] (Fig. 4.10).

[83] John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), p. 184.

[84] Throughout the millenia, the lion has been brought in connection with thrones of oriental gods, heroes and rulers. For its appearance on the throne of the various forms of the Mother Goddess see J.M. Rosenfield, pp. 184 f., pls. 143, 148; and especially Monika Hörig, *Dea Syria, Studien zur religiösen Tradition der Fruchtbarkeitsgöttin in Vorderasien* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1979), pp. 51–128; I thank Dr. Joachim Deppert for bringing this work to my attention. For lion motifs on Egyptian, Babylonian, and Iranian thrones, see Helmut Kyrieleis, *Throne und Klinen: Studien zur Formgeschichte altorientalischer und griechischer Sitz- und Liegemöbel, Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 24. Ergänzungsheft (Berlin, 1969), pp. 72–81; for Kushan and Indian thrones, see Rosenfield, pp. 183–6; and Jeannine Auboyer, *Le Trône et son symbolism dans l'Inde ancienne* (Paris, 1949), pp. 8, 34 f., 44, 108 ff., 179 *et passim*. A. Grabar, 'Trônes épiscopaux' (n. 75 above), pp. 18 ff., discusses the tradition of thrones with animal supports, including lions, from the ancient Near East to 11th-century Italy.

[85] For examples of Solomonic thrones, such as the Jewish representation in the synagogue of Dura Europos (3rd century AD) with birds and lions, and lion thrones of Muslim rulers, see A. Grabar, 'Trônes episcopaux' (n. 75 above), pp. 26–8; cf. F.P. Bargebuhr, 'The Alhambra Palace' (n. 75 above), pp. 213 ff., who discusses the Solomonic significance of animal sculpture in the art of Islamic princes. The birds encircling the representation of the enthroned caliph in the 'Umayyad bath of Quṣayr 'Amra might also have carried a Solomonic meaning. For the most recent reproduction (in colour) see Martin Almagro, Luis Caballero, Juan Zozaya y Antonio Almagro, *Qusayr 'Amra: Residencia y banos omeyas en el desierto de Jordania* (Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1975), pls. X and XI. Jahāngīr's thrones supported by lions seem to belong to the same tradition; see the throne in the darbar scene in the Keir collection (1620), identified by R. Skelton with the one made by Austin de Bordeaux for the emperor in 1619, R. Skelton, 'Indian Painting of the Mughal Period' (n. 29 above), pp. 259 f., colour pl. 37, pl. 127. Edward Terry, the chaplain of Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador of James I to the court of Jahāngīr, seems to refer to the same throne. *Early Travels in India: 1583–1619*, ed. W. Foster (London, 1921), p. 328.

[86] Tiny lions which in spite of their playful character are invested with a symbolic significance have such early precedents as the lions on the throne couch of Ashurbanipal on the relief from Nineveh, 7th century BC, British Museum (124 920). See H. Kyrieleis (*Throne und Klinen*, n. 84 above), pp. 80–1, pl. 6; and our Fig. 4.43.

[87] Muḥammad Wārith, *Bādshāh nāma* (n. 24 above), fol. 403^r/388^r Persian pagination, describes baluster columns in the Delhi palace as *sarw-andām*, 'cypress-bodied'.

[88] The motif carries an additional symbolic significance, namely that of the lover and the beloved one: 'Wherever a young tree raised its stature, a vine entangled it like a lover' says Kalīm (n. 31 above, p. 376, line 8) in praise of the vegetation of Kashmir. As a symbol of world rulership, the motif can be traced back to the plane-tree entwined by a vine of the Achaemenids. See n. 79 above; and Robert Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* (Munich, 1910), p. 586. In this context it may be noted that according to some European sources, Shāh Jahān had planned to put up as decoration of the Shāh Burj in the palace of the Red Fort

The *commesso di pietre dure* was the ideal technique for imitating the studding with precious stones characteristics of the literary prototype, because it made it possible to obtain, with less costly semi-precious stones, the effect of the original and thus to transfer the concept into a wider architectural context. It seems that the technique of inlaying with stones or *parchīn kārī*, as the Mughals called it, carried in itself a Solomonic connotation.[89]

The animal imagery of the Solomonic throne (the birds and the lions), is projected on the *pietre dure* wall, where the motif of the jewelled trees can be recognized again in the trees on which the birds are sitting. A Solomonic throne wall is created within the arched niche, an architectural setting which—as we have suggested earlier—can be understood as a quotation of the Sasanian *īwān*. In this way, the copy of the Solomonic throne is enriched with an ancient motif bearing an additional significance of architecture for formal appearances of the ruler. The Mughals were apparently not the first ones to try this combination. There is at least one antecedent, albeit in decorative art, namely the throne representation of the silver-gilt plate from Qazwin, which has recently been identified as post-Sasanian, commissioned probably by an early Muslim patron[90] (Fig. 4.56).

References to Solomon, coupled with references to the ancient Persian kings, second to none but him as models of rulership for Muslim princes, were a standard feature of Mughal panegyrical writing. Thus the audience hall, which houses the *jharoka*, was meant not only to surpass the audience hall (*bārgāh*) of Solomon, but also the *īwān* of Khusrau, i.e. the *Ṭāq-i Kisrā*.[91] These references were, of course, not particular to Mughal eulogical writings, whereas the patronage of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān with regard to converting these literary stereotypes into the visual arts was quite exceptional.

At the time when the Delhi throne *jharoka* and its niche were created, the idea of the Solomonic throne was very much in the air. Shāh Jahān's *takht-i muraṣṣaʿ* (throne studded with gems), which later became famous as his Peacock Throne, had a definite Solomonic significance (Fig. 4.52). Like its literary prototype, it was studded with gems and carried jewelled peacocks in pride (and a jewelled tree?) on its canopy. It was created in the first seven years of Shāh Jahān's reign (completed in 1635),[92] initially probably with the help of Austin de Bordeaux, the much-discussed lapidary working at Jahāngīr's and Shāh Jahān's court.[93] It was a very ambitious enterprise and was meant to surpass every famous throne the Mughal court could think of, not only the thrones of the earlier rulers of the dynasty, but also the thrones of Solomon and Bilqīs, the *Takht-i Ṭāqdīs*, the thrones of Jamshed, of the Kayānians and Khusraus—its only equal being the throne of God.[94]

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at Agra an artificial vine trellis of gold, emeralds, rubies and garnets. However, it remained unfinished. J.B. Tavernier, *Travels in India* (n. 11 above), I, p. 89. It is still mentioned as late as 1784 by Thomas Twining, in his *Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago with a Visit to the United States*, ed. Rev. William H.G. Twining (London, 1893), p. 202.

[89] A passage in the *Bahār-i Sokhan* (compl. 1065 H/ 1655) of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbō, British Library, Or. 178, fol. 256^{v}, leads me to suggest this. Kanbō describes the garden now called Angūri Bāgh in the palace of the Red Fort at Agra (compl. 1637): 'Its [paved] walkways (*khiyābān*) inlaid with stones of various colours appear like the lofty castle of Solomon.' (The present paving of these walkways shows no trace of such inlay work). For a discussion of earlier Islamic sources which describe inlaying with precious stones as a characteristic feature of Solomonic constructions, see Priscilla Soucek, 'The Temple of Solomon in Islamic Legend and Art', in *The Temple of Solomon: Archaeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic and Jewish Art*, ed. Joseph Gutmann (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1976), pp. 85–8.

[90] Prudence O. Harper and Pieter Meyers, *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period, I, Royal Imagery* (New York, 1981), pp. 116–17, pl. 34. The throne architecture of the plate consists of an arch framed by vertically arranged medallions containing birds, in which the throne bench is set. The whole construction is supported by small pillars resting on lions—a feature that corresponds almost literally to al-Thaʿlabī's description of the Solomonic throne, see our p. 105.

[91] See Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ* (n. 24 above), III, p. 33; cf. our n. 31. The Solomonism concerning Shāh Jahān went so far that even the story of the child claimed by two mothers is adopted for him by Chandar Bhān Brahman, *Chahār Chaman* (written *c.* 1647), bound in British Library Ms. Add. 16863, fols. 26^{r}–26^{v}.

[92] See Lāhōrī, *Bādshāh nāma* (n. 25 above), I, 2, pp. 78–81; and Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ* (n. 24 above), II (1967), pp. 71–3; cf. Abdul Aziz, *Thrones, Tents and Their Furniture Used by the Indian Mughuls* (Lahore, n.d.), pp. 35–73. R. Skelton, *The Indian Heritage* (n. 61 above), p. 43, gives a brief résumé of the research done so far on the Peacock Throne.

[93] 'Four Letters by Austin of Bordeaux' (n. 12 above) pp. 16 f.; Abdul Aziz [(n. 92 above), pp. 52–5], and R. Nath ['Augustin of Bordeaux and His Relations with the Mughal Court (1612–1632)', in *Some Aspects of Mughal Architecture* (New Delhi, 1976), pp. 112–19] contest Austin's authorship without any hard evidence. The date and the material indicated by Austin for the throne do not contradict the data of Lāhōrī and Kanbō (see n. 92 above).

[94] Lāhōrī, *Badshāh nāma* (n. 92 above), pp. 78, 81; and Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ* (n. 92 above), pp. 71–2: 'This auspicious throne—leaving aside poetical exaggerations—

Earlier, Solomonic themes had already inspired the palace decoration of Jahāngīr. The bird representations on his Solomonic vaults can be considered especially a source of inspiration for the birds of Shāh Jahān's throne wall.[95] The special emphasis on the bird motif, which we can observe on the Delhi wall, shows that it borrows strongly from the iconographic tradition of Solomon's winged subjects which form a living baldachin to shade his throne. The *hudhud* (hoopoe), Solomon's messenger, is even represented four times (Figs. 4.25, 39). The cock (Fig. 4.22) too, is a Solomonic bird; according to al-Kisā'ī, he is a constant companion of Solomon, he announces light and frightens the *jinn*s. The scientific naturalism with which the birds of these symbolic settings are rendered relates the whole concept also in this aspect to the Europe of around 1600, where animal representations were determined by two attitudes, a traditional symbolical one, and a modern scientific one.[96] Jahāngīr was a contemporary of this movement, and Shāh Jahān a late follower.

At this point it may be asked: Was it only the shape of the *bangla* and the baluster column that related the whole concept of the Delhi throne setting to the tradition of its immediate Indian environment? Several features of the arrangement could indeed be explained as derivates of the Indian iconographic and literary tradition: the lion motif brings to mind the lion throne (*siṁhāsana*),[97] the combination of throne and tree is an ancient Indian concept,[98] and the motif of jewelled thrones and trees a standard feature in Sanskrit literature.[99] Problematic as such an 'additive' art-historical *modus operandi* appears to be from the methodological point of view, it still seems to us legitimate, keeping in mind the syncretic approach of the Mughals to the sources of their art. Representations of Jāhangīr's thrones show affinities with Indian throne traditions, such as the winged lions standing on the back of elephants, which support the throne in the Ābpāshī scene in the Raza Library, Rampur, *c.* 1615.[100] Shāh Jahān, however, who is praised as a renewer (*mujaddid*) of Islam and every aspect of life including the arts,[101] reverted in his art policy to the more orthodox line, which of course does not mean that no Indian elements found a place in his art. The official attitude, however, was Islam-centred,[102] and the attitude towards figural art was thus careful, which is made clear by Kanbō's statement about the function of art for the ruler.[103] Figural themes in Shāh Jahān's official art are therefore confined to throne arrangements, where they could be best defended as instruments of rulership, especially with regard to the Solomonic throne.[104]

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the head of the thrones of the Khusraus and the head of the thrones of the Kayānians, the kings of Persia, are not worthy to be at the foot of the steps of this throne . . . (p. 71) . . . it has not only thrown down the *Takht-i Ṭāqdīs* but also the throne of Bilqīs [the Queen of Sheba] from the arch of the hearts [of men] and in their eyes it has rendered the gem-studded throne of Solomon without value.' Then follows one of Kanbō's untranslatable metaphors which intends to express that praising this throne is like praising the throne of God (arsh), (p. 72).

[95] See 'Jahangir and the Angels', this volume; and my 'Notes on the Painted and Sculptured Decoration of Nur Jahan's Pavilions' (n. 66 above), especially p. 59.

[96] See J. Bialostocki, 'Les Bêtes et les humains de Roelant Savery' (n. 62 above), pp. 79 ff. with further literature.

[97] See especially J. Auboyer, *Le Trône* (n. 84 above), who considers the *siṁhāsana* an import from Western Asia (Iran) to India, (p. 44 *et passim*).

[98] Ibid., pp. 59 f.

[99] Ibid., pp. 27 ff.; and E. Börsch-Supan, *Paradiesesmotive* (n. 78 above), pp. 49–50, 146, 152 *et passim*.

[100] Reproduced in colour by Narindar Nath and Karl Khandalavala, 'Illustrated Islamic Manuscripts', *The Arts of Islam in India, Marg*, XXXV, No. 2 (1984), p. 41, pl. 3. For associations of lions with elephants on Indian thrones, see J. Auboyer, *Le Trône* (n. 84 above), pp. 131 ff.

[101] See Kanbō's introduction to his history of Shāh Jahān [*'Amal-i Ṣālih* (n. 24 above), I, (1967), pp. 1–3]; his introductory remarks to the description of Shāh Jahān's accession (ibid., pp. 186–7); and Muḥammad Amīn or Amīnā-yi Qazwīnī's introduction to his account of Shāh Jahān's birth in his *Bādshāh nāma*, covering the first ten years of the reign, Persian ms., BL Or. 173, fols. 10^{r-v}. He is at special pains to point out the decline of Law and community (*shar'-o-millat*) in the country before Shāh Jahān, who was bestowed to his subjects as the best of the gifts of God, to bring about a new era of justice and peace under the Law of Islam.

[102] This aspect of Shāh Jahān's rulership would well deserve a detailed study. Very pronounced statements are found in the panegyric of Abū Ṭālib Kalīm:

> In these days the asylum of religion is Hindustan;
> In his [Shāh Jahān's] time the shelter of Islam is India.
> Through his exertions Islam has become so strong,
> That a Hindu burns himself alive in this pain.
> There are no Hindus nor idolhouses left in India,
> There burns none than the moth in Hindustan.

[allusion to the funerary customs of the Hindus by means of a favourite metaphor of Persian poetry]. My trans. from a *mathnawī* in praise of an imperial palace, *Dīwān* (n. 31 above), p. 372.

[103] See pp. 56, 104 above.

[104] F.P. Bargebuhr comes to a similar conclusion, when he sees Solomon 'as patron of secularization, who with his precedent shielded specifically courtly love and plastic arts', 'The Alhambra Palace' (n. 75 above), n. 49.

Orphic Elements in the Islamic Plato and David

Having thus established the Delhi throne *jharoka* and its arched niche as a Solomonic throne arrangement, equipped with trees, birds, and lions made out of (semi) precious stones, we still have to explain how the plaque of Orpheus could possibly fit into this iconographic programme. We will attempt to show that, far from being an iconographical intruder, Orpheus was selected and included in the pictorial programme of the throne arrangement in order to support and elaborate the Solomonic symbolism.

Nothing in the Mughal texts points to an awareness of Orpheus and, with one exception which is perhaps Mughal or from Golconda,[105] no Mughal copy of Orpheus after a European prototype has come to our knowledge so far. The classical figure of Orpheus does not seem to have played any role in Islamic art and thought.[106] We can, however, detect a sort of cryptic survival of the Orphic theme, comparable to the one in late antiquity and early Christianity when Orpheus was adopted by the Jews to be fused with the figure of the Biblical David, and by the Christians to be merged with the figure of Christ, especially in his quality as the good shepherd.[107] Similarly, characters of Islamic thought and art appear to have been invested with Orphic features, partly in continuation of Jewish and Christian ideas, and partly as an original outright Islamic contribution to the Orpheus theme.

To this latter category belongs a literary character that generated a pictorial tradition that can be traced all the way to Mughal court painting. It is Niẓāmī's (d. 1209) Aflāṭūn (Plato), who, in an episode of the *Iqbāl nāma*, forms part of the circle of Greek philosophers at Alexander's court. To outdo his rival Arisṭū (Aristotle) he invents an instrument based on the laws of universal harmony, on which he produces such magical sounds that he can attract and dominate the animals of the wilderness. When he played on it 'neither did the young wolf attack the sheep nor did the fierce lion pay attention to the wild ass . . .'[108] This episode of the *Iqbāl nāma* was not often illustrated, but one of its finest pictorial renderings ever undertaken can be found in the splendid *Khamsa* of the British Library, produced by Akbar's court atelier at Lahore in 1595 (Fig. 4.55).[109] Using artistic licence, the painter represents Plato's instrument (*arghanūn*) as a portable European pipe organ decorated with European paintings.

Niẓāmī associates with Aflāṭūn such Orphic features as universal harmony, magic, charms and incantation.[110] A connection between Orpheus and Plato was established already in antiquity, when the former was considered a predecessor of Plato as far as

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[105] This is a miniature painting in the Bhārat Kalā Bhawan, Benares, which shows a youthful figure clad in a short chiton, a long cloak and a laurel wreath sitting on a hillock in a meadow and playing a lyre. It could of course also be Apollo. I thank Dr. Partha Mitter and Robert Skelton for bringing this painting to my attention and for providing me with slides. Skelton dates it around 1630–40.

[106] Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (London, 1975), p. 228, quotes just one remark by al-Kindī in regard to the ethical power of music attributed with a certain degree of uncertainty to the 'composer Orpheus': . . . 'But it is I who am amused by them [kings] and enjoy myself, since I can change their ethical qualities and turn their anger into calm, their grief into joy, their depression into a state of relaxation, their rage into friendliness, their avarice into generosity, and their cowardice into bravery.'

[107] Among the very extensive literature on Orpheus I have used in this context especially Robert Eisler, *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der christlichen Antike* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1925); W.K.C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion: A Study of the Orphic Movement* (1935; rpt. London, 1952), pp. 261 ff.; Konrat Ziegler, article 'Orpheus' in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, eds. Georg Wissowa and Wilhelm Kroll; H. Stern, 'The Orpheus in the Synagogue of Dura-Europos', *JWCI*, XXI (1958), pp. 1–6; and John Block Friedman, 'Syncretism and Allegory in the Jerusalem Orpheus Mosaic', *Traditio*, XXIII (1967), pp. 1–13.

[108] Translated from Niẓāmī, *Kulliyāt*, *Dīwān*, Persian ed. Waḥīd Dastgardī (Tehran, 1335 sh./1965), p. 1214, line 13.

[109] British Library, Or. 12208. For the illustrations of this *Khamsa*, see Norah M. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India and Turkey in the British Library and the British Museum* (London, 1977), cat. no. 323; Brend, *Akbar's Khamsa*.

[110] Already noticed by Wilhelm Bacher, *Niẓāmīs Leben und Werke und der zweite Theil des Niẓāmīschen Alexanderbuches* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 80. See also Bürgel 1986. R. Eisler assumes primitive musical hunting charms to be the origin of the power of the music of Orpheus over the animals, *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken* (n. 107 above), p. 93 ff. Bacher makes a similar statement in regard to Niẓāmī's Aflāṭūn. The motif also appears in classical Persian literature, as for instance the harp-playing slave girl Āzāda (according to Firdausī) or Fitna (according to Niẓāmī), who is taken along on hunts by Bahrām Gūr, the Sasanian king Bahrām V (ruled 420–438). For illustrations, see Thomas W. Arnold, *Survivals of Sasanian and Manichaean Art in Persian Painting* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 12–13, pls. 8–11; cf. Eisler, pl. 31a. For Orpheus in connection with charms, spells and incantations, see also W.K.C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (n. 107 above), p. 39 *et passim*.

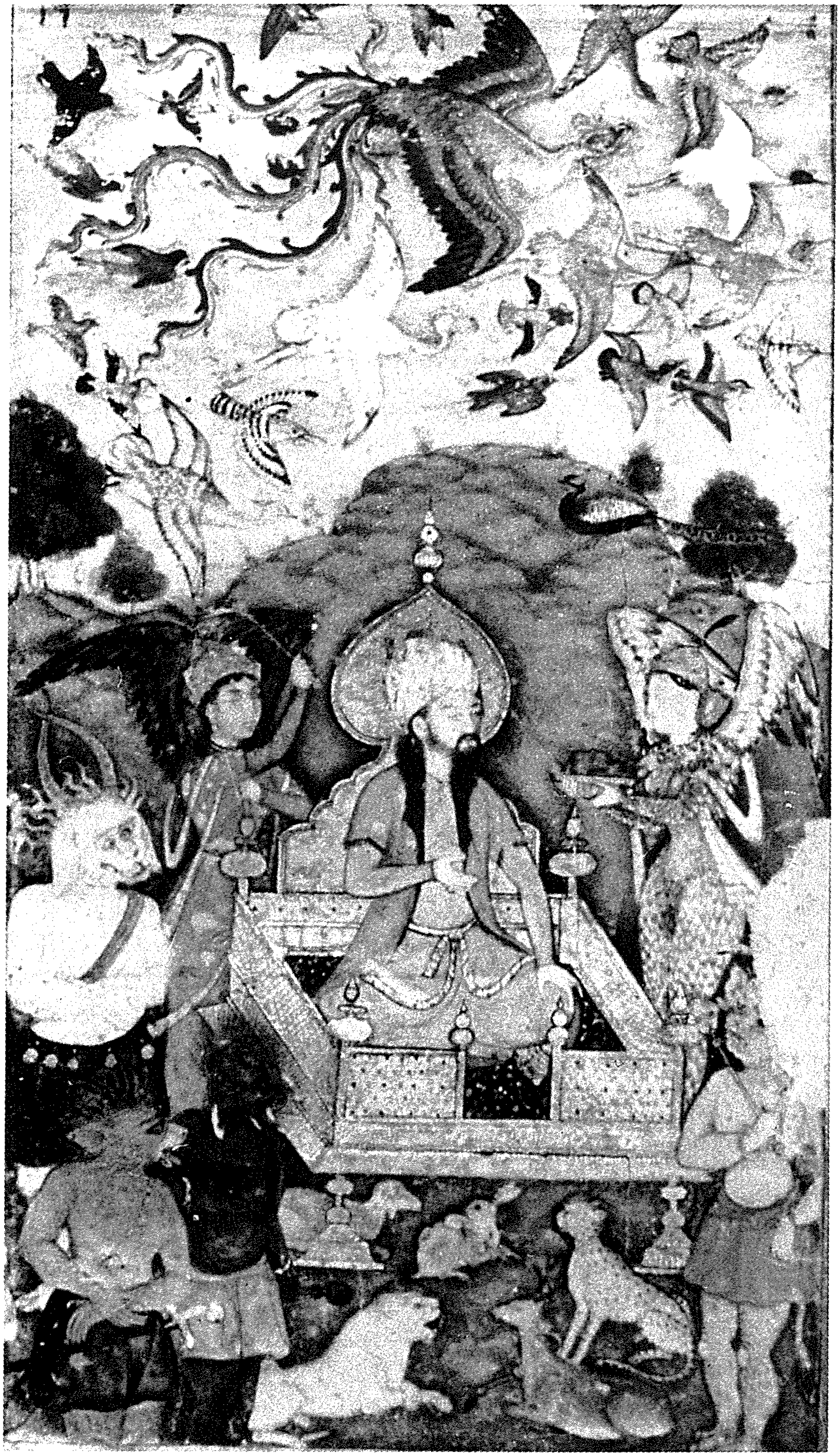

Fig. 4.54 Solomon Enthroned, see Fig. 1.3.

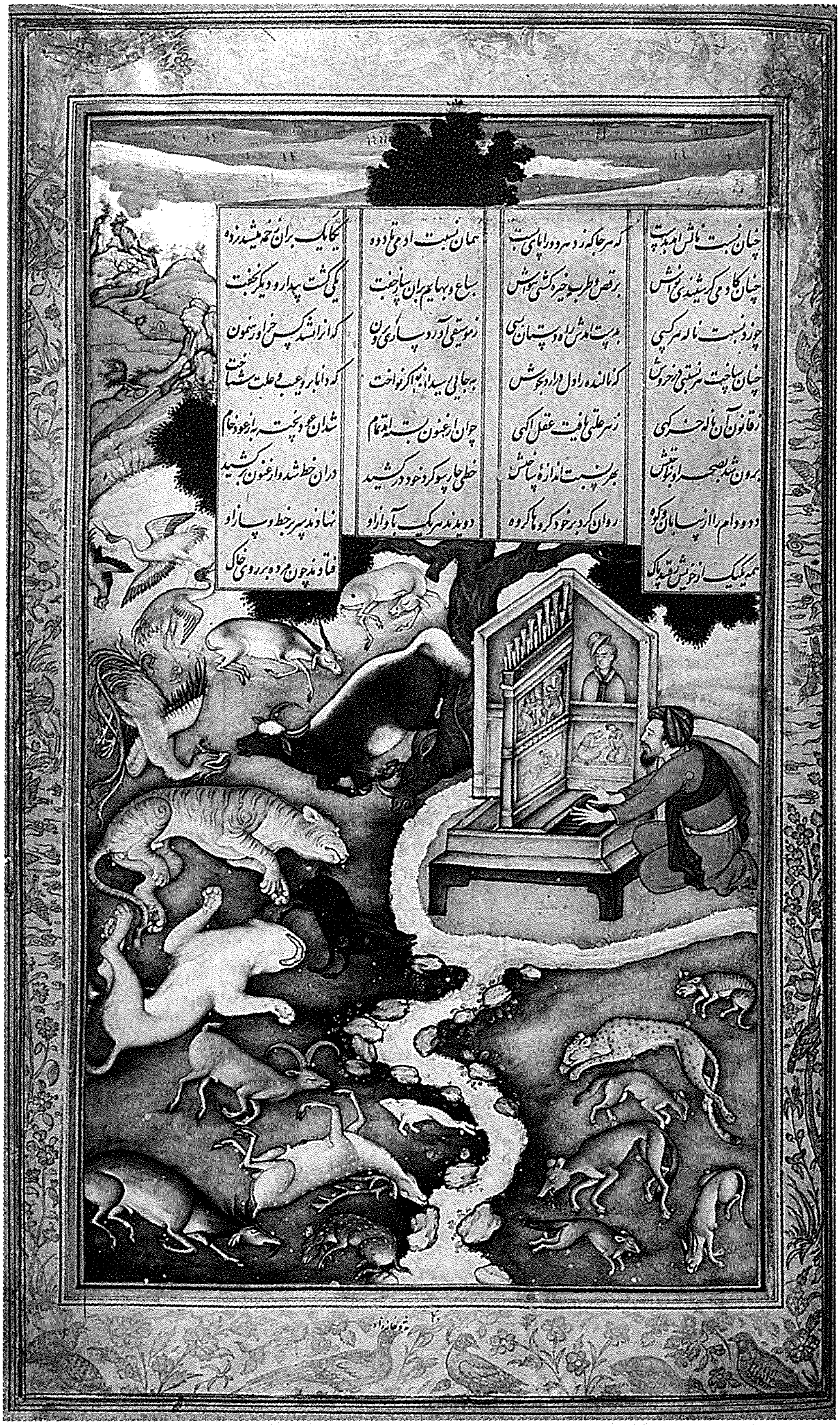

Fig. 4.55 Mādhu Khānazād, Plato (*Aflāṭūn*) Charming the Wild Animals by His Music, from a *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī. 1595. British Library, London.

the theory of the harmony of the universe is concerned.[111] Plato, in Islamic thinking, appears also as a magician and ascetic.[112]

Lack of evidence keeps us from suggesting that the *pietre dure* plaque of Orpheus was introduced in S͟hāh Jahān's throne setting as the Aflāṭūn represented by Niẓāmī. It is, however, important to note that the Mughal court atelier had dealt with this pictorial tradition already prior to S͟hāh Jahān's reign in a vocabulary containing European elements. This created the iconographic atmosphere which facilitated the admission of the related imagery of the Orpheus panel into the decor of the throne *jharoka*.

More relevant in our context seems to be the Qur'ānic David who was inspired by the Biblical David. The latter had, in late Jewish literature and art, been connected with the figure of Orpheus. It has been suggested by Philonenko and Dupont-Sommer that the Orphic elements of the Qur'ānic David were derived not only from Psalm 148 of the Hebrew canon, but also from Psalm 151 of the Septuagint. They assume here the influence on the Qur'ān from such Jewish sects as the Essenes who, in turn, were influenced by Greek and Iranian thought.[113] When the commentaries on the Qur'ān and the prophetic legends (*Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*) endow the Qur'ānic David with further Orphic features, they seem to be drawing upon classical or post-classical sources. While the Qur'ān refers only to the mountains and birds joining David in his praise of God, the commentaries and legends, in addition, dwell upon the power of his music (vocal and instrumental) over the wild beasts:

> Through his pipes he could . . . reproduce the song of birds and the dulcet tones of wild beasts, and from his pipes came every pleasant sound in the world . . . On the day for worship the ascetics would come down from the mountains and caves, and the birds and beasts would come from the air and the valleys . . . but he would not play anything on his pipes unless the birds and beasts came to him when he repeated his melodies . . .[114]

Some authors render the character of the Qur'ānic David even more complex:

> When the sons of Israel reassembled with David, God revealed to him the psalms and taught him to work iron and softened it for him,[115] and ordered the mountains and birds to sing in his company. . . It is said that when he recited the psalms, the wild animals came so close to him that one could take them by the neck; they were absorbed in listening to his voice. The *jinn*s made flutes, lutes and harps according to the different tonalities of his voice.[116]

In addition to Orphic power, David is here invested with features that recall the aura of the mythical Iranian rulers, especially Jams͟hed. Firdausī, for instance, attributes to Jams͟hed the softening of the iron, its working into weapons, and the services of the *jinn*s (or *dew*s). Through his justice 'the world became quiet and without discord and the *dews*, the birds and *parī*s were at his service . . . he softened the iron by his royal power and gave it the form of helmets . . . and of chain mails . . . Men were attentive to the orders of Jams͟hed and sweet sounds of music filled the earth . . .'[117]

This leads us back to the similar complex of ideas of mythical rulership which we had encountered around the figure of Solomon. David certainly was a prophet king like his son. In the Islamic tradition he is, however, completely overshadowed by Solomon, the ruler *par excellence*.[118] We have already indicated that the legends and myths that developed around the Islamic Solomon merge with the traditions of the mythical Iranian kings in a process of constant give and take.[119] Like Kayūmarth or Jamshed, Solomon rules over the animal world (Figs. 4.53, 54). The power over the animals exemplified the paradisiac condition, the Golden Age, as it was said to have surrounded Kayūmarth, the first king of mankind: 'Whichever of the wild animals, be it a ferocious beast [*dad*], or a shy, weak, and tame animal [*dām*], saw him, came from the world and rested around his throne and bowed before him . . .'[120] (Fig. 4.57). At the same time, the power over *dad-o-dām* demonstrates allegorically the power of the universal ruler who by his regal charisma reverses the laws of nature and brings inimical nature, the oppressor and the oppressed, to a peaceful coexistence. Since the legend of David is formed against this background, where elements from the legend of Solomon and of the Iranian rulers interweave, David was given a share of the power over *dad-o-dām*, by way of an Orphic channel, so to say. In other words, the emphasis on the animal theme in the Solomonic complex of ideas seems to have encouraged the reinforcement of Orphic features in David, which as they are not found in the Qur'ān may well be derived from classical or pseudo-classical sources.

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[111] The Neo-Platonists Iamblichus and Proclus claimed that Pythagoras, and through him Plato, had learnt from Orpheus that the structure of all things is based on numerical proportions. See D.P. Walker, 'Orpheus the Theologian and Renaissance Platonists', *JWCI*, XVI (1953), p. 100; cf. Karla Langedijk, 'Baccio Bandinelli's Orpheus: A Political Message', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XX (1976), pp. 41–2. For Orpheus and Plato, see also W.K.C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (n. 107 above), pp. 238–44.

[112] R. Walzer, 'Aflāṭūn' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. I (Leyden, 1979), p. 235.

[113] Marc Philonenko. 'Une Tradition essénienne dans le Coran', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, CLXX (1966), pp. 143–57; and André Dupont-Sommer, 'Le Mythe d'Orphée aux animaux et ses prolongements dans le Judaïsme, le Christianisme et l'Islam', in *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Anno CCCLXXII–1975, - Conferenza tenuta nella seduta del 5 Giugno 1974* (Rome, 1975), pp. 3–14

[114] *The Tales of the Prophet of al-Kisa'i*, (n. 73 above), pp. 278–9.

[115] The softening of iron and its working into coats of mail as taught to David by God, is also mentioned in the Qur'ān, *Suras*, XXXIV, 10 f. and XXI, 80. Cf. al-Kisā'ī (n. 73 above), p. 281.

[116] Translated trom M. Philonenko after al-Ṭabarī's (838/39–921/22), *Ta'rīk͟h al-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, 'Une Tradition essénienne' (n. 113 above), p. 149; cf. M. Gruenbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 191.

[117] Translated from J. Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, I (1838), pp. 49 and 53; cf. *The Shāhnāma of Firdausī*, trans. Arthur George and Edmond Warner (London, 1905), I, 131–4.

[118] M. Gruenbaum, *Neue Beiträge* (n. 116 above), p. 189; G. Salzberger, *Die Salomosage* (n. 70 above), p. 27.

The Solomonic Peace among the Beasts as a Symbol of the Ruler's Justice

It seems that the peaceful assembly of *dad-o-dām*, brought about by the power of a human being, in the context of Islamic thought is invested with a Solomonic significance. Even Majnūn, when breaking with mankind and associating with the animals of the wilderness which, tamed by the furor of his love, forget their natural habits and assemble to serve him (Fig. 4.58), is compared to king Solomon by Niẓāmī:

> Every wild animal which was in the desert
> Rushed to his service,
> Lion, deer, wolf, and fox,
> All formed a camp on his way.
> All of them became obedient slaves;
> He ruled over all of them like Solomon . . .
> The sheep was freed from the violence of the wolf,
> The lion withdrew his claws from the wild ass,
> The dog made peace with the hare,
> The fawn suckled milk from the lion . . .[121]

For representations of Solomon on his throne among his subjects from the two worlds (angels or *parīs*, *jinn*s, birds and animals), the peaceful assembly of *dad-o-dām* becomes an indispensable feature[122] (Figs. 4.53, 54). The same motif also appears in the descriptions of the Solomonic throne. While of the main Arab writers only al-Kisā'ī alludes briefly to it,[123] the Midrashic lore represents it as the most distinctive feature of the throne next to the birds and lions and jewelled trees. Series of animals, beasts of prey and their respective victims, both made out of gold, lie opposite each other on the steps of the throne; typical pairs are bull and lion, wolf and lamb, eagle and owl[?], panther and peacock, cat and cock, sparrow-hawk and dove. And, 'on the top of the throne was another golden dove that held a sparrow-hawk in its claws. In the same way all nations and tongues will give themselves into the power of the king of the house of Israel.'[124]

Heribert Busse called attention to the interchangeability of ruler personalities, their characteristics and actions in the Qur'ān which, he assumes, was brought about by the Qur'ān's intention of presenting a typology of rulers. Solomon and David are representatives of the type of prophet king and thus elements of their *vitae* can be transferred from one to the other, 'Herrschertypen im Koran', in *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit, Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachmann (Beirut and Wiesbaden, 1979), pp. 56–80.

[119] See also Busse, above, p. 79.

[120] Translated from J. Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, I (1838), pp. 28–9; cf. Warner, *The Shāhnāma of Firdausī* (n. 117 above), I, p. 119.

[121] My trans. from Niẓāmī, 'Laylā and Majnūn', in *Kulliyāt, Dīwān* (n. 108 above), p. 545. See also Bürgel 1998.

[122] The traditional iconography of representations of Solomon, Plato, Majnūn and Kayūmarth among *dad-o-dām* is indeed closely interrelated. In addition to our Figs. 4.53, 54, 55, 57, 58, see for examples from 16th-century Iran, Ph. Walter Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig, 1914), II, pls. 62 (Solomon), 77 (Plato); Ivan Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des manuscrits de la 'Khamseh'de Niẓāmī au Topkapi Sarayi Müzesi d'Istanbul* (Paris, 1977), pls. LXIX (Plato), XXVII, a (Majnūn); for a representation of Kayūmarth, dating from the 14th century, see Basil Gray, *Persische Malerei* (Geneva: Albert Skira, 1961), p. 59.

[123] '. . . he [the *jinn* Sakhr, who made the throne for Solomon] . . . set into it, with incomparable art, figures and sculptures of wild beasts and of everything which crawls over the earth.' Trans. after Salzberger, *Salomos Tempelbau und Thron* (n. 70 above), pp. 106 f; W.M. Thackston's trans. (*The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa'i*, n. 73 above, p. 306) has only: 'and on it he put statues of the birds and beasts'.

[124] My translation of August Wünsche's quotation from the *Targum sheni*, which gives the most detailed description of the throne, 'Salomos Thron und Hippodrom. Abbilder des babylonischen Himmelsbildes', *Ex Oriente Lux*, II (1906), p. 13. Cf. P. Cassel, *Kaiser- und Königsthrone* (n. 70

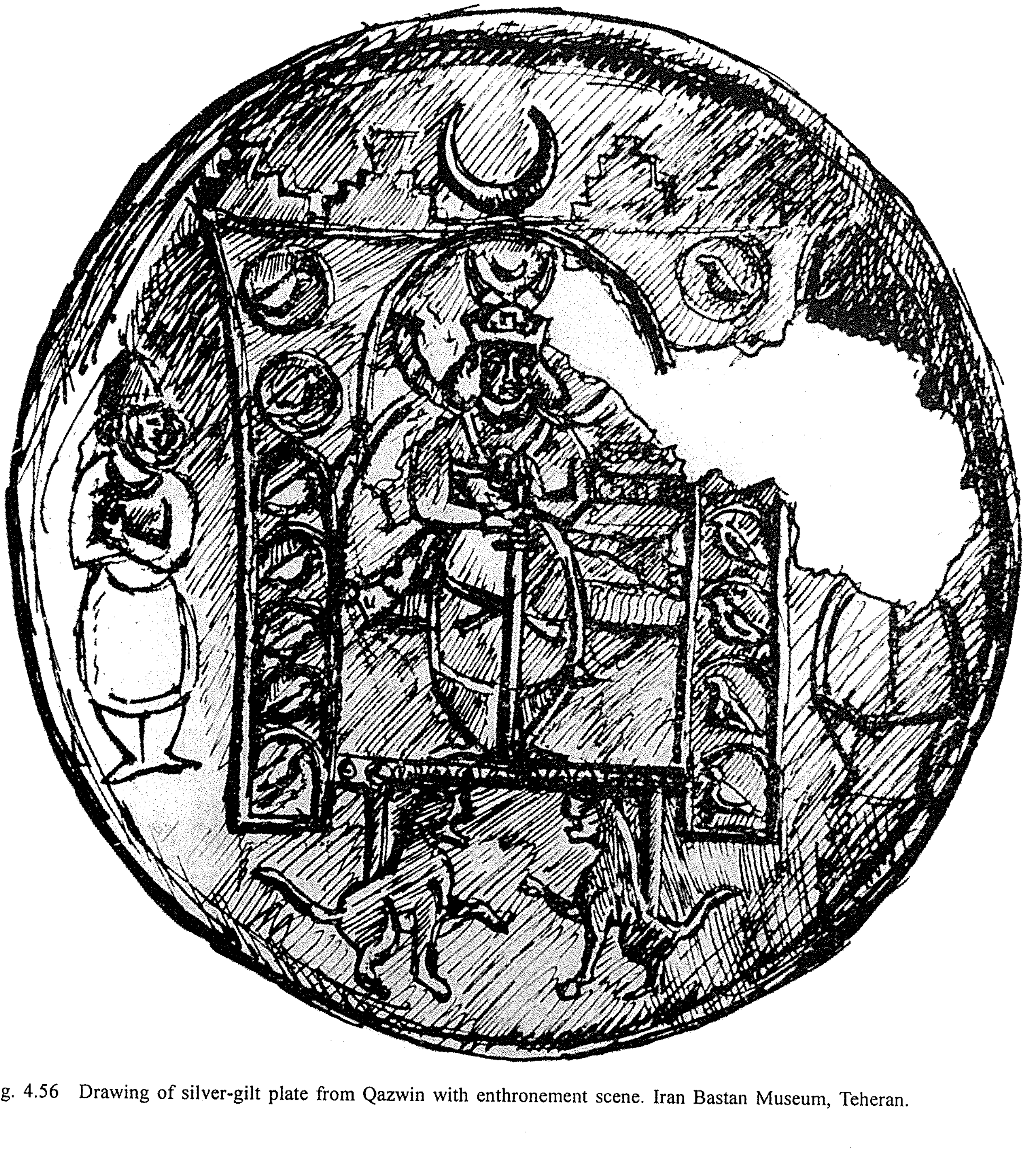

Fig. 4.56 Drawing of silver-gilt plate from Qazwin with enthronement scene. Iran Bastan Museum, Teheran.

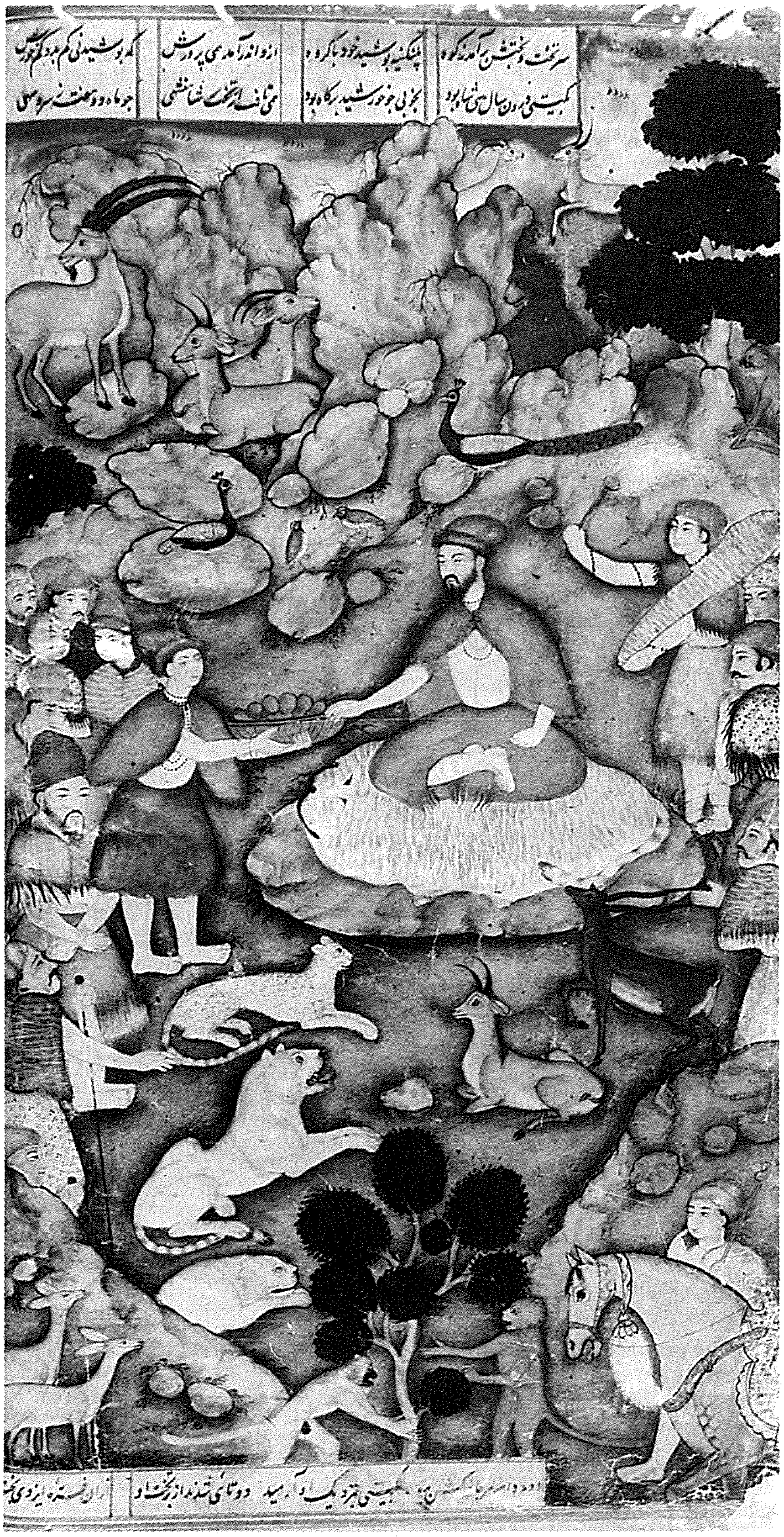
سر تخت و بختش برآمد ز کوه
بگیتی درون سال سی شاه بود
پلنگینه پوشید خود با گروه
بخوبی چو خورشید بر گاه بود
ازو اندر آمد همی پرورش
همی تافت ازو فر شاهنشهی
که پوشیدنی کم بد و کم خورش
چو ماه دو هفته ز سرو سهی

Fig. 4.57 Kayūmarth Enthroned, from a *Shāh nāma* of Firdausī. Early 17th century. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

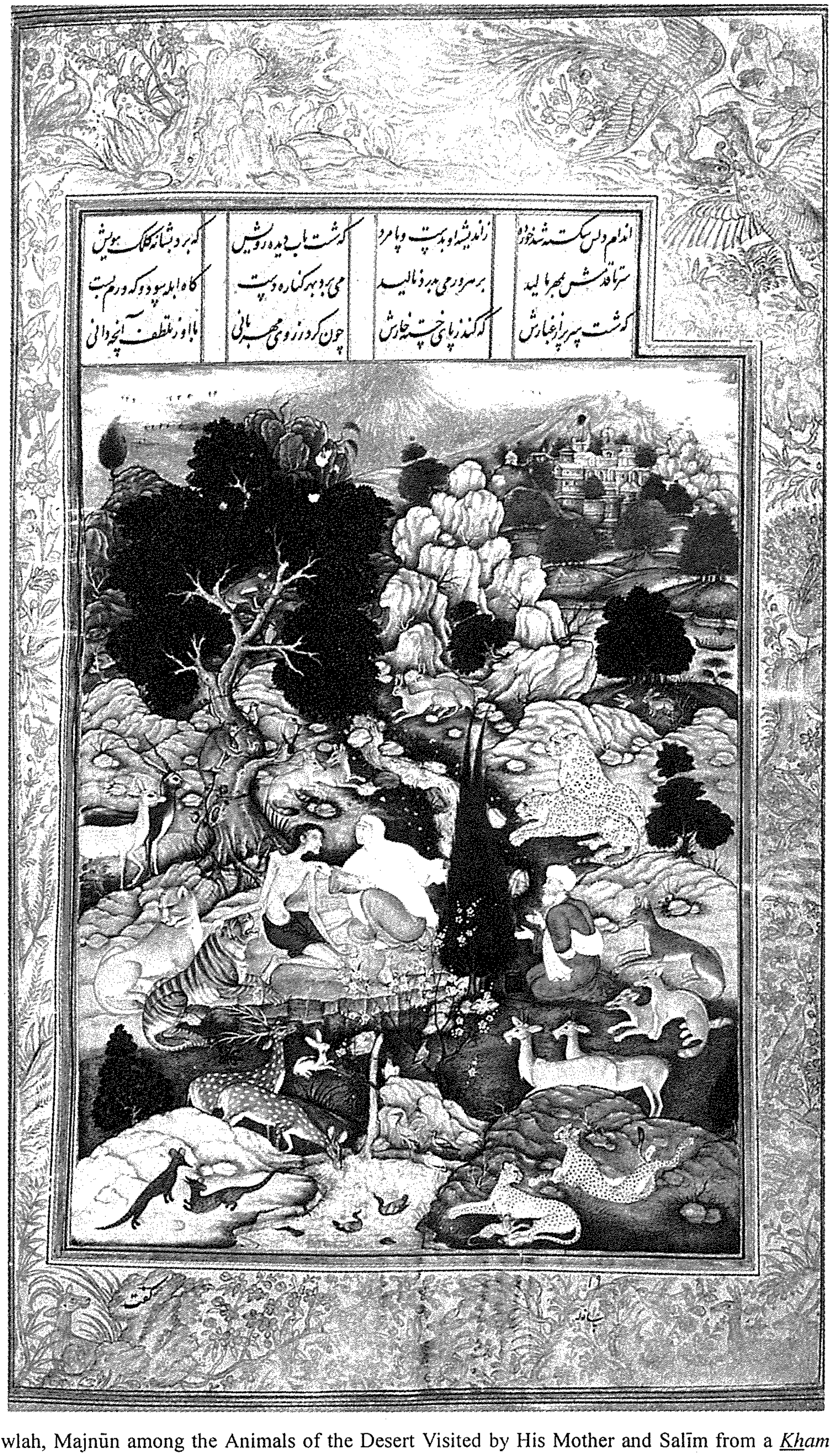

Fig. 4.58 Sānwlah, Majnūn among the Animals of the Desert Visited by His Mother and Salīm from a *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī, 1595. British Library, London.

This feature of the Solomonic throne, the ancestry of which has been traced back hypothetically to Babylonian astronomical concepts,[125] plays a role mainly in the Jewish texts. The fact that it made an impact at least on early Islamic art, is evident from its artistic realization under the early caliphs, who as Islamic rulers went to extremes in competing with their antagonists, the Byzantine emperors. The animals appear in a different architectural context, often as fountain statuary, yet they always carry the connotation of the animals of the Solomonic throne.[126]

In the whole body of myths and ideas pertaining to Islamic rulership, it is difficult to distinguish analogies and genealogies, especially when the complex figure of Solomon comes into the picture. The standard metaphor to illustrate justice—the first and foremost virtue of an Islamic ruler, and indeed, his legitimation to rule[127]—namely the peace among *dad-o-dām* brought about by his just rule, bears, we think, a Solomonic significance. More specifically, it might even be directly connected to the juxtaposed animals on the steps of the Solomonic throne. Similar antagonistic pairs feature at least in Persian literature, in particular in courtly eulogies from Firdausī to Abū Ṭālib Kalīm, Shāh Jahān's poet laureate. Favourite juxtapositions are lion and deer, wolf and sheep, hawk and partridge, and eagle and sparrow.[128]

To attest the ideal rulership of his sovereign, Abū Ṭālib Kalīm paraphrases the classical metaphors:

> In his [Shāh Jahān's] time, the deer with its knotty antler
> Has untied the knots [of grimness] on the forehead of the lion.
> Out of fear of him everybody who is a tyrant like the falcon
> Will be bloodless in his skin like the falconer's glove.
> For the affairs of the weak have become so strong
> That the straw became supportive frame-work of a wall.
> Through his power the game draws the bowstring made from its own hair
> On the bow of the claws of the lion.
> If a pigeon comes to give forbidding orders,
> It will remove the hood from the head of the falcon . . .[129]

This passage illustrates the peaceful coexistence between weak and strong animals brought about by Shāh Jahān's just and powerful rule, which must be understood in two ways: Taken literally, the metaphors elucidate his qualities as universal cosmic ruler who brings about a new Golden Age. Interpreted in an allegorical sense, they illustrate his ability to protect the oppressed from their oppressors, thus demonstrating his ideal rulership from the point of view of Islamic political thought. But the previous victims are

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above), pp. 9–14; and G. Salzberger, *Salomos Tempelbau und Thron* (n. 70 above), pp. 77–80.

[125] See Wünsche, above.

[126] The most spectacular realization was the fountain put up by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in his palace in Madīnat al-Zahrā' (*c.* 950). It had been imported from Byzantium, and was decorated with twelve statues of red gold encrusted with precious pearls, among them a lion, flanked by a gazelle and a crocodile; a dragon with an eagle and an elephant, a dove with a falcon and a peacock, and a hen with a cock and a vulture. See F. Bargebuhr, 'The Alhambra Palace' (n. 75 above), especially pp. 213 ff. and the discussion of further examples pp. 233–6.

[127] See on this subject the collected studies of A.K.S. Lambton, *Theory and Practice in Medieval Persian Government* (London, 1980), especially 'Justice in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship', IV, pp. 91–119.

[128] To adduce only a few examples:

> With justice decked he earth and now,
> That done, hath set the crown upon his brow.
> Mahmūd the worldlord, the great Shāh, doth bring
> Together sheep and wolf for watering.

Thus Firdausī lauds his patron Maḥmūd of Ghazna; see Warner, *The Shāhnāma* (n. 117 above), I, p. 113; cf. Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois* (n. 79 above), I, pp. 24–5. Niẓām al-Mulk (d. AD 1092) makes Anūsharwān, the model of just rulership, say to his courtiers: 'In future I shall talk with the sword to the tyrants, I shall protect the sheep and the lamb against the attacks of the wolf . . .'; see *Siasset Namèh: Traité de gouvernement composé pour le sultan Melik-Châh*, Persian text ed. Charles Schefer (Paris, 1891), p. 35, French trans. Charles Schefer (Paris, 1893), p. 51. Niẓāmī's Alexander proclaims, when he sits on the throne of Persepolis:

> Where my justice raises its head, cypress-like,
> The partridge fears not the tyranny of the hawk:
> The wolf exercises pastoral charge over the sheep;
> Verily, the lion brings no injury to the deer.

Alexander's father, Faylikūs (Philip of Macedon),

> Was such a dispenser of justice that, by his own justice
> He bound the (powerful) wolf's tail to the (weak) sheeps foot.

The Sikandar Nāma, e Barā or Book of Alexander the Great, Written A.D. 1200 by Abū Muḥammad bin Yusuf bin Mu'ayyad-i-Niẓāmu-'d-Din, trans. H. Wilberforce Clarke (1881; rpt. New Delhi, 1979), pp. 425 and 136. For examples from the Mughal period before Shāh Jahān, see 'The Influence of the Jesuit Mission', pp. 2, 5. The metaphor *sher aur bakri ek ghat pani pite hain* (lion and goat drink from one watering place), is today still used proverbially in Urdu in reference to just government.

[129] Translated from a *mathnawī* in praise of a palace of Shāh Jahān, Abū Ṭālib Kalīm, *Dīwān* (n. 31 above), p. 372.

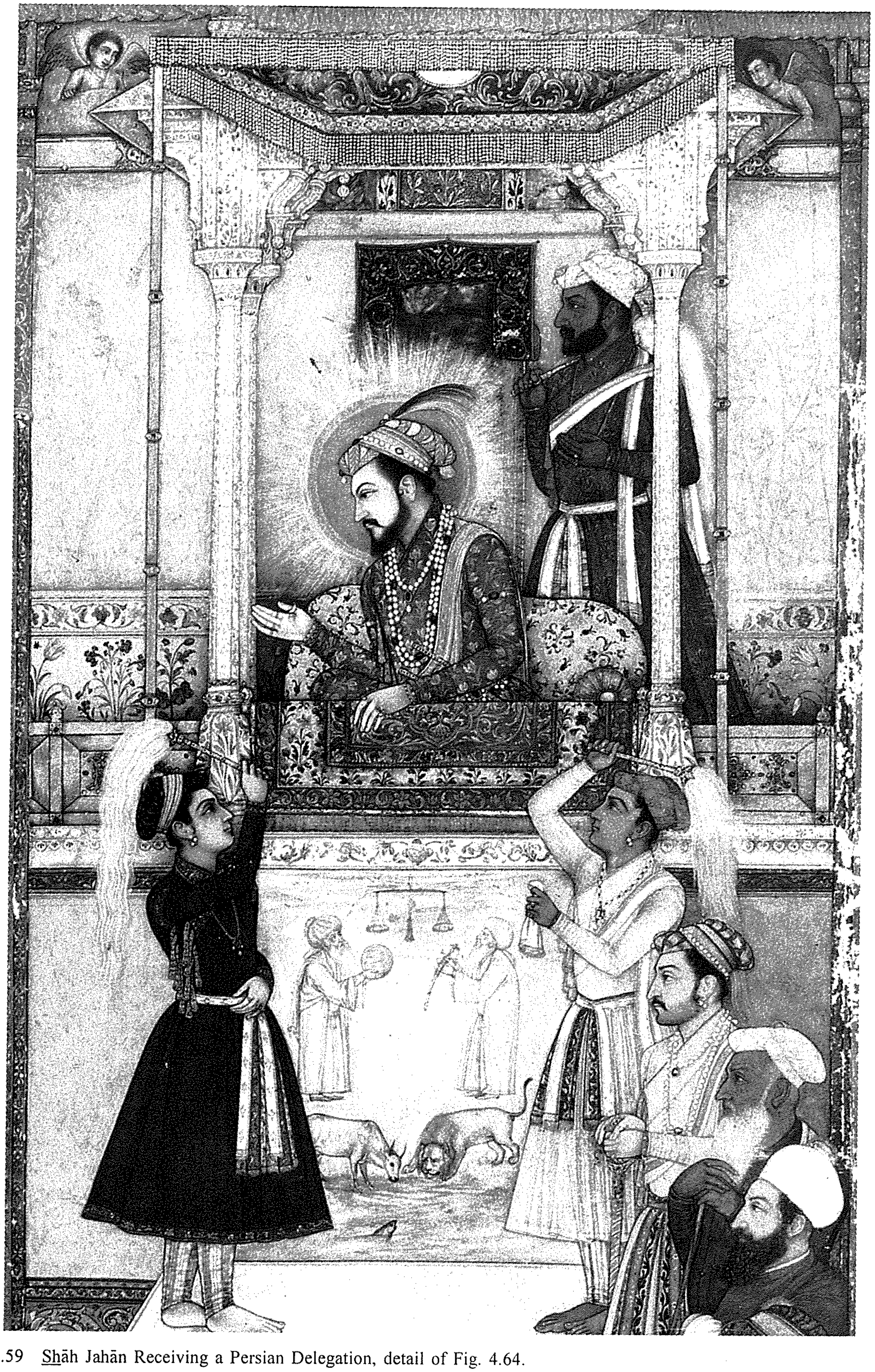


Fig. 4.59 Shāh Jahān Receiving a Persian Delegation, detail of Fig. 4.64.

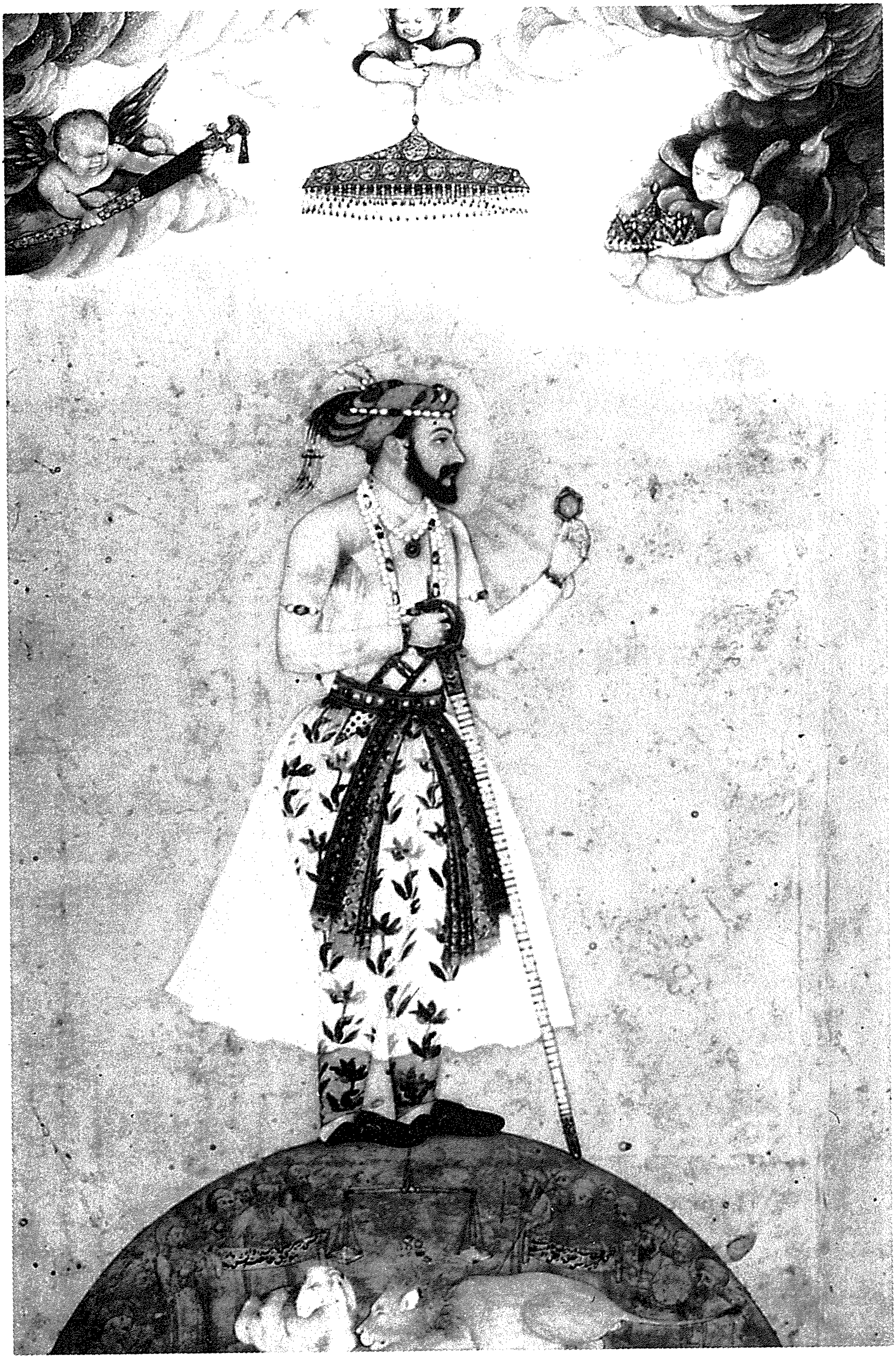


Fig. 4.60 Hāshim, The Emperor Shāh Jahān Standing upon a Globe. 1629. Freer Gallery of Art. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

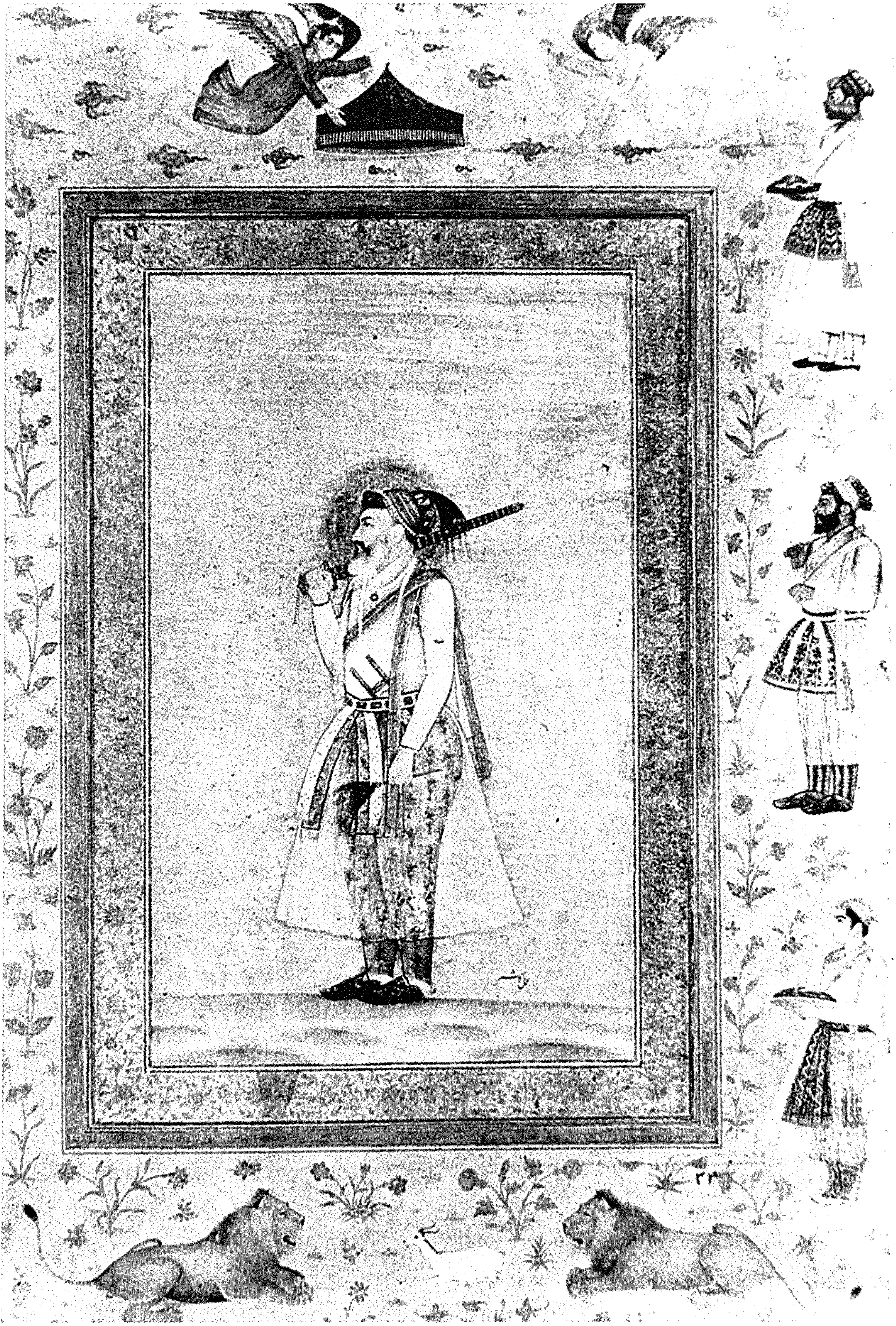


Fig. 4.61 Hāshim, Shāh Jahān in Old Age. Mid-17th century. Private collection.

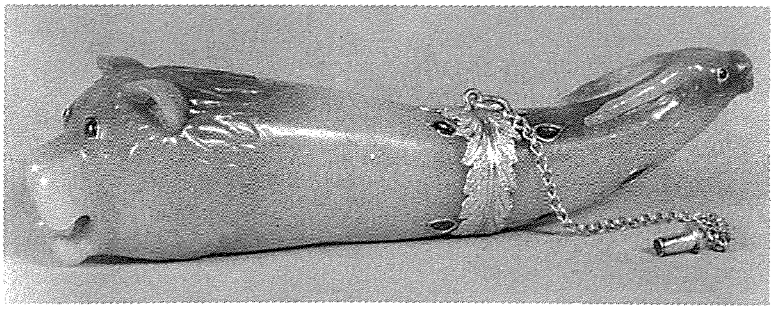
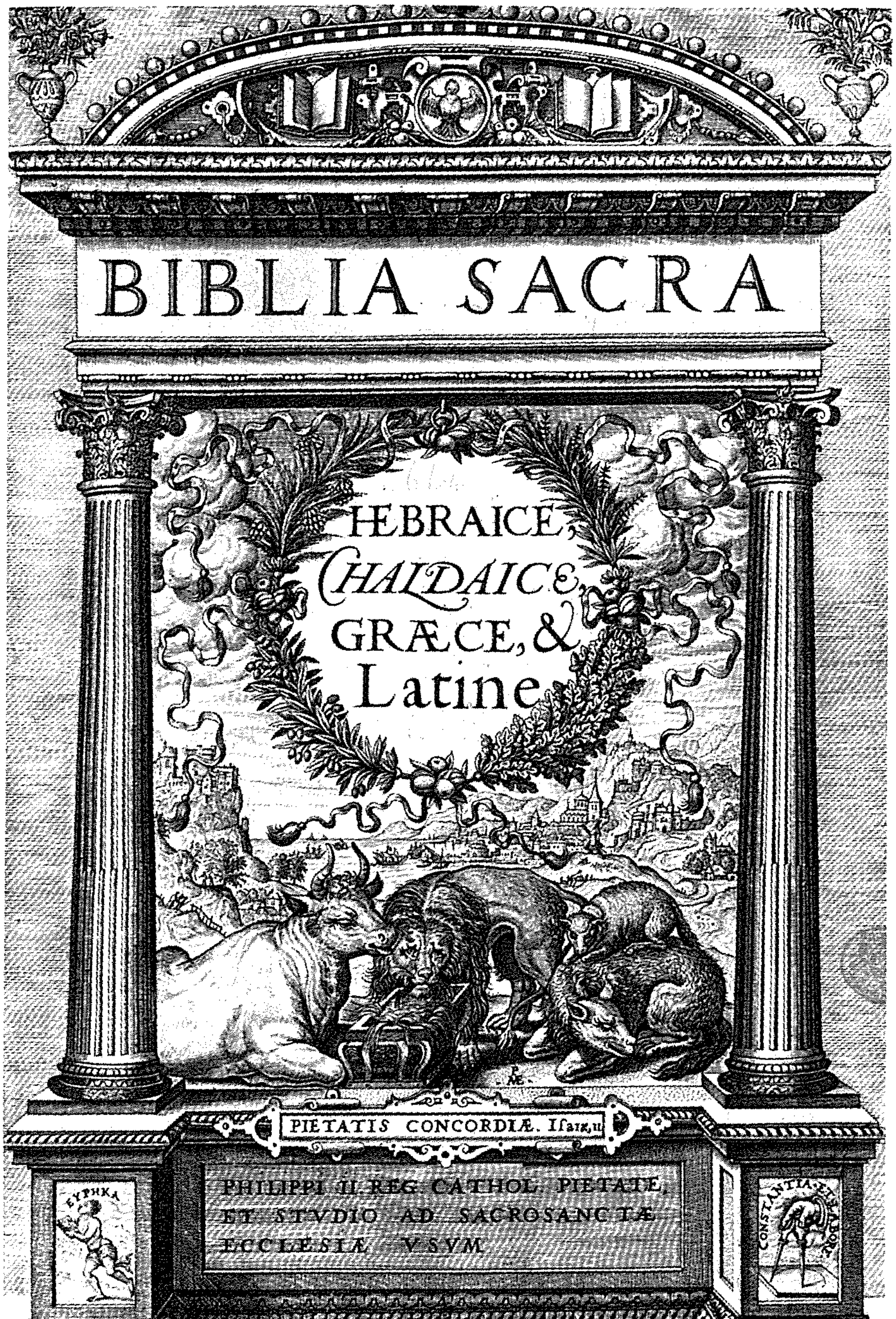


Fig. 4.62 Scent bottle, jade with rubies set in gold, Mughal, 17th century. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



BIBLIA SACRA

HEBRAICE,
CHALDAICE,
GRÆCE, &
Latine

PIETATIS CONCORDIÆ. Iſaie, 11

PHILIPPI II. REG. CATHOL. PIETATE,
ET STVDIO AD SACROSANCTÆ
ECCLESIÆ VSVM.

CHRISTOPH. PLANTINVS EXCVD. ANTVERPIÆ.

Fig. 4.63 The Peace among the Animals under the Rule of the Messiah, *Antwerp Polyglot Bible*. 1569. See Fig. 1.1.

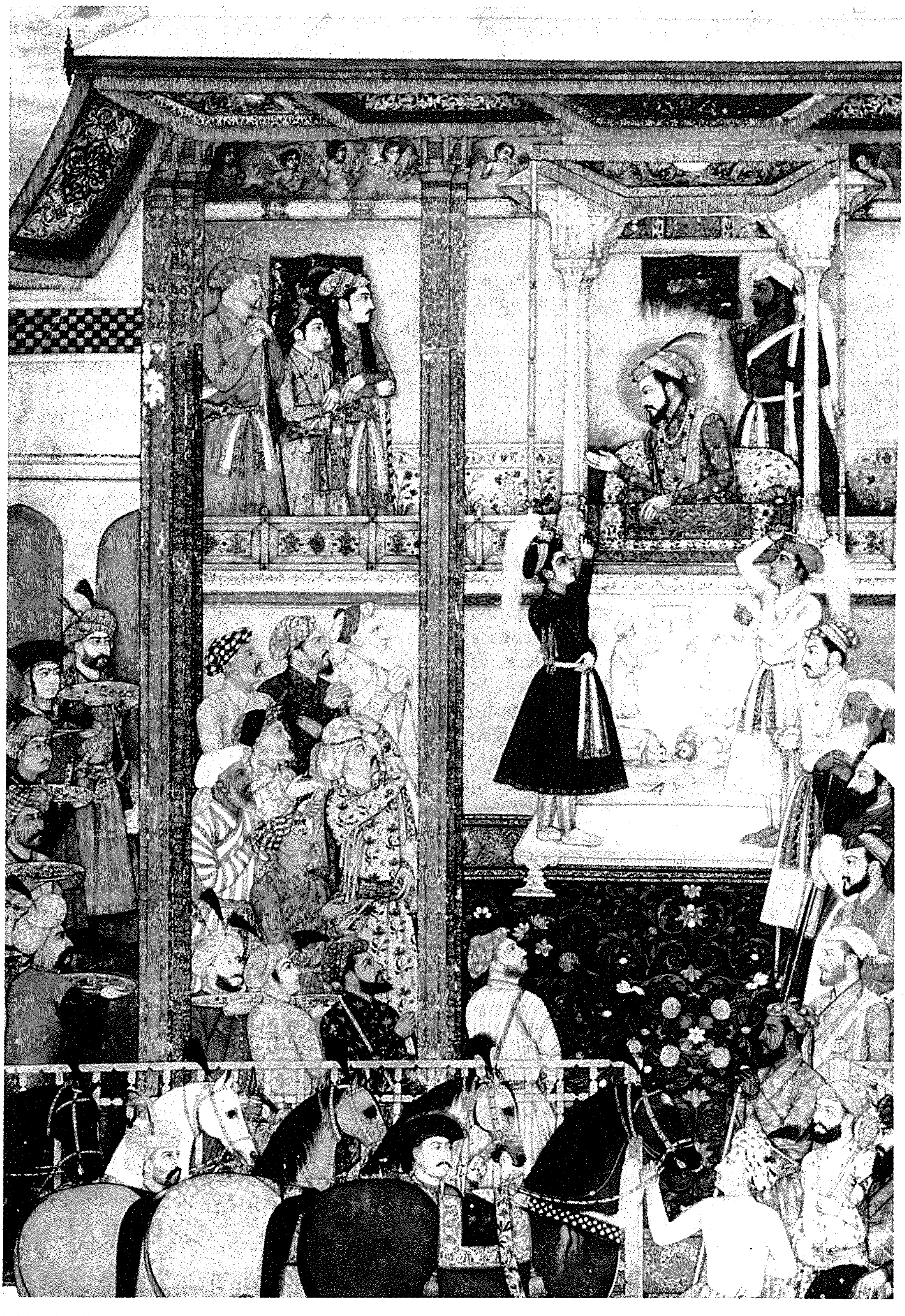


Fig. 4.64 Attributed to Payāg, S̲h̲āh Jahān in the *Jharoka* Receiving a Persian Delegation. C. 1640. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

not only protected from their oppressors, they are—by way of a kind of 'super-justice'—even given power over them.

This motif is of particular interest since it forms part of the imagery of the Solomonic throne as described in the Jewish texts. There, as we have seen, the top of the throne is decorated with a golden pigeon that holds a sparrow-hawk in its claws, which is interpreted in the text itself as a symbol of the future rule of the king of Israel. This eschatological imagery naturally reminds us of the peace among the animals which, according to Isaiah, will prevail under Messianic rule.

Elsewhere I have shown that this resemblance did not pass unnoticed by the Mughals, who had come into contact with these ideas and their visual expression through the pictorial material brought to the court by the Jesuit missions from 1580 onwards.[130]

European Influences in the Golden Age Symbolism of the Mughals

The first title page of the *Antwerp Polyglot Bible*, (1568–72) (Fig. 4.63) showing ox, lion, wolf and sheep lying down together under the rule of the Messiah, must have struck the Mughal court as a pictorial expression of its own literary imagery of ideal rulership.[131] The peaceful assembly of *dad-o-dām* under the ideal ruler was given new symbolic emphasis by the European material which also provided the model for the pictorial realization. Consequently, the animals were directly related to symbolic representations of the Great Mughal (Figs. 4.60, 61). For this transfer the image of Solomon on his throne surrounded by *dad-o-dām* appears to have served as an iconological bridge.There is at least one instance rom Akbar's court atelier where a representation of Solomon enthroned seems to have been meant to stand for the Great Mughal himself[132] (Fig. 4.53). At the same time, the meaning of the European form reinforced the Mughal symbol with its own similar meaning evolved from a different strand of the same tradition.

The success of this symbol in Mughal court art shows that it was exactly what the Mughals had needed to translate their own ideas of rulership into a visual form. Animals modelled upon the ones of the *Polyglot Bible*—of which the combination of lions with a sheep or with an ox, bull or cow proved most influential—became a leitmotif for illustrating the Golden Age atmosphere in the political allegories of Jahāngīr and S͟hāh Jahān.[133] The motif also invades also margins of paintings[134] (Fig. 4.51), and decorative art; a very courtly and playful example is the scent bottle carved of jade in the Victoria and Albert Museum[135] (Fig. 4.62). Jahāngīr goes so far as to present this symbol as a historical fact. In his memoirs he claims that wild beasts had become so tame during his reign that they were wandering freely amongst people without harming them.[136] The tame lions which were kept at the court of Jahāngīr and S͟hāh Jahān might have been meant to be living symbols in support of this claim.[137] The staging of such a symbolic setting is indeed reported for Aurangzēb by Manucci:

> Aurangzēb, as proof of his justness and to advertise his good deeds, sends out every day to walk through the principal square a fierce lion in the company of a goat that has been brought up alongside it from birth. This is to show that his decisions are just and equal without any bias.[138]

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[130] For this and the following passage, see 'The Influence of the Jesuit Missions', this volume, pp. 2, 5.

[131] Ibid.

[132] I think here along the same lines as A. Welch, who takes the representation of Solomon on his throne by Mādhu K͟hānazād as an ideal image of Mughal kingship, A. and S.C. Welch, *Arts of the Islamic Book* (n. 60 above), cat. no. 63.

[133] Our Fig. 4.60 shows S͟hāh Jahān standing on a half globe populated by a lion lying down with a lamb under a scale of justice before holy men in the background, inscribed to Hās͟him, 2nd quarter of the 17th century, Freer Gallery of Art, 39. 49. See also the examples of miniature painting mentioned in 'The Influence of the Jesuit Missions', pp. 5, 11 and Figs. 1.1, 4 and 6; further the two interesting allegorical representations of Jahāngīr as the just ruler aiming an arrow at Poverty while standing on a globe containing a lion lying down with a sheep, by Abu'l Ḥasan, *c.* 1625, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (reproduction by R. Skelton, *The Indian Heritage*, n. 61 above, cat. no. 48); and Jahāngīr holding a globe populated by *dad-o-dām*, inscribed to Abu'l Ḥasan, *c.* 1650, Freer Gallery of Art; see M.C. Beach, *The Imperial Image* (n. 63 above), cat. no. 18b. See also Skelton, 'Imperial Symbolism in Mughal Painting'.

[134] An example from S͟hāh Jahān's period is *S͟hāh Jahān in Old Age*, inscribed to Hās͟him, *c.* 1650–5, our Figs. 4.51, 61.

[135] I.S. 02 585, 17th century. One end of the bottle is shaped like the head of a lion; the other like the head of an antelope.

[136] The *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, trans. Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge (1909–14; rpt. Delhi,1968), I, p. 240; cf. 'The Influence of the Jesuit Missions', p. 5 and n. 13.

[137] See E. Terry (n. 85 above); and Antonio Botelho's remark about the tame lion which frightened the lapidary Hortensio Bronzoni at the court of S͟hāh Jahān, as quoted by H. Hosten, 'European Art at the Mughal Court' (n. 11 above), p. 115.

[138] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India: 1653–1708*, trans. William Irvine, II (1907; rpt. Calcutta, 1966), p. 416.

Like all the other components of this symbolic complex, the use of animals as living symbols is of ancient Oriental ancestry. Herds of wild and tame animals were kept in the sanctuaries of the Mother Goddess to exemplify her quality as *potnia theron* (queen of wild beasts).[139]

Of special interest in our context is the favourite use of this symbol in the decoration of thrones and *jharoka*s, if we are to believe representations of enthronement[140] and *jharoka* scenes in paintings from S͟hāh Jahān's period[141] (Figs. 4.59, 64, 5.5, 7). Pictures of lions with cows, deer, goats, antelopes or the like, form part of other symbolic imagery, like the scales and/or chains of justice and *s͟hayk͟h*s holding swords and globes, meant to illustrate the just reign of the Great Mughal as a wordly and spiritual ruler.[142] As always with representations of architecture in Mughal painting, it is difficult to decide whether these pictures render the decoration of real architecture or just represent a convention of painted *jharoka*s.[143]

The *pietre dure* panel of Orpheus would be the only instance so far known to show that such symbolic pictures were indeed used in the real *jharoka* architecture of S͟hāh Jahān. The representation of Orpheus, who by his music makes the beasts exist peacefully together, was clearly chosen to support the Solomonic symbolism of the throne *jharoka* and its niche and, at the same time, to illustrate within this symbolism the character of S͟hāh Jahān's just rule.

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[139] See, for instance, M. Hörig, *Dea Syria* (n. 84 above), p. 69; or R. Eisler, *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken* (n. 107 above), p. 96 n. 1, *et passim.*

[140] See the representation of S͟hāh Jahān enthroned, by Abu'l Ḥasan, about 1628 in The Walters Art Gallery. S͟hāh Jahān's throne is decorated with two figural panels: one showing a lion lying down with an ox, the other a lion rolling on its back before a sheep and an antelope. See Beach, *The Grand Mogul* (n. 58 above), cat. no. 29, and for an illustration of the same painting with its ornamental frame, id., 'The Mughal Painter Abu'l Hasan and Some English Sources for his Style', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XXXVIII (1980), frontispiece.

[141] Further examples are found in the illustrated manuscript of Lāhōrī's *Bāds͟hāh nāma*, cf. n. 25, completed in 1657–8, in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle: fol. 50^{v}: S͟hāh Jahān receives Āṣaf K͟hān and his three eldest sons after his enthronement (1628) in the *jharoka* of the palace at Agra Fort, by Bichitr, *c.* 1630 [reproduced in colour: Peter Andrews, 'The Architecture and Gardens of Islamic India, in *The Arts of India*, ed. Basil Gray (Oxford, 1981), pl. 127]; fol. 195^{r}: Jahāngīr receiving prince K͟hurram (the later S͟hāh Jahān) in the *jharoka* of Mandu after his victorious return from the Deccan in 1617, by Payāg, *c.* 1640 (reproduced by Linda York Leach, 'Later Mughal Painting', *The Arts of India*, pl. 158); fol. 214^{v}: S͟hāh Jahān holding court at Agra in his tenth regnal year, by Payāg, (reproduced by Wayne E. Begley, 'Illustrated histories of Shah Jahan: New Identifications of Some Dispersed Paintings and the Problem of the Windsor Castle *Padshahnama*', in *Facets of Indian Art* (n. 66 above), pl. 10. In this painting the *dad-o-dām* motif—a lion next to an ox—does not appear on the panel under the *jharoka* as do the similar motifs in the two illustrations mentioned above, but it appears—encircled by flowers—on the carpet below the *jharoka*. See also Beach, Koch, and Thackston, *King of the World*, cat. nos. 10, 39, 43.

[142] This is not the place to analyse all the components of this symbolic imagery. For the role which *s͟hayk͟h*s played in the imperial ideology and imagery, see R. Ettinghausen, 'The Emperor's Choice' (n. 13 above). R. Skelton first suggested that Jahāngīr's chain of justice was intended to be a reference to the chain said to have been used by the paragon of just rulers, Anūs͟harwān, *The Indian Heritage* (n. 61 above), cat. no. 48.

A description of Anūs͟harwān's chain is indeed given by Niẓām al-Mulk in his *Siyāsat nāma* (n. 128 above), Persian text, p. 36, French trans., p. 52, my English trans.:

> In consequence Anūs͟harwān ordered a chain to be made to which should be attached bells and which could be reached by the hand of a child of seven years. [This measure was undertaken] so that any victim of injustice coming to the court would not have to depend on the intervention of the chamberlains. When the chain was shaken, the bells would sound, Anūs͟harwān would hear it, and give justice to the plaintiff. And so it happened.

This institution can be traced even further back, to the Achaemenid dynasty. Herakleides of Kyme, writing shortly before the fall of the Persian empire, describes a similar chain attached to a window of the palace, which made it possible for the subjects to appeal directly to the king. See H. Haberkorn, *Beiträge zur Beurteilung der Perser* (n. 79 above), p. 66. While Jahāngīr put up a real chain of justice, S͟hāh Jahān seems to have used it only as a symbol in his art. Nevertheless, it 'laughed with many mouths [- chain links] at the justice of Naus͟hirwān [Anūs͟harwān]', Qazwīnī, *Bāds͟hāh nāma* (n. 101 above) fol. 10^{r}. In the context of the interchangeability of Islamic prophet kings and Iranian rulers, discussed above, see pp. 115 f. and n. 118, it is of special interest that according to al-Kisā'ī, also David—on God's order—put up a chain of justice which was endowed with miraculous power so that it could be reached only by truthful persons seeking justice (*The Tales of the Prophets*, n. 73 above, pp. 286–8).

[143] I am studying this problem. In all the *jharoka* scenes of the Windsor *Bāds͟hāh nāma* mentioned in n. 141 (cf. our Figs. 4.59, 64), we meet with the same conventional *jharoka* type as discussed above (pp. 68 f.) with only slight variations in regard to some modernization. The new formal developments of the Agra *jharoka* were not taken into account, even when the events illustrated took place in it after its construction. Koch, in *King of the World*, p. 137, cat. no. 43.

Orpheus stripped of his own original meaning was equated—like Niẓāmī's Majnūn—with Solomon and Solomon stood for S͟hāh Jahān. The *tertium comparationis* was the pacified *dad-o-dām*. At the same time, Orpheus as musician evoked the character of the Islamic David, a prophet king like his son Solomon and endowed like him with power over birds and beasts. As Orphic musician the Islamic David of the legends resembles the Plato (Aflāṭūn) of Niẓāmī. The Mughal emperors were occasionally compared with Plato.[144] The laws of music were—in the mirrors of princes—likened to the laws of justice, the foremost legitimation of the Muslim prince:

> 'No relationship is nobler than that of equivalence, as has been established in the science of music, and among the virtues none is more perfect than the virtue of justice.'[145]

Simultaneously, the image of Orpheus surrounded by the peaceful beasts evoked for the Mughals—as for the West—the peace among the animals under the Messianic rule as prophesied by Isaiah, the visual statement of which had definitely contributed to the generation of this motif in Mughal pictorial symbolism.

In this shifting complex of images it seems impossible to establish a fixed meaning. The image of Orpheus, we think, stands for a loose complex of figures and associations which are held together by the pervasive overall theme of peace among the animals. Each of the figures, therefore, could stand as a symbol of S͟hāh Jahān's just rule, yet in connection with the surrounding throne architecture, Solomon and David appear to be most meaningful. The birds especially relate to these two figures: they can be seen in a threefold way: as relating to the Solomonic throne, as relating to the winged subjects of Solomon and, finally, as the winged audience of David. The associations which the image was meant to convey compare perhaps best with a Mughal eulogy in which the qualities of the emperor were enumerated in catalogues of comparisons to exemplary figures:

> [He is] an emperor, just in his conduct, of the virtue of angels,
> A Solomon in glory, a Plato in perfection,
> [He bears] the traits of the Messiah.[146]

The use of Orpheus as a symbol in the Golden Age propaganda of S͟hāh Jahān coincides in a remarkable way with trends in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Europe, as does the formal genesis of its surrounding decorative programme. The myth of Orpheus is one of the most powerful ones in the history of western ideas. In its historical and legendary aspect it could stand for a wide range of ideas connected with the civilizatory achievements of mankind and the arts of peace. Orpheus is an old symbol of paradise which illustrates the Golden Age. He was used as such to symbolize the perfect prince in the *Aetas aurea* propaganda of European rulers, especially in sixteenth-century Florence.[147] This brings us very close to the ambience in which the *pietre dure* panels were created.

One is tempted to suggest that the panels were, so to say, delivered in the wrapping of the symbolism attached to the image of Orpheus. However, as pointed out earlier, so far we have no evidence that S͟hāh Jahān and his artistic advisers were aware of the role which Orpheus played in the western tradition. We can, however, safely state here some remarkable parallels in the symbolism of absolute rulership. The same symbols were able to express the same claim, no matter how different the cultural and political context might have been.

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[144] Humāyūn (died 1556), for instance, is compared by Abu'l Faḍl, 'in austerities of asceticism and spiritual transports', to 'a Grecian Plato (*Aflāṭūn-i Yūnānī*)', *Akbar nāma*, trans. (n. 12 above), I. p. 284.

[145] *The Nasirean Ethics by Naṣīr ad-Dīn Tūsī*, trans. G.M. Wickens (London, 1964), p. 95, seventh section of the first discourse entitled 'Showing the Superiority of Justice to Other Virtues, and An Exposition of Its States and Divisions'. For a discussion of the influence of the *Ak͟hlāq-i Nāṣirī* (completed 633 H./1235) on the Mughal concept of justice as formulated by Abu'l Faḍl, see Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign* (New Delhi, 1975), pp. 363 ff.

[146] I have slightly forged this passage since the *bayt 'S͟hāh-i ādil kes͟h malā'ik k͟hiṣāl Sulaymān jalāl Falāṭūn kamāl'* is taken from a *mat͟hnawī* of Kalīm in praise of the palace of Lahore, *Dīwān* (n. 31 above), p. 404, and the *Masīḥ āt͟hār* is taken from the letter of 'Quṭb al-Mulk' ('Abdullah Quṭb S͟hāh, then ruler of Golconda) to S͟hāh Jahān in 1636. Qazwīnī, *Bādshāh nāma* (n. 101 above), fol. 385ʳ Persian pagination

[147] See Karla Langedijk, 'Baccio Bandinelli's Orpheus' (n. 111 above), who also gives comprehensive bibliographical references regarding the concept of Orpheus and the Golden Age in the Renaissance. For the concept of justice in the Golden Age ideology of the Medici, see especially Thomas Puttfarken, 'Golden Age and Justice in Sixteenth-Century Florentine Political Thought and Imagery: Observations on Three Pictures by Jacopo Zucchi', *JWCI*, XLIII (1980), pp 130–49. In our context it is interesting to note that—like several other European rulers and princes—Francesco de Medici (the great patron of hard stone carving, see n. 32 above) seems to have thought of himself as a second Solomon. See L. Berti, *Il Principe dello Studiolo: Francesco I de Medici e la fine del Rinascimento florentino* (Florence: Editrice Edam, 1967), pp. 69 f.

It is a remarkable contribution of the Mughals to the history of the whole complex of Orphic ideas, to have linked and brought together the eastern and western strands in the decor of the Delhi throne *jharoka*, however unconsciously this may have been done. We cannot but see a certain irony in the fact that S͟hāh Jahān, who in the official propaganda of his court consciously tried to keep a distance to his Indian environment,[148] had his, the Islamic prophet king's rule of justice and paradisiacal peace, illustrated by means of a western figure that since its early pagan origins had stood for ideas, characteristic of the very environment he tried to disregard.[149]

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[148] In addition to the examples quoted in n. 102 we may add that Kalīm even claimed that S͟hāh Jahān 'made a Hindu a stranger in Hindustan'; quoted from a mat͟hnawī in praise of an imperial palace, *Dīwān* (n. 31 above), p. 373.

[149] The most characteristic aspect of Orphism was the doctrine of transmigration and consequently the commandment to abstain from meat. See W.K.C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (n. 107 above), pp. 196 ff. *et passim.*

5

The Hierarchical Principles of Shah-Jahani Painting*

Shah Jahan's Art as State Art

Under the rule of Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58) the Mughal empire entered its classical phase of greatest prosperity and stability. From the earliest conquests of Babur (1526), which were later enlarged and consolidated under Akbar (r. 1556–1605) and Jahangir (r. 1605–27), the Mughal empire joined those of the Ottomans and Safavid Persia as one of the three leading powers of the Islamic world, and was known in the East and the West as the empire of the 'Great Moghul'. Under Babur the Mughal court was somewhat informally organized, with Babur as *primus inter pares* to his Central Asian followers, but it developed—through the efforts of Akbar, in particular—into the court of an absolute ruler and head of a centralized state who personally and diligently oversaw the administration of his vast empire, supported by his *amir*s and *mansabdar*s, the militarily structured ruling èlite. Distinction in the hierarchy of the bureaucratic apparatus had to be acquired through personal achievement, as acknowledged by the emperor; even the succession to the throne was not regulated by primogeniture.[1] This fused the ruling class—whose members belonged to diverse ethnic and religious communities reflecting the heterogeneous components of the empire—into a coherent administrative body which, by the time of Shah Jahan, depended entirely on the emperor. This applied more strongly to the Muslim nobles than to the indigenous Rajput chieftains who were able to retain some autonomy, including a hold over their ancestral dominions, when incorporated into Mughal service. Since imperial authority represented the main guarantee for the functioning of this hybrid political system, the emperor's appeal to his subjects' loyalty depended largely on his personal charisma, which was supported and magnified by the myth created around his kingship. Here the Mughals drew with their own disarming lack of inhibition on all autocratic notions of kingship they could lay their hands on, and which they deemed to serve their cause. The ideas and systems they exploited included the Muslim caliphal, Koranic prophetic and mystical Sufi; Achaemenian and Sasanian Persian, and Perso-Islamic; Turko-Mongolian; Hindu and Islamic Indian; and Christian-Messianic, as well as recent European concepts of universal monarchy. Upon this eclectic plethora each ruler set his own accent. Shah Jahan tried even more consistently than his predessors to live up to his self-created image, and architecture, art, poetry, historiography and court life during his reign all served to manifest the imperial ideal.

The hierarchic relationship between Shah Jahan and his subjects was confirmed and acted out symbolically in rigid court ceremonial, repeated daily, focusing on the emperor. Hand in hand with the regulation of every detail of court life went an ever-increasing formalization of the court arts, which were represented as a necessary instrument to rule. The

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*Reprinted from *King of the World: The Padshahnama: An Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle*, Milo Cleveland Beach, Ebba Koch, and Wheeler Thackston (London and Washington, D.C., 1997).

*All numbers in bold in the essay refer to illustrations in Beach *et al.*, *King of the World.*

[1] See Koch in Beach *et al.*, *King of the World*, p. 162.

monarch who exerted himself in the sphere of artistic representation was sure of the loyalty, obedience and recognition of his subjects, as well as the esteem of his rival rulers:[2]

> [Such matters] may belong [to the category] of beautiful and external things the existence of which is not so necessary [in the context] of overall rule, but they must be [present] to give full distinction and spectacular display—the more so since it becomes a matter of increase of pomp and power, magnificence and elegance . . . It is evident that the increase of such things creates esteem for the rulers in the eyes [of the people] and augments respect [for the ruler] and [their own] dignity in [their] hearts. In this form the execution of divine injunctions and prohibitions and the enforcement of divine decrees and laws which is the ultimate aim of rulership and kingship are carried out in a better way.[3]

The political role assigned to the arts, and the emperor's function as the supreme administrator of his court-led state, meant that Shah Jahan sought to assert as close a control over his artists as over his *amirs* and *mansabdars.* The personal tastes of the first six rulers of the dynasty, the 'great' Mughals, dominated the arts of the empire, to the extent that art historians have used the spans of their reigns to indicate artistic periods, but Mughal court art was never so strictly regulated as under Shah Jahan. All his historians agree that Shah Jahan made the personal overseeing of his artists a part of his daily routine, thus acting as his own artistic director in a manner typical of Shah-Jahani perfectionism. The focus of his attention—and the best known aspect of Shah Jahan's patronage—was architecture, the imperial art *par excellence.*[4] Less well known because only mentioned by Shah Jahan's first court historian, Qazwini, who was replaced by Lahawri in about 1638, after covering the first ten years of Shah Jahan's reign—is that the emperor's daily morning session with his artists in the *Dawlat Khana-i Khass* or *Diwan-i-Khass*, the Hall of Private Audiences, also included the close inspection of the work of his painters:

> Part of the time [His Majesty] spends in seeing gems [*jawahir*] and precious objects [*nafa'is*]. And part of the time he examines with care and in detail the masterpieces of artists [*karnamaha-yi arbab-i sana'i'*], such as painters [*musawwir wa naqqash*], carvers and engravers [*naqqar*], goldsmiths [*zargar*], enamelers [*minakar*] and [illegible]. The superintendents of the imperial buildings [*daroghaha-yi 'imarat-i sarkar-i khassa-i sharifa*] together with the masterful architects of excellent abilities [*mi'maran mahir nadira-kar*] bring architectural designs [*tarha-yi 'imarat*] before the exalted sight [of the emperor]. And since his most pure mind is inclined entirely towards building [*'imarat*]—which is the cause of the flourishing of the state and the adornment of the apparent world [*kargah-i zahir*] and which gives value and splendor to the material world [*karkhana-i surat*]—he attends to it fully by creating most of the designs himself and also by carrying out appropriate changes to whatever the architects have thought out.[5]

This representation of Shah Jahan as being above all involved in the creation of architecture certainly reflects his personal preference—he was one of the most tireless builders in Mughal history—but it accorded also with the view of architecture as the most appropriate artistic form of expression for a ruler. As the most prestigious and useful art, it had the capacity to represent the ruler and his state in the eyes of a wider public, and to provide a lasting memorial to his fame.[6]

Even when confined to the miniature format, painting's status was always more controversial than that of architecture and the applied arts, because of the theological injunction against the depiction of human and animal life. This seems to be the reason why Lahawri, who revised Qazwini's first volume of Shah Jahan's history, omits the explicit reference to the painters in his description of the daily meeting of Shah Jahan with his artists.[7] This purging of the text to play down the emperor's involvement with painting reflects the increasingly orthodox concerns of Shah

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[2] The use of this argument to enforce absolute rule was also popular with Shah Jahan's contemporaries in Europe. See, for instance, Warnke 1993, pp. 224 ff.

[3] *'Amal-i Salih*, III, p. 18. For a fuller translation of this passage, see 'Baluster Column', this volume, p. 56; for Kanbo's subsequent remarks adducing Solomon to legitimize the patronage of the figural arts, see 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus', this volume, pp. 104–5.

[4] *Padshahnama*, I/I, p. 149; Nur Bakhsh 1903–4, pp. 190–1; cf. *'Amal-i Salih*, I, p. 206. See also 'Baluster Column', this volume, p. 56; Koch 1991b, p. 96.

[5] Qazwini, *Padshahnama*, fol. 139a (re-foliated 140); translated by Ebba Koch.

[6] Particularly explicit statements on this point are made by Akbar's historian Qandahari: *Ta'rikh-i-Akbari*, pp. 144 f., 147; translated in Brand and Lowry 1985, pp. 290–1, 294. Shah Jahan's authors repeatedly refer in a similar way to the emperor's patronage of architecture; see note 4, above, and *Shah Jahan Nama*, p. 570.

[7] *Padshahnama*, as quoted in note 4, above; cf. *'Amal-i Salih*, I, p. 206.

Jahan, which might eventually have had an impact on his patronage of painting.[8] Lahawri's account, which was the version finally approved by the emperor, has not failed to make its desired impression on posterity. Until recently, art historians have preferred to see Shah Jahan as a patron who was not personally involved in painting:[9] the evidence strongly suggests, however, that in the first ten years of his reign at least, Shah Jahan exerted as decisive an influence on the painted illustrations to his official history as he did on the text itself, which he edited personally in lengthy sessions with his historian and which is thus a far more personal statement by the emperor than its formal style would lead us to believe:

> Sometimes, the writer of these pages [Qazwini] enters the assembly[10] by imperial command and reports on the content of each and every narrative that has recently been written. If a slip in the contents or an error in the expression should have occurred, His Majesty corrects it and guides this worthless speck of dust to the exalted words and pleasing turns of phrase that occur to the royal mind and the inclusion of which in this history would occasion felicity of expression, indeed which are necessary concomitants to this art. This honor lasts two or three *gharis*,[11] or longer when there is more work.[12]

The emperor did not want to leave historiography to the historians, and the same was certainly true of its illustration. Shah Jahan's highly personal involvement in the work of his painters is borne out by the pictorial evidence of the artists' direct access to the ruler. The artists not only included their self-portraits in the *darbar* scenes (see **8**, **11**, **5**, 9, and **39** Fig. 5.7) but also left written statements or signatures on their depictions of the wall below the *jharoka* or of the platform or stool on which the *'Arz-i Mukarrar* (Reviser of Petitions) or the *Mir Bakhshi* (Head of Personnel) would step up to present a petition (see **5**, **9**, **10**, **38** and **43**, Figs. 5.4, 5). The painter Murar, for instance, openly expressed his hopes for generous remuneration, for which he promised, in return, his best artistic effort (**38**). By bringing themselves to the attention of the emperor in such a prominent place, the painters—several of whom were *khanazad* (born in the imperial household, and therefore second-generation servants)—demonstrated their special relationship to him.

The text and the illustrations of the *Padshahnama* emerge as an immediate expression of the close collaboration between the imperial patron, his historians and his painters. Their objectives were the creation of appropriate images in an official style, both in writing and in painting, and the maintenance of a uniform standard of quality. Artistic freedom was suppressed almost as thoroughly as political freedom. There is a certain contradiction in this: the emperor had the most creative and skilled artists at his disposal but their talent was subject to the strictest form of control. This left only a narrow margin of licence for the artists, who nevertheless managed to produce work that was both of high quality and innovative.

Several painters in Shah Jahan's atelier had already worked under Jahangir and had illustrated his history, the *Jahangirnama*.[13] While closely patterned on the painterly achievements of the previous period, the *Padshahnama* illustrations systematized and transformed trends set by the paintings in the earlier chronicle. The fundamental components of miniature painting, in terms of composition and figure arrangement, as well as antithetical stylistic modes, were systematically explored to political ends, to create programmatic statements of order and hierarchy, the basic tenets of Shah Jahan's ideology. The themes of art were also affected. The focus was on static court assemblies or *darbar* scenes, which evolved from the depiction of specific historical events into an ever-repeated and only slightly varied type of abstract image of the Shah-Jahani power structure. Other subjects included court festivals, the spectacle of the elephant fight and the always popular imperial hunt. The Akbari theme of the important military action (largely abandoned in the *Jahangirnama*)[14] was also revived and reinterpreted according to the new principles of Shah-Jahani painting: it no longer depicted acts performed by the emperor himself but by his agents, who were shown taking fortresses and cities in his name, and punishing rebels on his behalf. The pursuit of naturalism, always a characteristic of Mughal painting, was channelled into specific areas within the context of these themes.

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[8] Shah Jahan's return to the Sunni fold began to manifest itself openly in his tenth regnal year, when he replaced the solar calendar, used since Akbar, with the Islamic lunar calendar. See *Shah Jahan Nama*, p. xix. The effect of Shah Jahan's new orthodoxy on his artistic patronage is discussed in 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus', pp. 111, 129, with further literature; and in 'Jahangir and the Angels', p. 37.

[9] Brown 1975a, p. 87; Beach 1978, p. 29; Leach 1995, I, p. 353.

[10] A reference to the Shah Burj pavilion, which was the location of the most private and personal of Shah-Jahani court assemblies, reserved for the imperial princes and highest dignitaries.

[11] A measure of time equivalent to 24 minutes.

[12] Qazwini, *Padshahnama*, fols. 140a–140b (re-foliated 141–2); translated by Wheeler Thackston. Lahawri's text underwent a similar editing process; it was first checked by Allami Sa'dullah Khan, then read out to Shah Jahan, who freqently ordered emendations. See *Shah Jahan Nama*, p. xxi.

[13] For discussion of the illustrations of the *Jahangirnama*, see Beach 1992b, with further literature. See also the illustrated translation of Thackston.

THE *JHAROKA* IMAGE AND THE FORMATION OF THE MUGHAL GROUP PORTRAIT

Almost one-third of the illustrations to the Windsor manuscript show the assembly of the *jharoka-i khass-u-'amm*. The emperor's autocratic rule required confirmation through regular public appearances, and special emphasis was therefore placed on his public audiences, which came in two forms. The most open was that which took place in the *jharoka-i darshan*, the viewing window on the outer wall of the palace. Here, the emperor would appear every day at sunrise to comply with the ancient requirement of Persian and Indian kingship to be accessible—at least visually—to all of his subjects. From the *jharoka-i darshan* he proceeded to the *jharoka-i khass-u-'amm*, a balcony projecting from the back wall of his audience hall (the *Dawlat Khana-i Khass-u-'Amm* or *Diwan-i 'Amm*, in the courtyard of the *khass-u-'amm* (Figs. 9.2, 3, 4, 6). This assembly or darbar of the grandees of the empire (*khass*), the lower ranks, and wider public (*'amm*) was Shah Jahan's most public form of holding court and conducting state business within the palace. The *darbar* took place twice, in the morning and in the afternoon. The nobles and their retinues had to position themselves according to their rank below the *jharoka* in the audience hall and in the courtyard, in areas delineated by railings. The higher a noble's rank the closer was his position to the emperor. All participants in the *darbar* had to stand—although they were allowed to support themselves on ceremonial staffs—and nobody was to move or to speak without being requested to do so.[15] When everybody was in place, the emperor appeared in the *jharoka*. The *bakhshis* then presented the requests and petitions of the *mansabdar*s and the emperor dealt with appointments, salaries, awards, and raises in rank. Viewing of the imperial horses and elephants, and the reception of foreign dignitaries and delegations, also took place during this assembly, and it provided a stage for the great court festivals, in particular *Nawroz* (the Persian New Year) and *julus* (the anniversary of the emperor's accession). The *jharoka-i khass-u-'amm* was the administrative centre of the Mughal empire and the focal point of court events, where the power and pomp of the 'Great Moghul' were enacted.[16] The frequency of its representations in the Windsor manuscript takes account of the fact that the *jharoka*, in reality as in painting, had become an image of the Mughal state. As the 'stage for enacting political rituals, the *jharoka* thus expressed themes central to Mughal political culture: the subordination of all state servants . . ., the corporate solidarity of the ruling class, and the precise position of each member relative to others in the graded hierarchy of state service'.[17]

The *jharoka* paintings were executed by several artists but all based their *darbar* scenes on the same compositional formula. The emperor appears in a central position in the *jharoka*, a raised seat projecting from a gallery in the back wall of the audience hall, sheltered by a cupola, in front of which is hung a canopy: below him his nobles are assembled in two groups facing each other. This basic scheme, the architecture of which was modelled on the actual architecture of the palaces in the capital cities of Agra and Lahore (see Fig. 4.6), could vary in its details to accommodate the peculiarities of a specific place, period, or event. Within these parametres there was also a margin for artistic variation, where the painter could express himself more freely.

The image—like the ceremony itself—originated in Akbar's time: we find among the illustrations of the *Akbarnama*, the history of Akbar's reign, a number of representations of the emperor appearing before his nobles either in an open structure under a cupola on the roof of a palace building or at an upper-story window (Fig. 5.1). These structures form part of a larger architectural setting given in uncoordinated perspectival views. The architecture is quite recognizably Akbari, even though only rarely can it be verified against surviving buildings: these are free paraphrases of the architecture of the period. Neither the settings nor the form of Akbar's audience show any uniformity. All the participants in these public *darbar*s appear as small figures, in keeping with the schematic figure conventions of Persianate painting, although more realistically interpreted. They are

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[14] For the effect on artistic themes of the different personalities of these emperors, see the discussion by Milo Beach, *King of the World*, pp. 118 ff.

[15] See the description in *Chahar Chaman*, fols. 20a–21a, translated by Thackston in Beach *et al.*, *King of the World*, p. 113–14.

[16] See 'Diwan-i 'Amm and Chihil Sutun', this volume, in particular pp. 229–36.

[17] Eaton 1993, p. 160. See also Asher 1993 and Necipoğlu 1993.

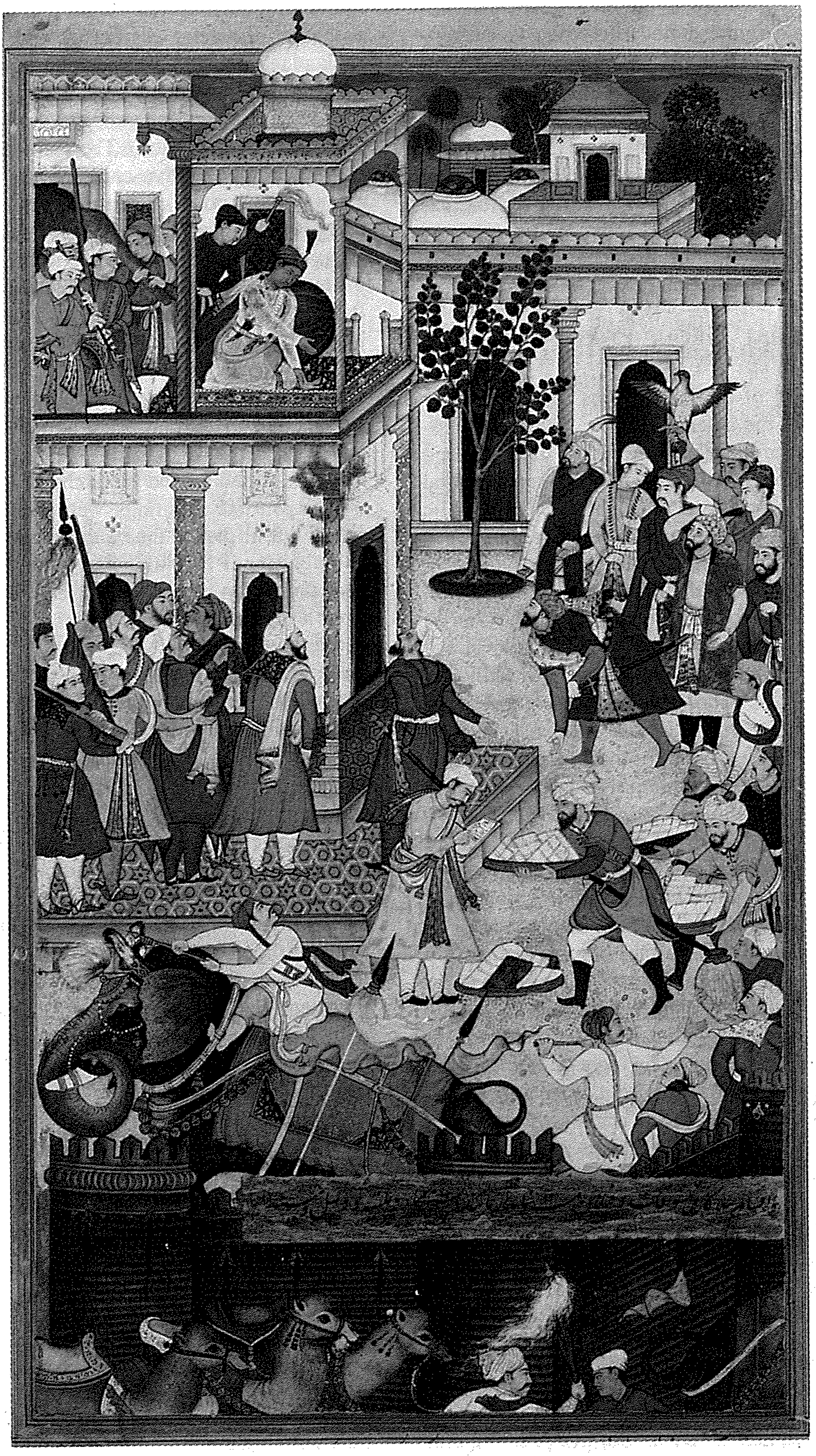

Fig. 5.1 Kesu Kalan and Madhu Kalan, Akbar receiving the submission of the rebel brothers Ali Quli Khan Zaman and Bahadur Khan in 1561, from a manuscript of the *Akbar nama.* Circa 1590. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

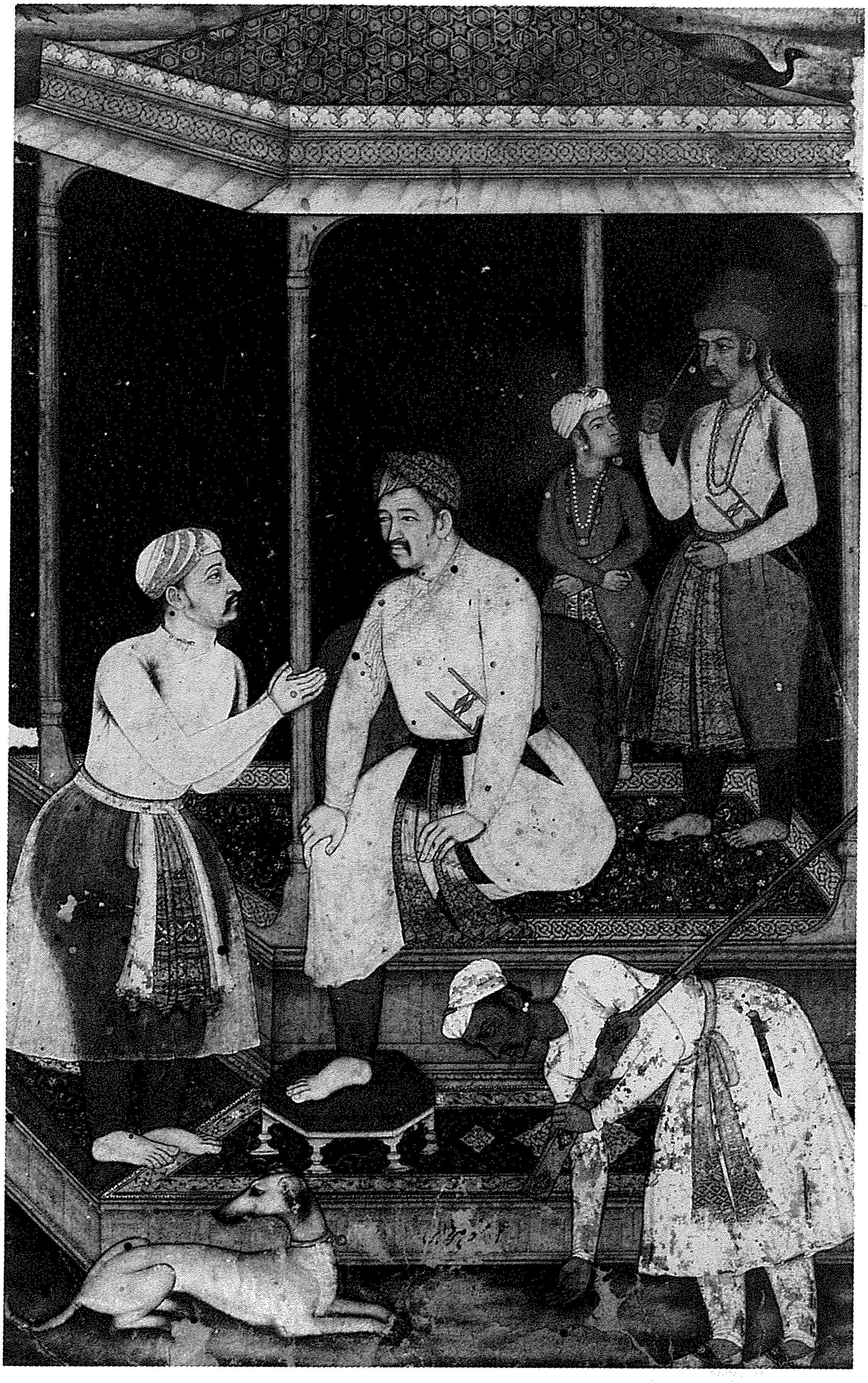

Fig. 5.2 Manohar, Akbar receiving Murtaza Khan. Circa 1602–04. Cincinnati Art Museum.

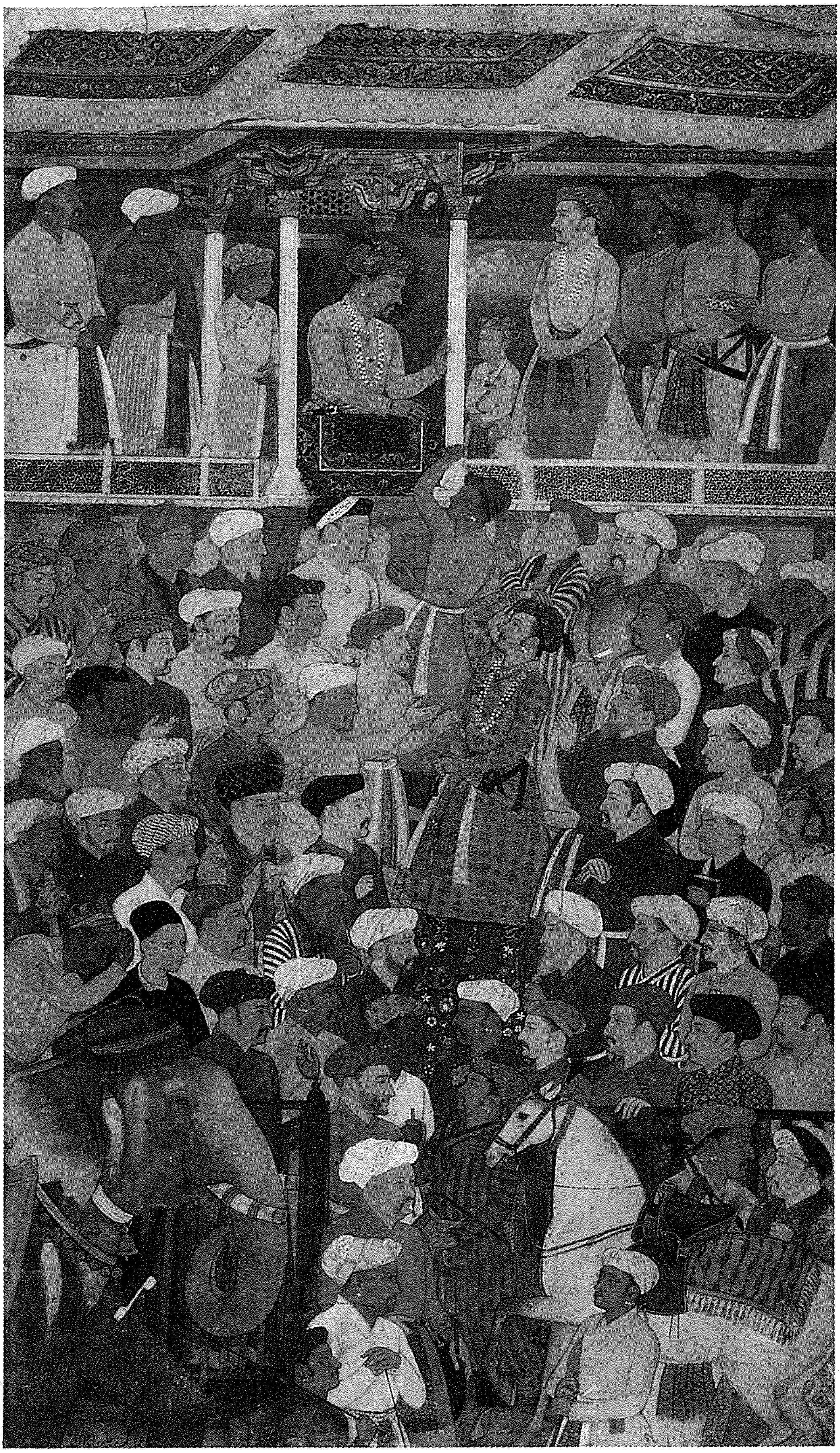

Fig. 5.3 Attributed to Manohar, *Darbar* of Jahangir. 1620s. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

usually shown not standing still but moving about in the architectural settings, gesticulating and apparently torn by different impulses. The small format of the figures and their involvement in their activities gives the painter little opportunity to endow anybody's face with personal traits beyond a very general likeness. This is also true of the emperor, who appears usually in three-quarter profile.

At the end of Akbar's reign, his painter Manohar began to take a closer look at *darbar*s, depicting them as small private meetings at which the emperor appears not in a formal *jharoka* setting but on a canopied platform or throne surrounded by a few selected nobles (Fig. 5.2).[18] The artist suppresses action and gives his quietly standing figures more substance, emphasizing in particular the heads in relation to the bodies, which allows him to define character more strongly and to convey inward psychic life. These tendencies were further developed in depictions of *darbar*s under the succeeding imperial patron, Jahangir.

Jharoka scenes from Jahangir's time were rare—more frequent were representations of the emperor surrounded by a number of close nobles, evolved from the type of private *darbar* created by Manohar.[19] All *darbar* scenes placed a new emphasis on the realistic representation of the setting as well as of those taking part in the assembly (Fig. 5.3). The painting of the *jharoka* corresponds to its real form, for which we have evidence from Akbar's reign onwards, in such palaces as those at Fatehpur-Sikri and Mandu, or in the Diwan-i 'Amm of the Lahore fort (Fig. 4.6). This tendency to show the architectural elements of the *jharoka* realistically was enhanced by the use of perspective, but these views are still, as in Akbari *darbar* scenes, not spatially coordinated according to a unified viewpoint. The more realistic portrayal of those who take part in the *darbar* corresponds to the more accurate representation of the individual architectural elements. The figures appear, however, as a mechanical collection of individual half- or full-length portraits, mostly in profile, all in a linear array on a single imaginary plane that contradicts the perspective of the architectural setting. They are crammed into the space below the emperor, and one has to take a close look at the dense crowd of overlapping figures to be able to make out where it has been divided into two facing groups to give the profile portraits some inner logic. The main point of consistency is in the adherence to pure profiles for the depiction of Jahangir and most of his courtiers in all *jharoka* and *darbar* scenes. This was a radical departure from the three-quarter profile preferred in Akbari paintings.

The next step in the development of the *jharoka* image was aimed at systematizing and disciplining it, to complete its transformation from the record of a historical gathering into a standardized image of the imperial authority of Shah Jahan. This process can be observed in a comparison of a *darbar* scene in Boston (Fig. 5.3) with one of those painted by Murar (**32**), though almost any of the *jharoka* assemblies of Shah Jahan would serve to illustrate our point (Figs. 5.4, 5). The Shah-Jahani *jharoka* image differs from the earlier Jahangiri representation in that it organizes the figures into a composition of strict bilateral symmetry within the architecture. The same is true of the real court session, whose architectural setting was recreated by Shah Jahan soon after his accession in 1628. He replaced the tent erected in front of the wall supporting the *jharoka*, which had served until then as an audience hall, with a larger, permanent wooden hall 'in all palaces of the empire'.[20] The new halls, called *Dawlat Khana-i Khass-u-'Amm* or *Diwan-i 'Amm* were also referred to as *Chihil Sutun* ('forty-pillared') to show their inspiration from Persia, and later (before 1637) replaced by the stone versions which we still see today (Figs. 9.2, 3). From their appearance in darbar scenes and from poetic contemporary descriptions, we learn that the new wooden *Chihil Sutun*s had green pillars—like cypress trees—topped by red elements (**14**, **32**, **43**, Fig. 5.4), and that they supported painted ceilings (**44**). The outer intercolumniations of the halls were closed by a railing similar to that which had surrounded the tent hall, to allow access only to those with rank above 200.[21] The arrangement of the pillars within the wooden halls is uncertain but it may—as in the later stone version—have been based on a hypostyle mosque plan: the *jharoka* took the place of the *mihrab* in the wider central nave, and enhanced Shah Jahan's appearance in the darbar with religious overtones, representing him as the *qibla* of his subjects (Figs. 9.10, 11).

Although Shah Jahan's halls were hailed as a new achievement, highly charged with symbolic meaning, only so much is shown of their architecture in the *jharoka* paintings as was necessary to identify the setting and to structure the composition according to the principle of *qarina*, the Shah-Jahani ideal of bilateral symmetry. Works composed according to

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[18] McInerney 1991, in particular, pp. 59 ff.

[19] See also McInerney 1991, figs. 12, 13, 15.

[20] For this and the following see 'Diwan-i 'Amm and Chihil Sutun', this volume, in particular n. 2.

[21] See the definition of the ranking system, in Beach *et al.*, *King of the World*, p. 82, n. 2.

qarina repeat the elements of one half, reversed, on the other side of a central axis, the main emphasis being placed on the features in the centre.[22] The *jharoka* and the pillars of the hall are rendered in a frontal view, replacing the earlier foreshortened views of these elements in Akbari and Jahangiri *jharoka* scenes. This change is clearly intended to translate the three-dimensional reality of the assembly into a two-dimensional abstraction, in which space is predominantly expressed by layering figures and objects and where architecture functions in the manner of a grid to organize the composition. This flattening is characteristic of Shah-Jahani adaptations of the scheme, but perspectival elements are not entirely eliminated; they are used in a calculated way to set symbolic accents, and to centre the composition on the imperial axis where the emperor presides in a pyramidal arrangement over his nobles (Figs. 5.5, 6). The courtiers, who are again arranged in two balanced groups facing each other, appear as a collection of self-contained, idealized individual portraits that are unified not psychologically—they look straight ahead and their gazes meet only because they are placed opposite each other—but solely through their subordination to the dominant figure of the emperor. This subordination is brought about by the architectural framework which provides vertical hierarchy and centralizing symmetry.[23]

The emperor, always identified by a golden sun nimbus, appears in profile, as do most of his dignitaries. This preference for side views in the portrayals of the ruling élite can be seen in Jahangiri paintings, but Shah-Jahani art demonstrates a rigid attachment to it. While Akbar's likeness was usually given in three-quarter profile (Figs. 5.1, 2), and this view was sporadically employed for representations of Jahangir,[24] no portrait of Shah Jahan is known in which he is represented other than in pure profile. Neither contemporary texts nor existing scholarship offer an explanation for this preference,[25] but it accords with the frontal representation of the architecture in Shah-Jahani painting in its tendency to eliminate three-dimensional space.

At first glance there seems to be a contradiction in the increasing interest in realistic portrayal and the preference for the side view. It appears that artists were deliberately limited to the profile for the purposes of Shah-Jahani group portraiture, in order to submit the individuality of the one portrayed to the corporate identity of the group, the ruling élite. The individual had to be recognizable, but only as a member of a superimposed system.[26] (The figures often have their names written on their clothes, as if to declare that the stimulus for portraiture is not to show an individual's character but merely to identify him.) The fact that the person portrayed does not face the beholder puts a visual distance between the figure and the audience and emphasizes his affiliation with the court. Even more importantly, the profile view was a means to protect Shah Jahan and his élite courtiers from realistic portrayal: this kind of representation clearly aims to exclude all accidental factors, such as the distortions produced by foreshortening and oblique views, which, as Plato argued in condemning illusionistic art as a deceiving reproduction of reality, do not produce a true image of the model, but only show it as it appears to the eye.[27] The standardized and idealized profile representation emphasized that the ruler and those in the state who mattered were above what is human, imperfect and subject to change.[28] Indeed, we could point out that, as a rule, official Shah-Jahani painting applies freer views to persons of no or low rank, almost amounting to a form of class distinction, as in the depiction of the nameless bearers of the imperial insignia (**5**, **6**, **13**, **19**, **32**, **39**, Fig. 5.7, **43**, Fig. 5.4, **44**), foreigners (**17**, Fig. 5.8, **19**, **20**), or those who had fallen out of favour or disgraced themselves (**16**, **36**, Fig. 5.23, **40**).[29]

Since the architecture had to be adjusted to accommodate the plane of the figures and thus maintain the stability of the composition, realism in *darbar* images could manifest itself only in the detailed treatment of surface texture, and the painters

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[22] Koch 1991a, pp. 93, 99, 109, and 141. The term *qarina*, which can be translated as 'counter-image', was used consistently by Shah Jahan's authors in their descriptions of imperial architecture; see, for example, the reference to the Taj Mahal and its flanking buildings in *Padshahnama*, II, p. 327.

[23] The point is discussed in more detail by Koch in Beach *et al.*, *King of the World*, pp. 167–8.

[24] See the portrait, perhaps by Hashim, *c.* 1620, in the British Museum, London: illustrated in Beach 1992a, fig. 81.

[25] Losty 1990; Necepoğlu 1993, p. 316.

[26] 'It is a commonplace that a recognizable transcription of the features can be achieved more easily in profile than in any other way.' Pope-Henessy 1989, p. 35.

[27] Plato 1987, pp. 363–4 (Book 10, 598). For Plato's views on this point, see Schäfer 1986, in particular p. 87. As Aflatun, Plato was well known at the Mughal court: see 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus', pp. 112, 115, Fig. 4.55.

[28] Cf. Koch, Beach *et al.*, *King of the World*, p. 203, with further literature.

[29] At times, however, the three-quarter face was used when no other model was available; in the depiction of Timur (**3**), the three-quarter view has a historicizing connotation, conforming to the conventions of Timurid miniature painting.

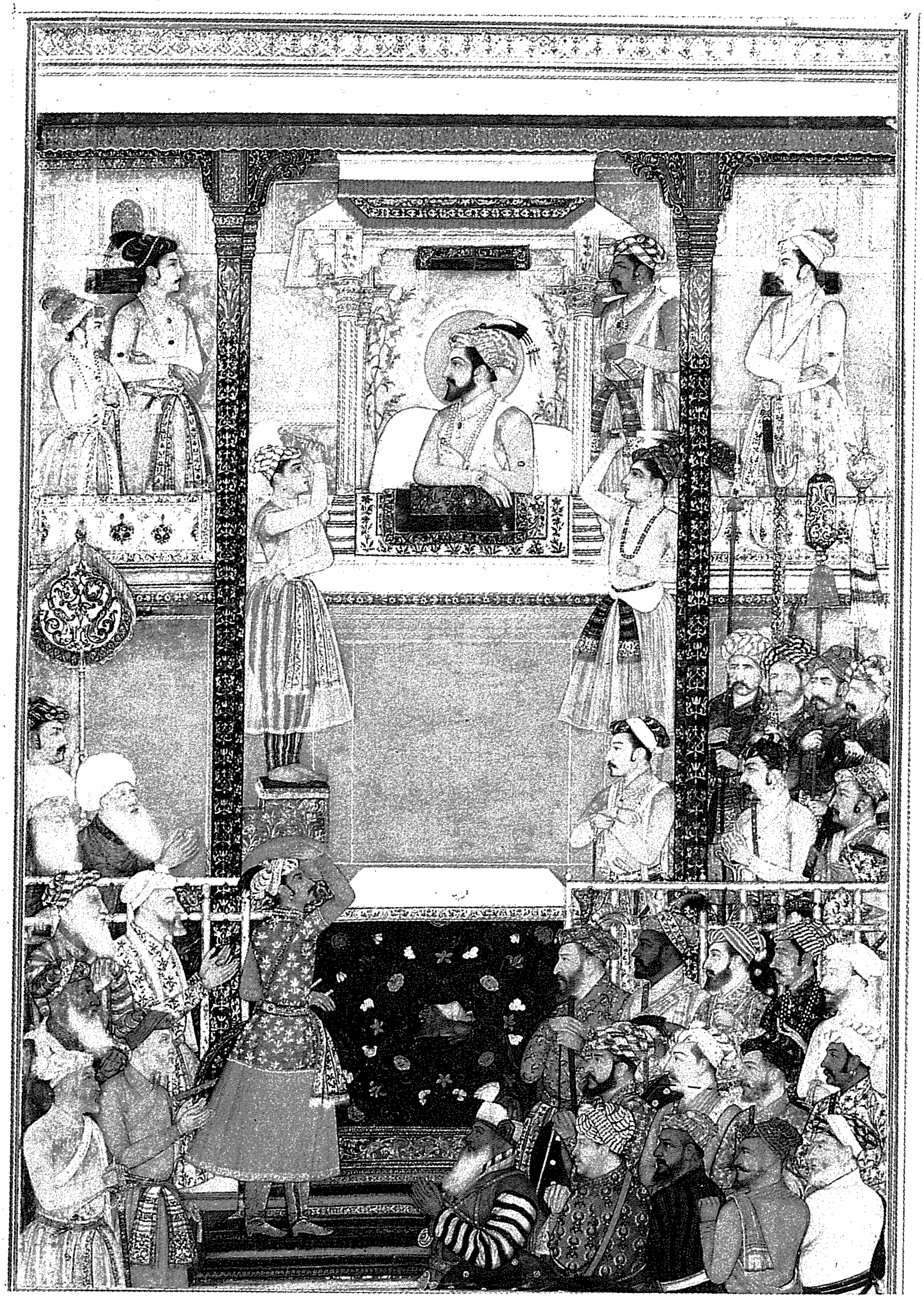

Fig. 5.4 Payag, Shah Jahan honouring Prince Awrangzeb in the Diwan-i ʿAmm, Agra, on 27 April 1637, before his wedding. Circa 1640, from the *Padshahnama*, fol. 214b (KoW, 43). Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

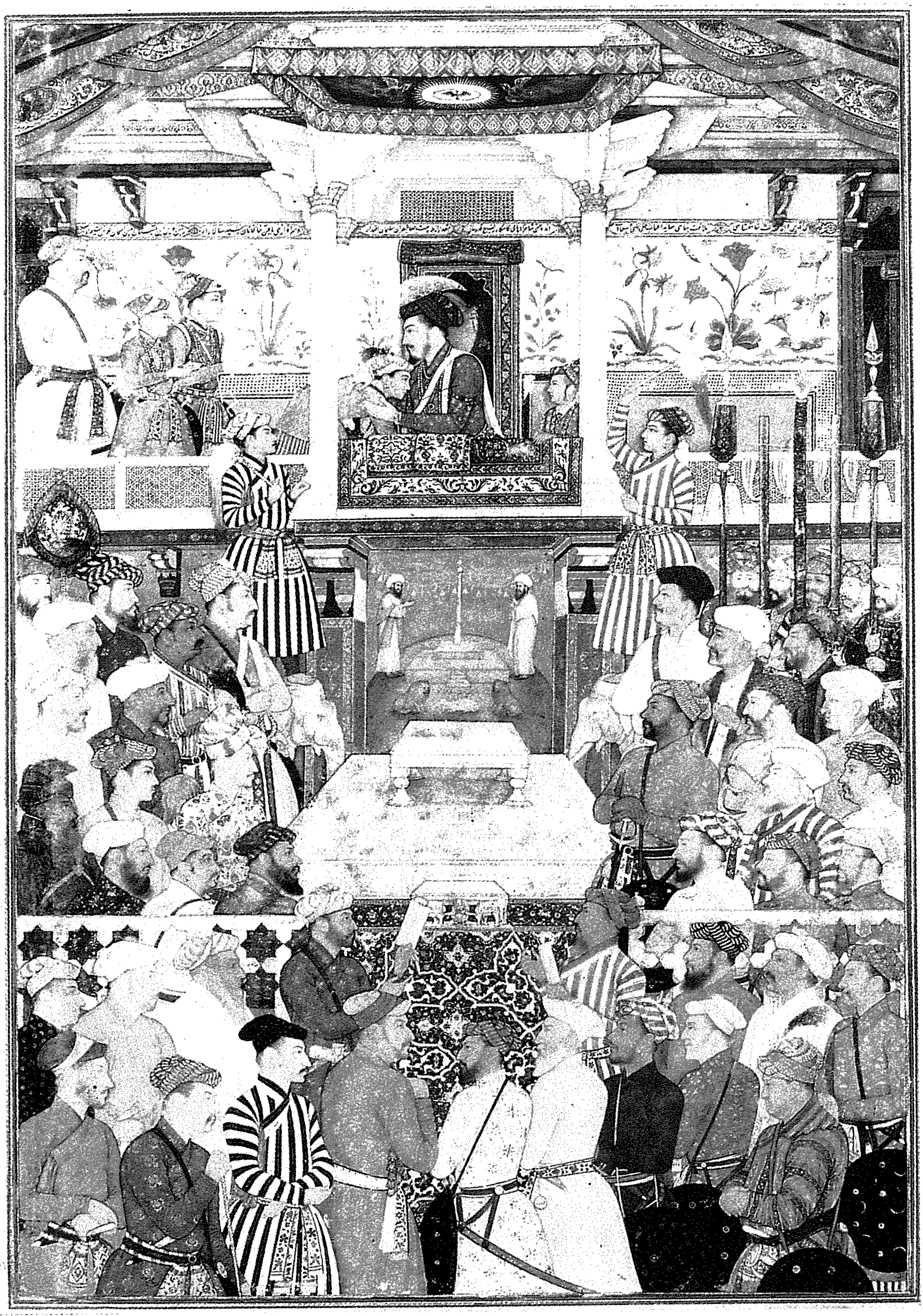

Fig. 5.5 Bichitr, Shah Jahan receives his three eldest sons and Asaf Khan during his accession ceremonies in the Diwan-i 'Amm, Agra, on 8 March 1628. Circa 1640, from the *Padshahnama*, fol. 50b (KoW, 10). Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

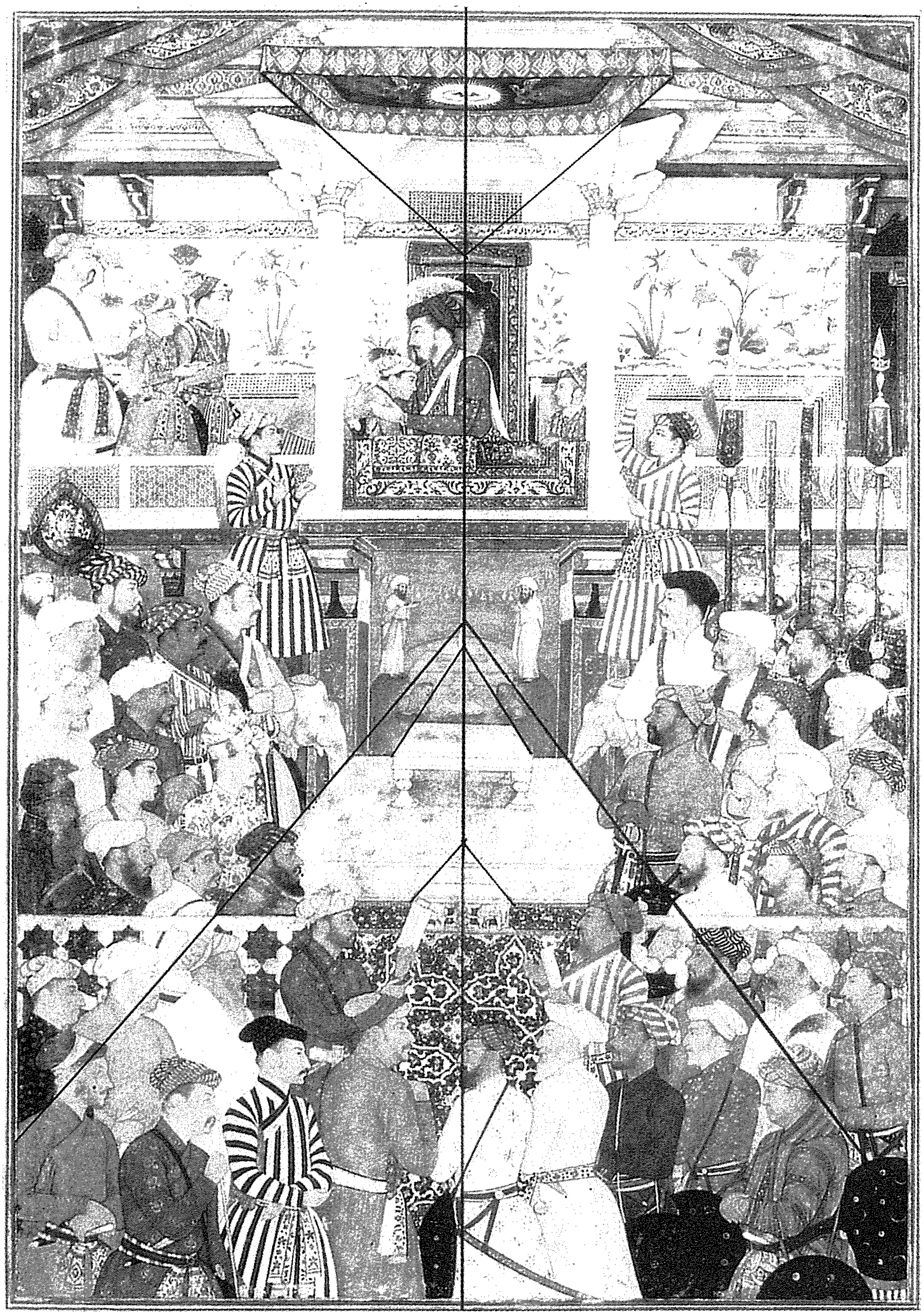

Fig. 5.6 Diagram of the central perspective elements of the composition in Fig. 5.5.

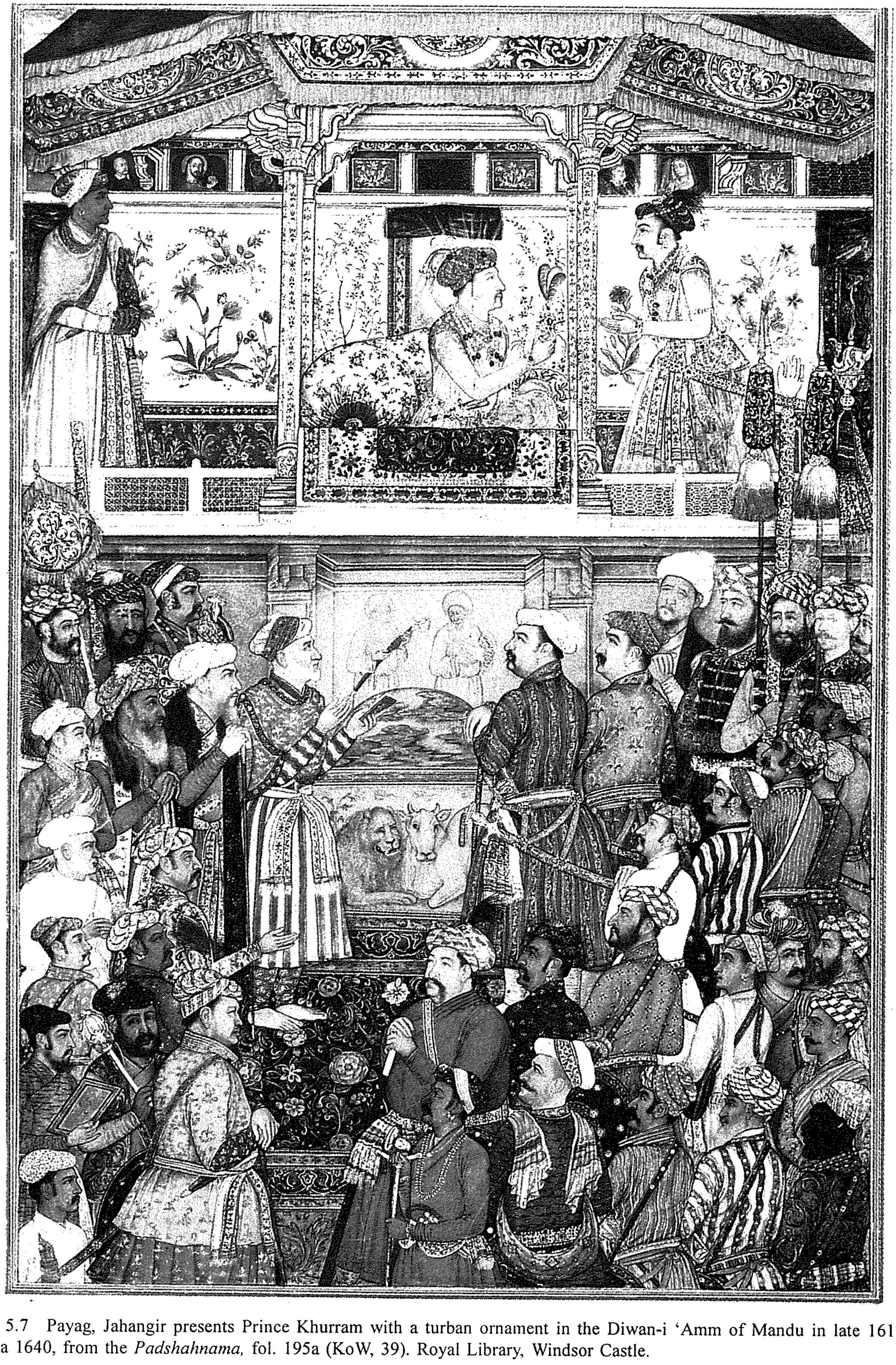

Fig. 5.7 Payag, Jahangir presents Prince Khurram with a turban ornament in the Diwan-i 'Amm of Mandu in late 1617. Circa 1640, from the *Padshahnama,* fol. 195a (KoW, 39). Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

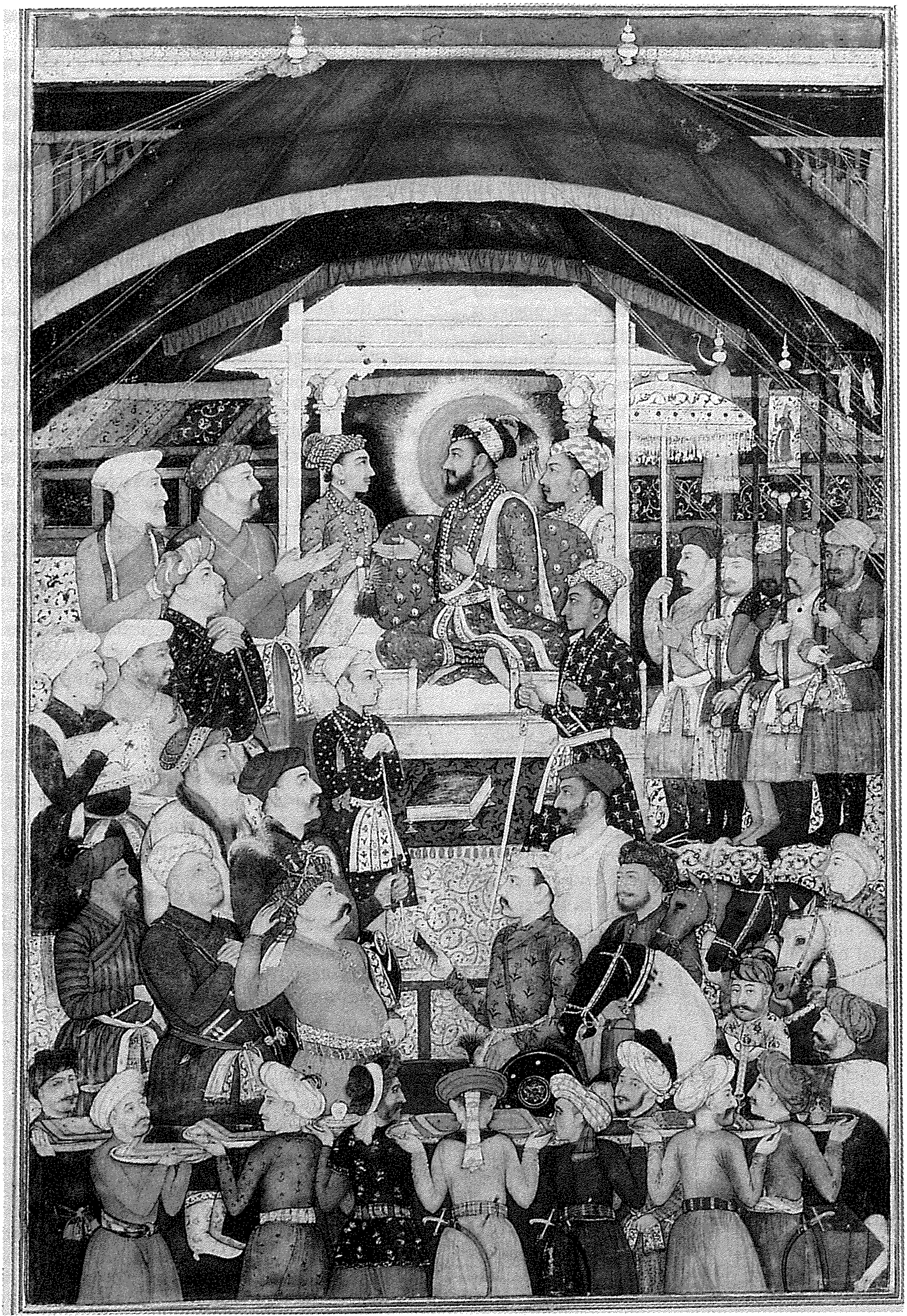

Fig. 5.8 Attributed to the 'Kashmiri Painter', Shah Jahan receives the Persian ambassador Muhammad-Ali Beg in the Diwan-i 'Amm of Burhanpur on 26 March 1631. Circa 1633, from the *Padshahnama*, fol. 98b (KoW 17). Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

refined their skills in this through the systematic study of the latest European techniques.[30] There were, however, artists who would not always conform to these conventions, among them the self-willed Abid (**37**) or the brilliant Payag (**39**). Payag, in particular, was able to fill the petrified *darbar* group portrait with new life by engaging closely with personality and striving for psychological unification (Fig. 5.7).

In the *jharoka* scenes, symmetrical composition, types of figure arrangement and differing modes of representation are used to symbolize an abstract concept, namely the corporate identity of the ruling elite under Shah Jahan. In addition, Shah Jahan's position is strengthened with images symbolizing the righteousness and justice of his government. Besides the carefully orchestrated flower ornamentation, which illustrates—beyond Mughal naturalistic interests—the bloom of the empire under his benign rule,[31] pictorial symbols are placed below the *jharoka* to support, in the true sense of the word, Shah Jahan's imperial authority. Such imagery had been introduced in Jahangir's time, when techniques of European allegory were put to the service of Mughal art to express, in a new fusion of literature and painting, concepts of rulership which had hitherto been formulated only in writing.[32] The decisive impulse toward generating Mughal political allegory was provided by the illustrations to the *Royal Polyglot Bible*, sponsored by King Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–98) and printed by Christophe Plantin in Antwerp between 1568 and 1572 (Figs. 1.1, 2; 3.20). The Bible—together with a host of Christian images—was brought to the Mughal court by the first Jesuit mission in 1580 and among their evangelistic endeavours the fathers acquainted the Mughal court with the content of its pictures. The Mughals were quick to realize the potential of such images for their own purposes and surrounded themselves with Christian symbols to enhance their aura as semi-divine rulers (**38**, **39**, Fig. 5.7 and **44**). The first title page of the *Polyglot Bible* in particular, showing an ox, lion, wolf and sheep lying down under the rule of Messiah (Fig. 1.1), had a great impact on the allegorical representations of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Animals modelled upon those in the Bible—of which the combination of lions with a sheep or with an ox, bull or cow proved most influential—became a leitmotif of the just rule of the 'Great Moghul' (**10**, **39** and Figs. 5.5, 7). The success of this image in Mughal art was based on the fact that it related generally to the role that animal symbolism played in the Islamic pictorial tradition, for example, in illustrations of the moral tales known as the *Mirror for Princes*. More specifically, it represented a visual expression of the ancient idea that peace among the animals was brought about by a just ruler—above all by the Koranic model of rulership, Solomon—which had been used extensively to eulogize Muslim princes, since at least the time of Firdawsi.[33]

In the *Padshahnama*, lions with cows or sheep, often appearing on globes (**10**, **39**, Figs. 5.5, 7, **43**), and other imagery, like the scales or chain of justice (**32**, Fig. 5.5) or shaykhs (**44**), some holding globes or swords (**37**, **39**, Fig. 5.7), symbolize the golden age brought about by the justice of Shah Jahan's worldly and spiritual rule. Given Shah Jahan's increasing orthodoxy, one might ask whether such images depict the decoration of the real *jharoka*s or are merely a convention of painted architecture. The image of *Orpheus Playing to the Beasts*, which was reinterpreted as a Solomonic symbol in the 1640s in the decoration of the *jharoka* at Delhi (Figs. 4.1, 2, 15, 24)—to illustrate Shah Jahan's justice—indicates that such pictures were indeed seen in this setting. The concept of Solomon as the patron of figural arts excused the use of images, in particular, in the context of throne decoration.[34]

The *jharoka* image was considered so successful that for a considerable length of time it was not adapted to the changes in the real architecture that occurred when Shah Jahan had the *jharoka* at Agra remodelled in the form of a raised loggia at some time before 1637 (Fig. 4.7) and had a new vaulted form created for the palace at Delhi (Fig. 4.1) in the 1640.[35] Later *jharoka* images merely adapted the architectural vocabulary to the latest decorative styles,[36] and only towards the end of Shah Jahan's reign was the pictorial *jharoka* setting modelled more closely on the actual architecture.

OUTDOOR SCENES AND LANDSCAPES

The outdoor scenes of the *Padshahnama* show *darbar*s in the imperial encampment, processions, pilgrimages, hunts, elephant fights, sieges and the surrender of fortresses and cities, and the punishment of rebels. The same hierarchic principles that determined the representation of figures and the architectural setting in *darbar*s and court festivals were applied to these narrative images of action in landscape.[37] Although related to historical events, the action is minimized, and, when it does occur, the main protagonists once again perform in a formalized, ceremonial manner. This is particularly true of the emperor, his agents, or the princes. Their profile figures often contradict the logic of the action.

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[30] See below, pp. 152, 161.

[31] See also Koch in Beach *et al.*, *King of the World*, p. 200; and 'Mughal Palace Gardens', this volume, pp. 227–8.

[32] For this and the following see 'The Influence of the Jesuit Mission', and 'The Baluster Column', this volume.

[33] 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus', this volume, in particular pp. 116–29.

[34] Ibid., pp. 111.

[35] Ibid., pp. 67–76.

[36] See Beach *et al.*, *King of the World*, **32** and **43**.

In scenes that involved spaces larger than the palace halls and courtyards, the painters had to solve an even greater conflict between the formal impositions of linear, hierarchic court representation and the three-dimensional, naturalistic interests of the period. The principal source for all solutions generated by Shah Jahan's studio was again Jahangiri painting, where a guarded treatment of space characterized the representation of landscapes. Wide vistas with continuous transition from the foreground into depth—Indianized adaptations and transformations of the internationally acclaimed Flemish 'world landscapes'[38] that had already reached the Mughal court before the *Polyglot Bible* (Fig. 1.1), and which formed part of the experiments with landscape in Akbar's painting studio (Fig. 5.9)[39]—were not entirely abandoned in Jahangiri painting, but were confined to the far distance. Such backgrounds assume two forms. The first is as an atmospheric backdrop to a formal, full-length portrait, in which a panoramic landscape painted in the thinnest coloured washes appears, without a middle ground, behind the central figure, who is painted in opaque colours and, of course, in a linear side view (Fig. 5.10).[40] In its other form, the illusionistic vista appears, marginalized and reduced, at the top of the plane of the figure ground—where the top denotes distance (Fig. 5.11).[41] Both versions provided a relatively undistracting environment for the figures, animals and plants seen at close range that constituted the main artistic interest of Jahangir's atelier. The artists of the *Padshahnama* were to perfect this exploration of antithetical stylistic modes to further their aims of hierarchically correct representation.

As in the architectural settings, the principal figures had to appear in flattened, two-dimensional arrangements, and the painters were confronted with the task of creating a corresponding environment in landscape. They treated landscape in the first instance as a means to organize the figure composition and to support its content. They had to eliminate three-dimensional space as far as possible in the fore- and middle grounds, the areas reserved for the main protagonists. On the other hand, to make the event appear real, the two-dimensional landscapes had to be rendered as naturalistically as possible. Shah Jahan's artists found different solutions to this common problem, depending on their ingenuity and talent for exploring the limited artistic freedom allowed. They perfected the established conventions of Mughal painting—a structured, flat figure ground that extended into illusionistic vistas—and at the same time creatively synthesized these compositional devices with fresh sources. They also exploited the two antagonistic idioms of representation, the linear and the three-dimensional, in analogy to the content of the painting.

The simplest means of producing a two-dimensional landscape environment tinged with a touch of realism was based on the Jahangiri formula, using a flat, minimally structured terrain as a neutral backdrop for the figure arrangement, and expanding it at the top into a distant topographical vista (Fig. 5.11). This formula was used by various painters when they were commissioned to illustrate ceremonial events, such as the solemn wedding processions along the Jumna River at Agra (**21**, **22**). Murar and Bhola interpreted it in architecture for their processions of the princely bridegrooms in the courtyard of the *Diwan-i 'Amm*, an outdoor space in the interior of the palace (**23**, **24**, **27**, **28**). Even what appears to be the most realistic landscape of the Windsor manuscript, the setting for the elephant fight (**29**, Fig. 5.12) is based on this formula (while the fight was not a formal event, it did involve the emperor and the princes, and a neutral background was needed to set off the hierarchically correct representation of the figures.) At the top, the masterful illusionistic rendering of the riverfront at Agra, in Europeanizing aerial perspective,[42] draws our attention away from the formula on to which this observation from nature is grafted.

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[37] There is as yet no study of Mughal landscapes with the exception of a brief treatment by Robert Skelton 1980; and Koch 1999.

[38] Gibson 1989.

[39] Early examples of these wide vistas appear in the astrological manuscript at Rampur dated to the late 1560s; illustrated in Beach 1987a, pl. 49.

[40] Early versions of this type of landscape appear in the œuvre of Kesu Das, for example, in his painting of a Jesuit of the late 1590s, in an album probably made for Sultan Salim (Jahangir); illustrated in Leach 1995, I, cat. no. 2. 165, pl. 44. The image was refined by the great masters of the imperial studio: see Bichitr's full-length portraits from the 1620s of I'tibar Khan (Musée Guimet, Paris) and of Asaf Khan (Victoria & Albert Museum, London). Abu'l-Hasan's *Jahangir Holding a Globe and Viewing His Troops* seems to survive only in mid-17th century (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) and later versions (see Beach 1981, no. 18b). For colour illustrations, see Okada 1992, pls. 55, 196, 197.

[41] Govardhan's *Rustic Concert and Jahangir Receiving the Captured Mirza Hasan at Sikandra* (1620s) are both in Dublin, Chester Beatty Library; illustrated in Leach 1995, I, cat. nos. 3.1, 3.21, pls. 52, 57.

A specific variant of this landscape scheme was employed for scenes of the ceremonial surrender of fortresses or cities: here, Tezdast (*The Capture of Orcha*, **35**, Figs. 5.13, 14) and Dhola (*The Surrender of Udgir*, **40**) present topographical features in detailed but largely imaginary bird's-eye views of the conquered buildings, embedded in illusionistic landscape vistas, and such concise views of fortresses and cities are integrated into other types of landscape in the Windsor manuscript. In his painting of the siege of Daulatabad, Murar modifies the scheme to the extent that the main focus is on the topographical feature itself (**31**, Fig. 5.15); he compresses the figure arrangement of the conquerors and conquered in the lower foreground to give maximum space to his stunning depiction of the fortress, which, in its realistic approach, has no equal in Mughal painting with the possible exception of *The Surrender of A Fortress*, thought to be Qandahar.[43] The closest parallels are bird's-eye city views in European geographical works where such depictions had become a recognized and well-developed form of topographical art since De'Barbari's magnificent view of Venice of 1500. Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg published six volumes of engraved views of towns throughout the known world in their *Civitates orbis terrarum* (1572–1618), and it is likely that either these or related works reached the Mughal court (see Fig. 5.16). City views also appear in the most popular geographical work of the period, Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, which was published in several languages and editions from 1550 to the 17th century (Figs. 5.17, 18).[44] We know that such works found their way into the imperial library of the Mughals at an early stage; in 1580 the first Jesuit mission presented Akbar with an atlas sent by the archbishop of Goa,[45] and Sir Thomas Roe learned at the beginning of his embassy in 1615 that 'the Great Mogull' made 'more estimation' of maps of the world 'then off all other presents.'[46] European geographical works have, as yet, not been considered as a source for Mughal painting, despite the fact that the Mughals showed great interest in European forms of cartographic representation and assimilated them for their own artistic purposes. In the allegorical depictions of Jahangir and Shah Jahan discussed above (p. 144), for example, miniature adaptations of European maps and globes were intended to give a realistic and contemporary touch to the 'Great Moghul's' claim to world rule (**10**, **39**, Fig. 5.7). For views of fortresses and cities, however, the artists of the *Padshahnama* consulted European models only with regard to representational techniques—the aerial view of an agglomeration of buildings and a characteristic multiple perspective—as we find in the depiction of Daulatabad, where the fortified hill is rendered frontally while its three rings of fortifications are seen from above (compare Figs. 5.15, 16): the architectural elements were usually substituted by Indian forms, although these, with the exception of Daulatabad, were largely imaginary (**20**, **34**, **35**, Fig. 5.13, **40**, **41**).

The second means of introducing three-dimensional elements into a landscape which had to be structured two-dimensionally is found in the works of the 'Kashmiri Painter'. This artist, whose identity is not known, also exploited European cartographic sources. His trademark is a very specific method of structuring the tilted plane that forms the basis for all the landscapes in the Windsor manuscript. The 'Kashmiri Painter' introduces into his landscapes, such as that passed by the royal procession (**34**, Fig. 5.19), a multitude of rather mechanically layered hillocks topped with ever more minute trees, bushes and buildings, and populated by minuscule figures, all suggesting a bird's-eye view of the landscape. In European pictorial maps of the sixteenth century, hillocks were a standard device to indicate mountainous areas, tiny trees denoted forests, and buildings inhabited places (compare Figs. 5.17, 18 with Fig. 5.19). The 'Kashmiri Painter' seems to have become interested in the hillock formula because it provided a means to give depth to two-dimensional surfaces, as well as a context for minute detail, and the close layering of the hills conveniently echoed the layering of groups of figures. Moreover, just as the formula of the flat surface surmounted by a strip of distant landscape was transformed by a highly

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[42] In Akbar's period aerial perspective, which suggests distance by a succession of increasingly light colour areas, became a confidently handled feature of the illusionistic repertory of Mughal artists after its adoption by masters such as Kesu Das from Flemish sources, most likely independent miniatures or small oil paintings on copper.

[43] See Beach *et al.*, *King of the World*, Fig. 147.

[44] See Harvey 1980.

[45] Monserrate 1993, p. 28.

[46] Roe 1990, p. 45.

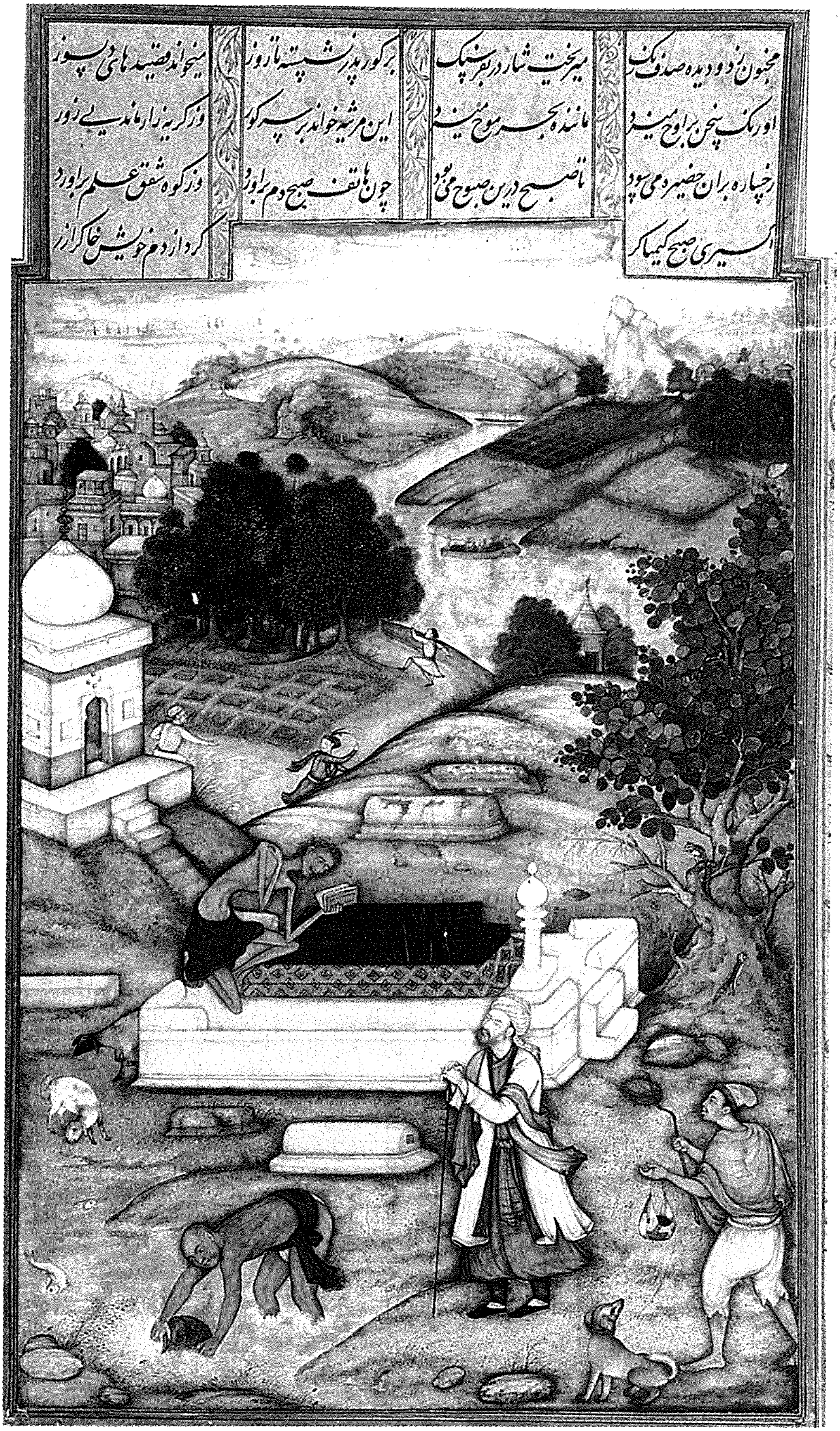

مجنون ز دو دیده صدف رنگ
میریخت نثار در بر سنگ
بر گور پدر نشسته تا روز
میخواند قصیده‌های پر سوز
او رنگ سخن بر اوج میزد
مانند بحر موج میزد
این مرثیه خواند بر سر گور
وز گریه زار ماند بی زور
زنجیره بران حضیره می سود
تا صبح درین صبوح می بود
چون هاتف صبح دم بر آورد
وز کوه شفق علم بر آورد
اکسیری صبح کیمیاگر
گرد از دم خویش خاک را زر

Fig. 5.9 Manohar, Majnun mourns his father's death, from a manuscript of the *Khamsa* of Nizami, fol. 132a. Ca. 1595. British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, London.

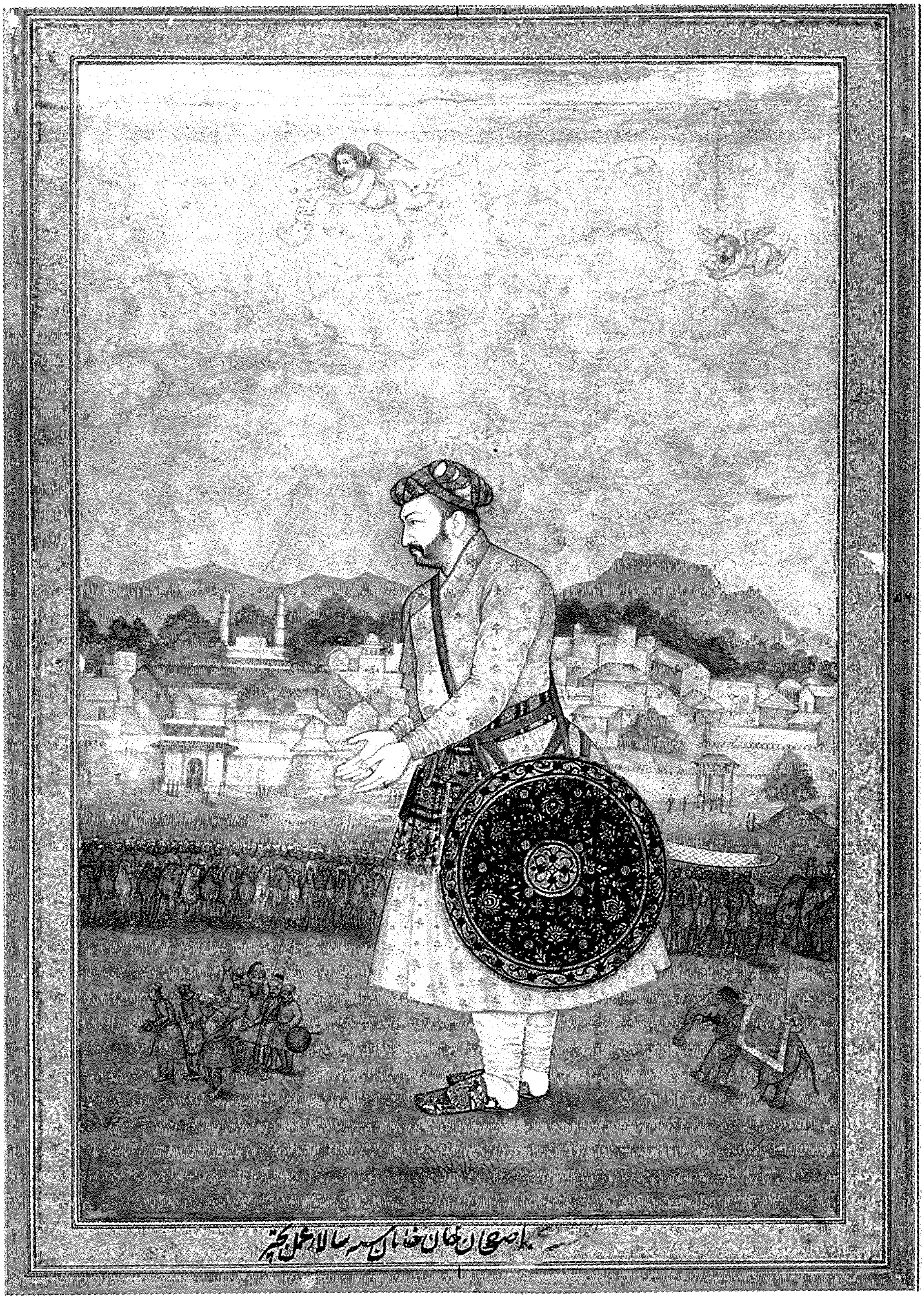

آصف خان خانخانان سپه سالار عمل بچتر

Fig. 5.10 Bichitr, Asaf Khan. Late 1620s. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

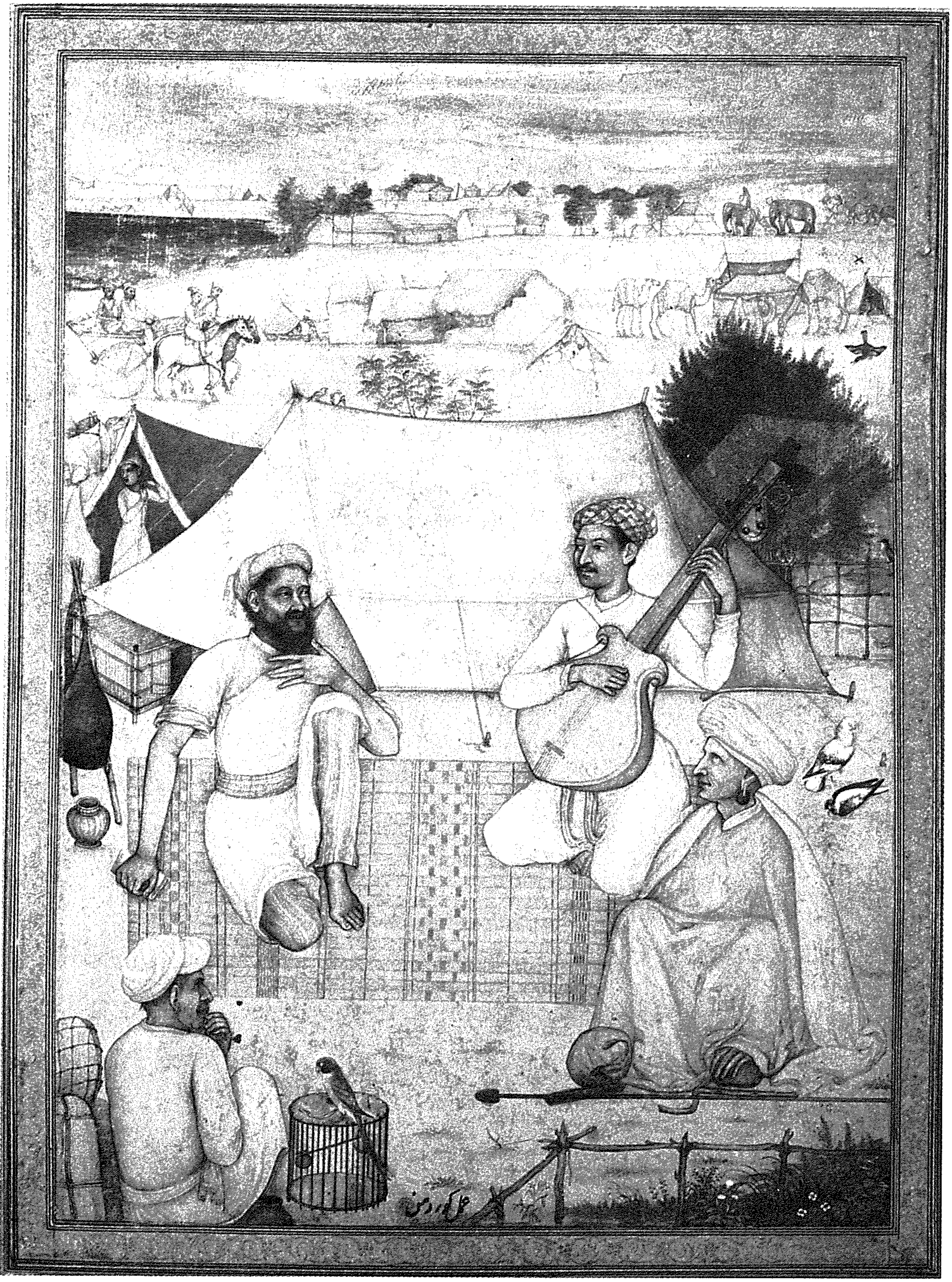


Fig. 5.11 Govardhan, Music at an encampment. 1620s. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

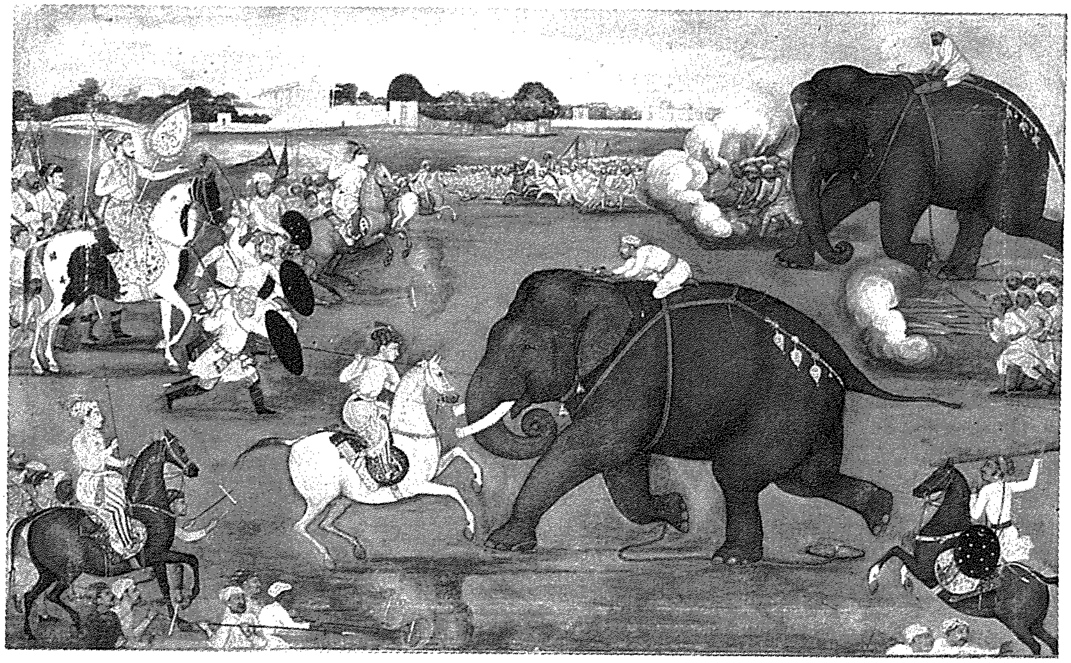
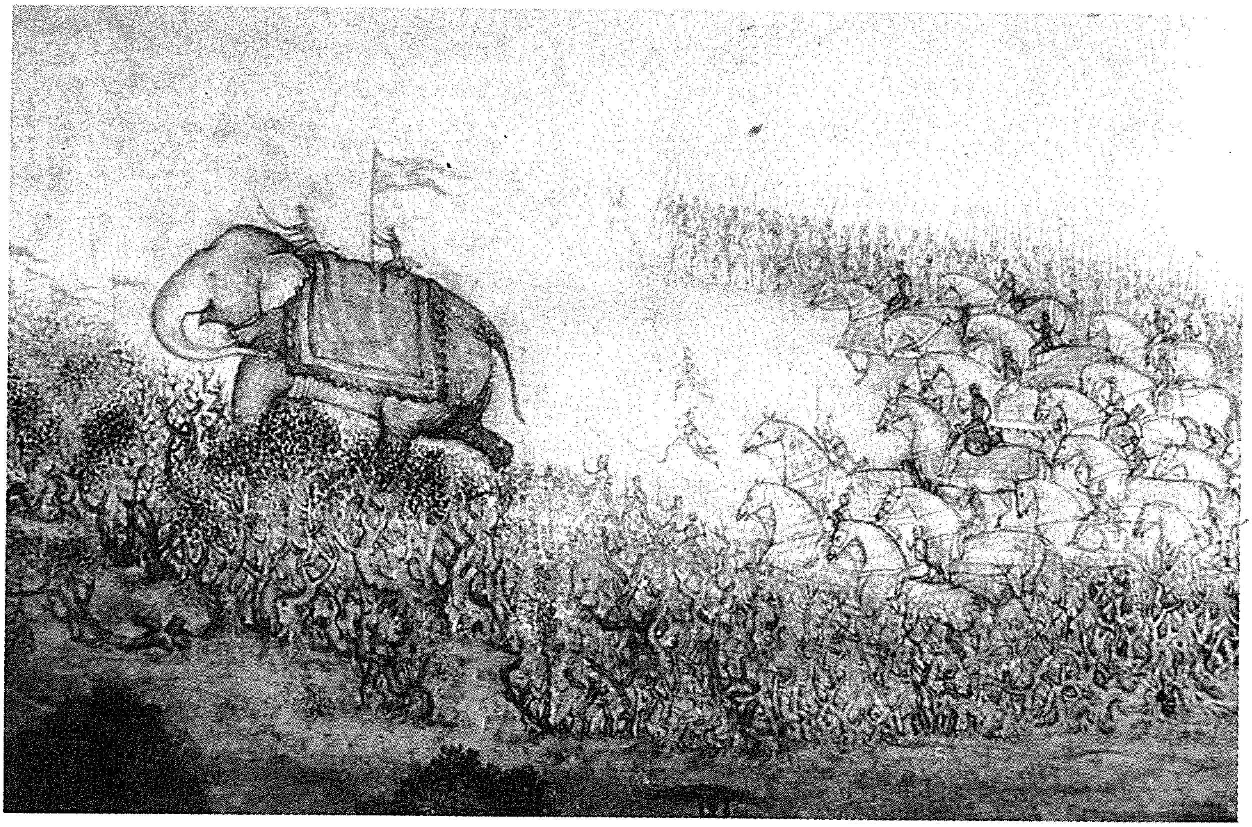


Fig. 5.12 Unknown artist, Prince Awrangzeb facing a maddened elephant named Sudhakar on the riverbank of Agra on 7 June 1633. Circa 1635, from the *Padshahnama*, fol. 134a (KoW. 29). Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

Fig. 5.13 The imperial army storming through the jungle of Bundelkhand, detail of Fig. 5.14.



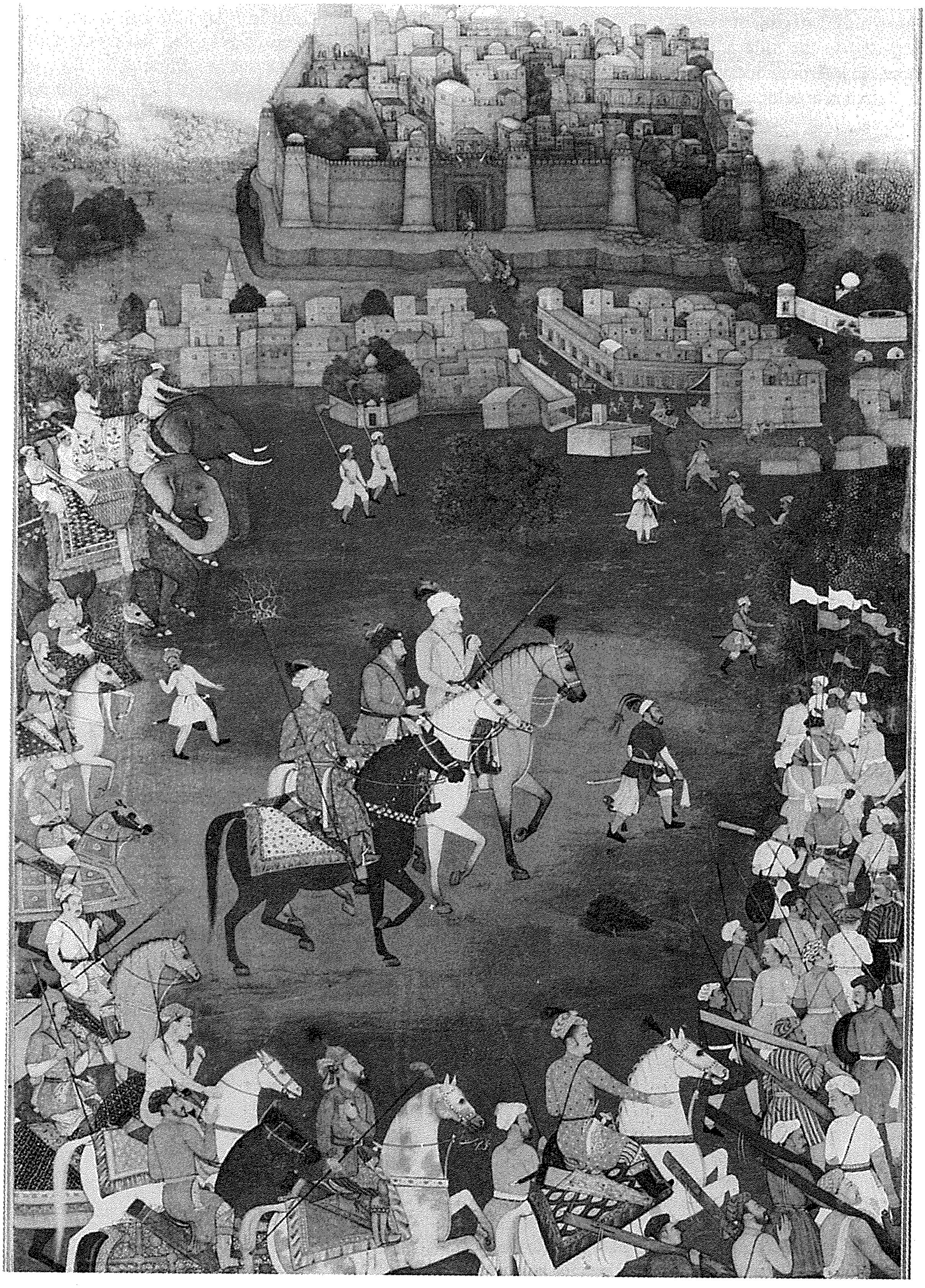


Fig. 5.14 Tezdast, The capture of Orchha by imperial forces in October 1635. Circa 1637, from the *Padshahnama*, fol. 174a (KoW, 35). Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

talented naturalistic artist in the elephant fight (Fig. 5.12), so the hillock scheme found an inspired illusionistic interpretation in the splendid landscape of Shah Jahan's antelope hunt (Fig. 5.20), where its skillful handling—suggesting continuous and infinite space—is a far cry from the humble woodcuts of its cartographic sources (compare Fig. 5.20 with Figs. 5.17, 18). It throws a significant light on the selective, purposeful approach of the Shah-Jahani artists to their sources that European art was explored not only for its realism, but also for schematic forms of representation that might serve the artistic intentions of Mughal painting. Bird's-eye views of areas populated by tiny figures corresponded to the way imperial patrons liked to see their landscapes.

One of the attractions of the hillock scheme was that it blended well with formally related and well-established compositional devices from the Persianate painting tradition—schematic rock formations—which were the third solution used by the artists of the *Padshahnama* to structure their landscapes according to the requirements of the official court style. This time-honoured motif appeared early, in the 'scale patterns' of Assyrian reliefs,[47] and had been employed in Europe and in Asia,[48] where such rock formations appeared prominently in the Buddhist cave paintings of Ajanta and Ellora.[49] Through Buddhist channels the motif made its way from India into China and from there—in particular after the Mongol conquest of the thirteenth century—into Persian painting, where its fantastic interpretations became a characteristic element of sixteenth-century Safavid landscapes (Fig. 5.21).[50] In this form schematized rocks were introduced into Akbari painting by Abd al-Samad.[51] They were amalgamated with other landscape schemes and gradually given a more naturalistic interpretation,[52] of which there are several instances among the illustrations to the *Padshahnama*.

The painters of the *Padshahnama* used the rock formation in various ways. The 'Kashmiri Painter' integrated it into the schematic range of hills in his representation of Shah Jahan's pilgrimage to Ajmer, to reinforce the idea of a mountainous region (**41**, **42**). If he is also the painter responsible for the splendid illusionistic backdrop to the submission of Rana Amar Singh (**7**), he surpassed himself there by merging the two schemes. Balchand used the Safavid rock formation as a deliberate retrospective Persian allusion, but couched his reference in naturalistic pictorial language (**30**, Fig. 5.22). Abid also introduced the formula, again naturalistically reinterpreted, to his illustration of the death of Khan Jahan Lodi, apparently because the motif was traditionally connected with a row of spectators, here used to highlight the didactic message of the painting (**16**).

Another device used by the artists of the *Padshahnama* to structure terrain two-dimensionally are clearly defined, often differently coloured, silhouettes forming ridges that traverse the landscape horizontally. The formula was much used in Timurid and Bukhara painting. In the hands of Balchand and, more especially, of his brother Payag, it underwent a similar naturalistic transformation to the rock scheme (**15**, **18**, **36**, Fig. 5.23). The silhouetted ridges recommended themselves in particular for the organization of simultaneous action in a composite representation, and for the depiction of trenches in sieges, and also allowed the painters to combine a neutral flat background with carefully controlled recession into space.

Despite this reserve toward open space, creating surroundings analogous to the linear figure compositions, realism could manifest itself in the formal areas of a painting when it supported the content. In a particularly telling example, Payag's depiction of Khan Dawran receiving the heads of the Bundelas (**36**, Fig. 5.23), the flat surface on which the Mughal commanders advance changes into a more deeply modelled and densely forested terrain in the area occupied by the rebels, mirroring their three-dimensional rendering. But the most inclusive and subtle means of introducing realism into the two-dimensional structure of the landscape was—as in palace settings—by way of a microscopic treatment of every surface texture, and of vegetation and animal life. In this context the best artists developed their watercolour technique so skillfully that they could almost reproduce the effects of oil painting. Abid (**16**), Dawlat (**46**), the 'Kashmiri Painter' (**7**, **34**, **41**) and Payag (**18**, **36**) would apply layers of colour and then work them—employing their brushes like a pen or an

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[47] For illustration, see Curtis and Reade 1995, no. 24.

[48] For the migration of this motif into Byzantine and Western art, see Clark 1973, pp. 10–12; Jahn 1975.

[49] Strzygowski 1922, pp. 4 ff; Jahn 1975, pp. 21–2, n. 6; Gombrich 1976, pp. 11–13.

[50] For the various points touched on in this outline, see William Watson 1980; Soucek 1980; and Brend 1980.

[51] See, for example, Okada 1992, pls 60–2, 65.

[52] See in particular the landscapes in the *Khamsa* of Nizami of 1595, British Library, London. Oriental and India Office Collection, MS. Or. 12208; illustrated in Brend 1995, figs 1, 2, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 17, 18–21, 24, 26, 29, and 35–9. For further adaptations of the motif see, for instance, *Jahangir Watching a Spider Fighting a Snake*, in the Raza Library, Rampur; illustrated in Brown 1975a, pl. 19.

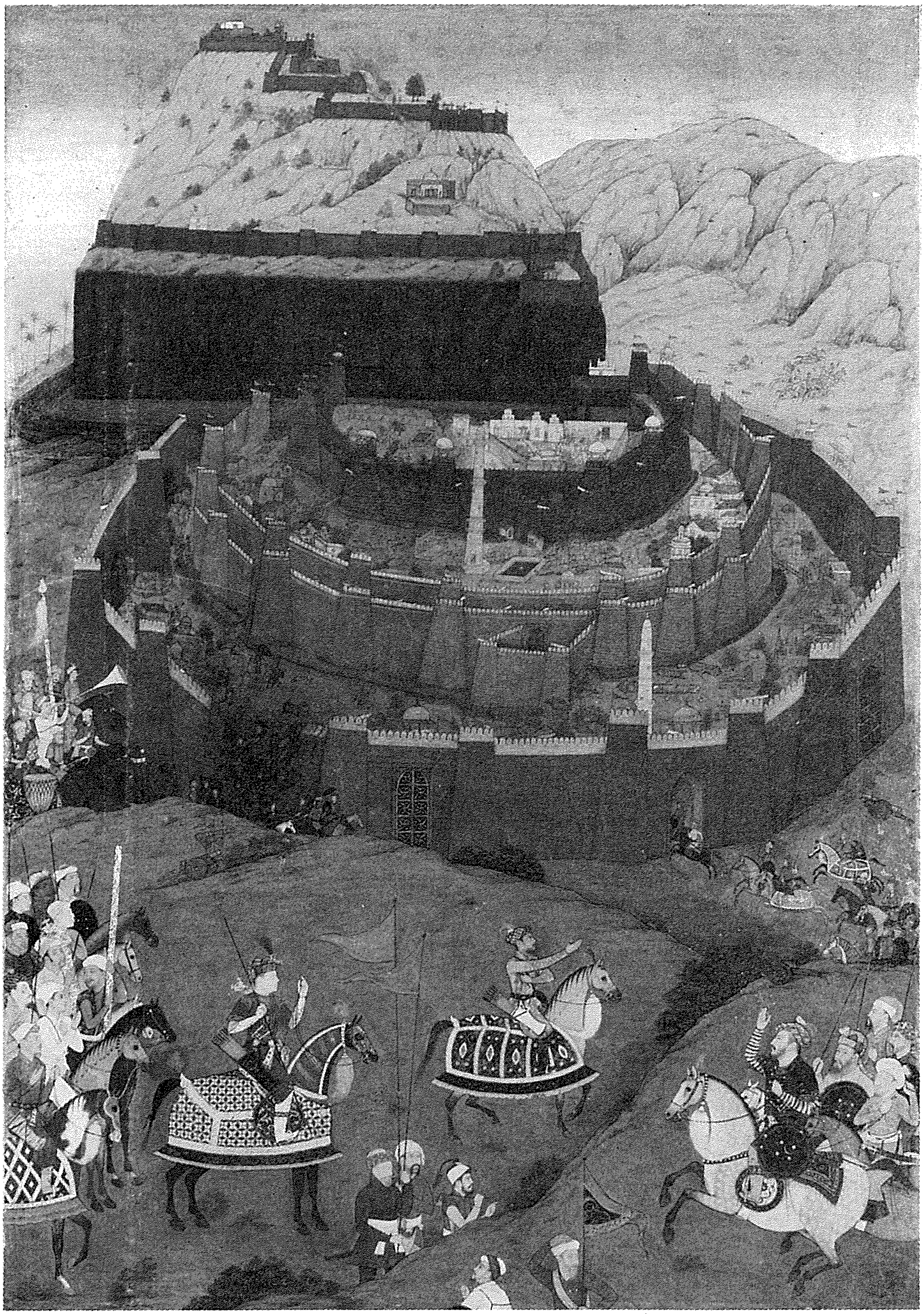


Fig. 5.15 Murar, The siege of Daulatabad in April–June 1633. Circa 1635, from the *Padshahnama*, fol. 144a (KoW, 31). Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

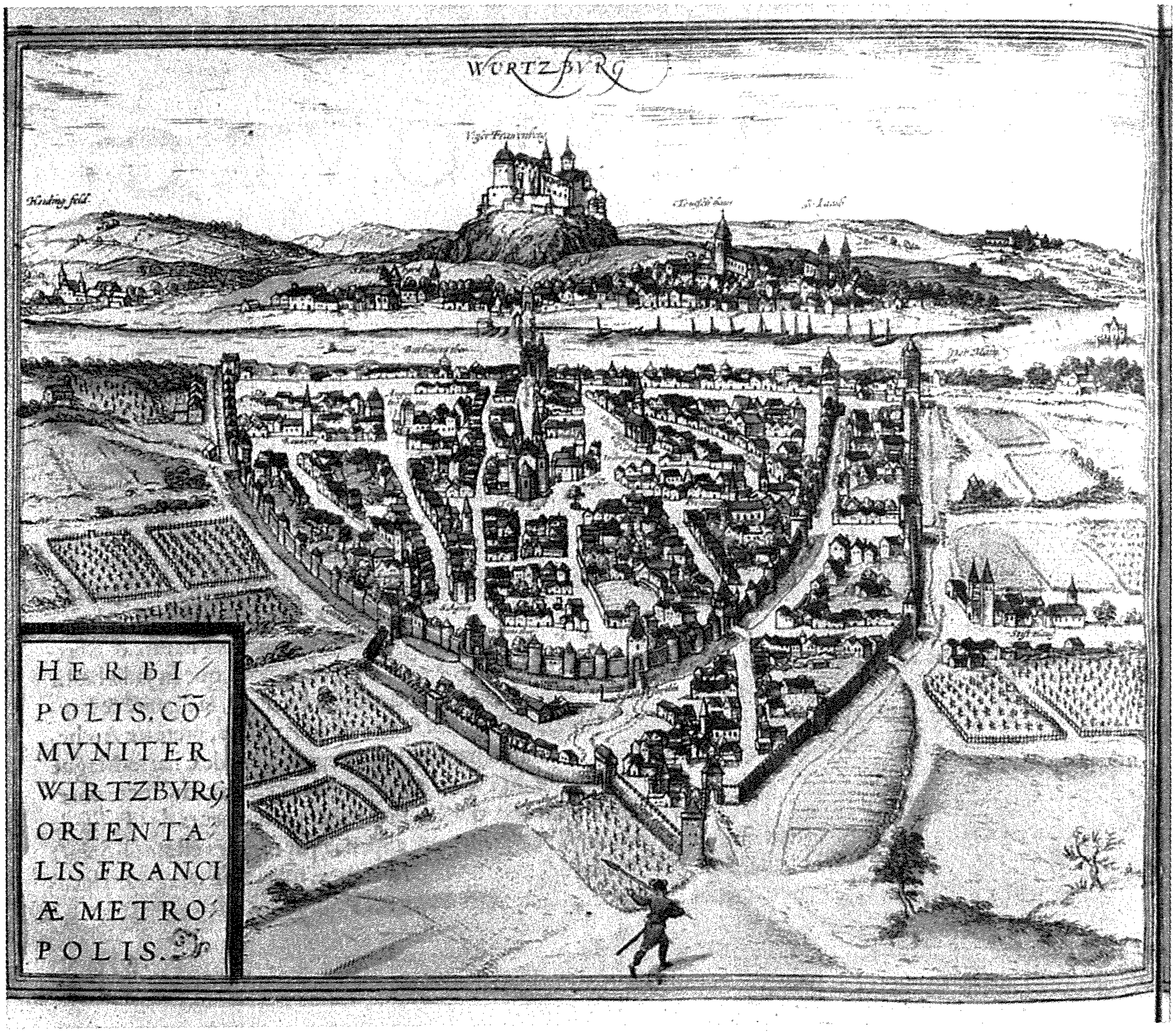

WVRTZBVRG
HERBIPOLIS. CŌMVNITER WIRTZBVRG ORIENTALIS FRANCIÆ METROPOLIS.

Fig. 5.16 Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg, Map of Würzburg, from the *Civitates orbis terrrarum*, published in Cologne 1572–1618. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

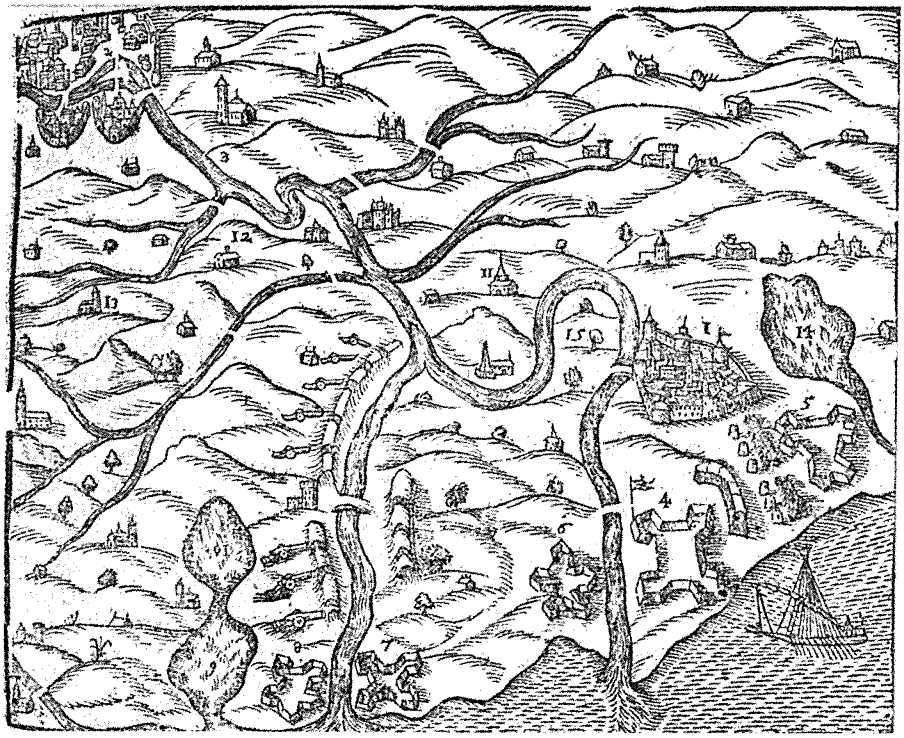
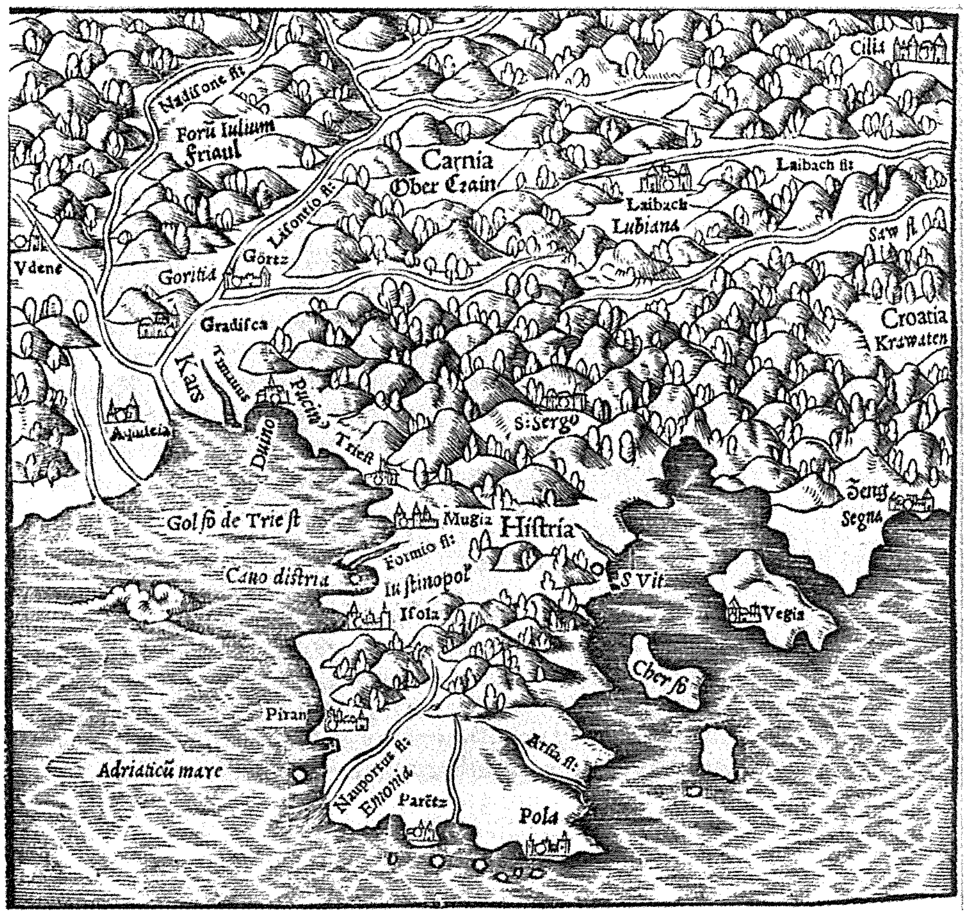


Fig. 5.17 Sebastian Münster, Map of Ostia, from the *Cosmographia*, published in Basle, 1628. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

Fig. 5.18 Sebastian Münster, Map of Istria (detail) from the the *Cosmographia*, published in Basle, 1550. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.



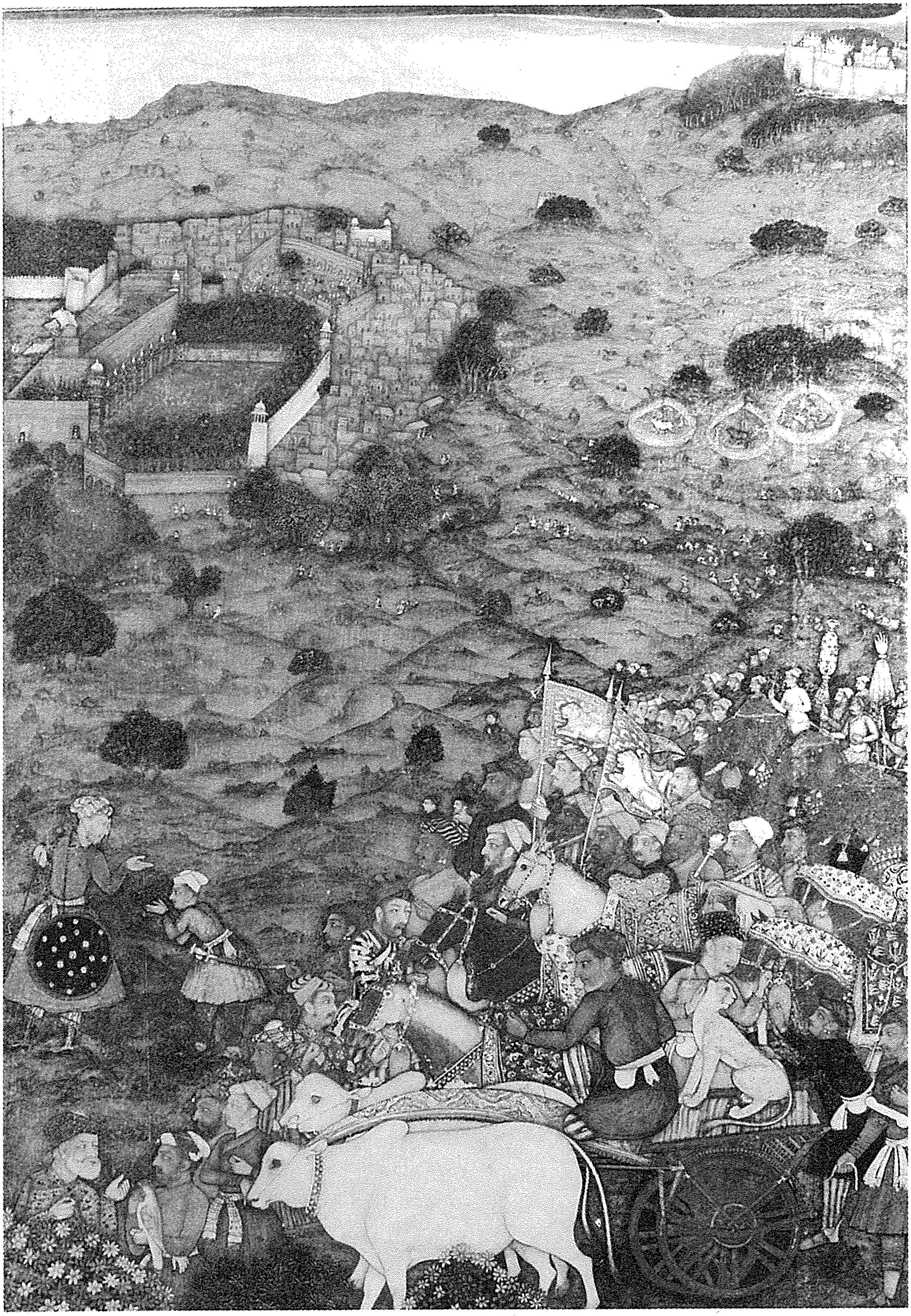


Fig. 5.19 Attributed to the 'Kashmiri Painter', A royal procession. Circa 1655, from the *Padshahnama*, fol. 166b (KoW, 34). Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

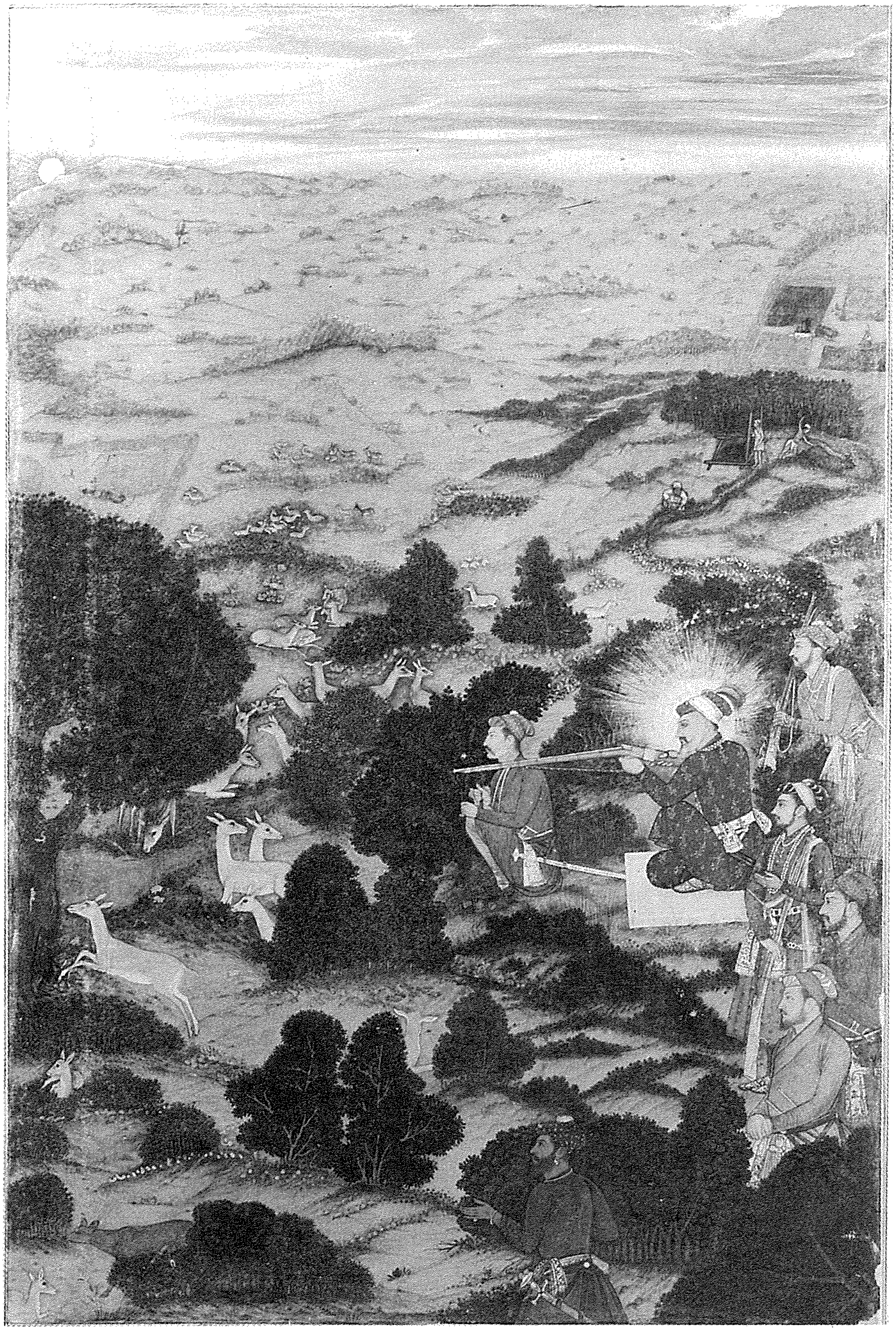


Fig. 5.20 Unknown artist, Shah Jahan hunting. Circa 1645, from the *Padshahnama*, fol. 165a. (KoW, 33). Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

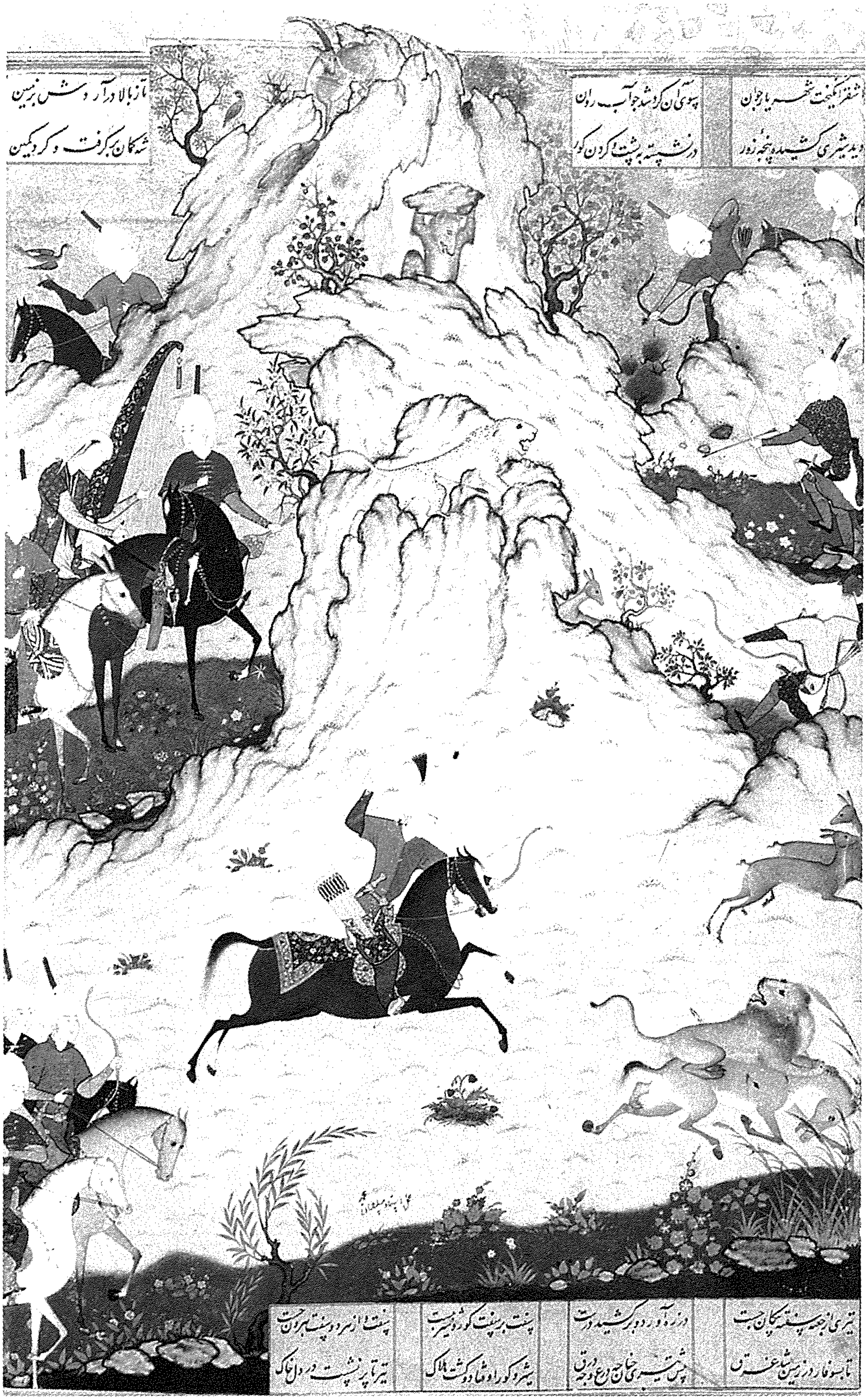


Fig. 5.21 Sultan Muhammad, Bahram Gur hunting the lion, from a manuscript of the *Khamsa* of Nizāmi dated 1539–43, fol. 202b. British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, London.

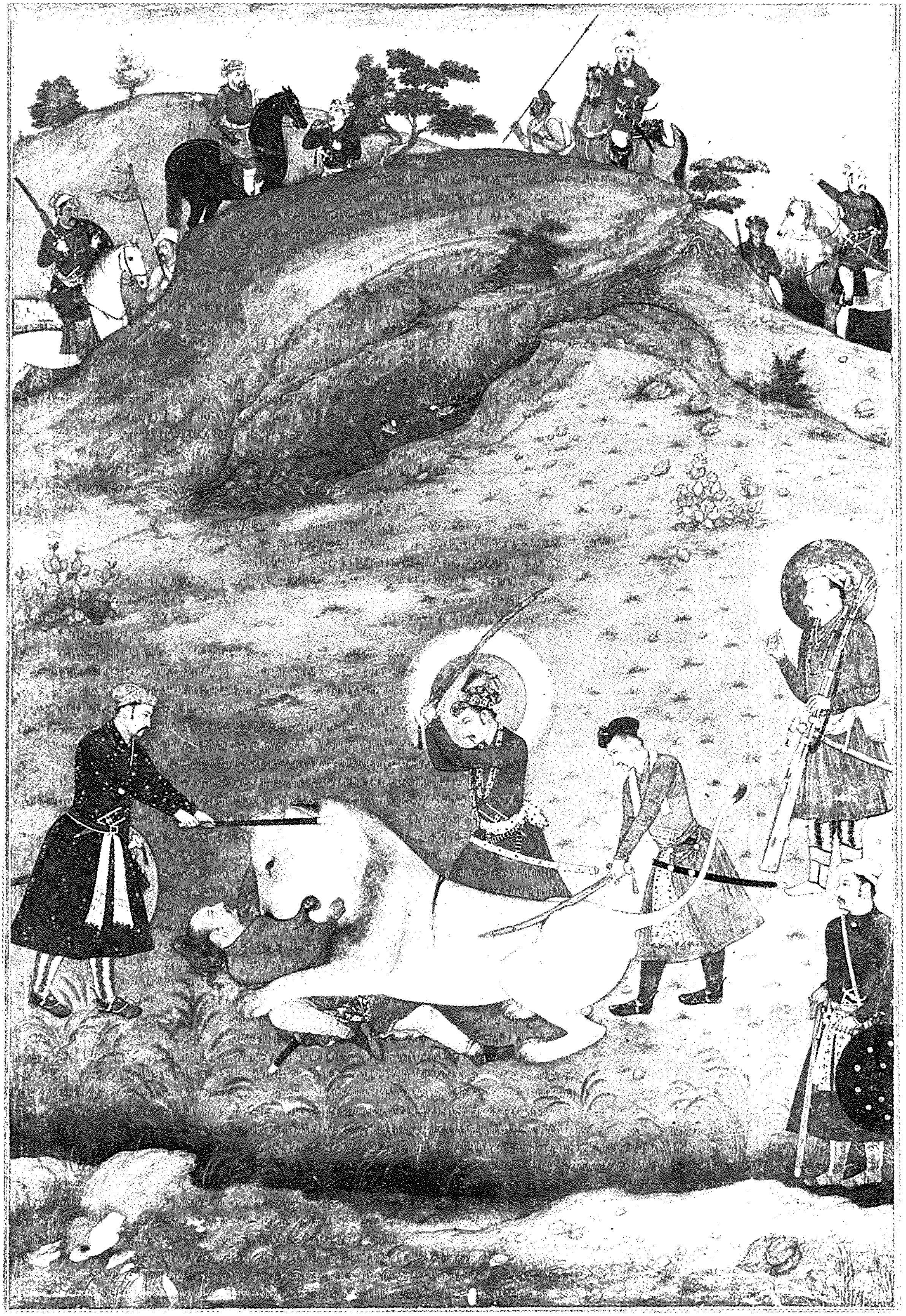


Fig. 5.22 Balchand, Prince Khurram attacking a lion at Bari in late 1610. Ca 1640, from the *Padshahnama,* fol. 135b (KoW, 30). Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

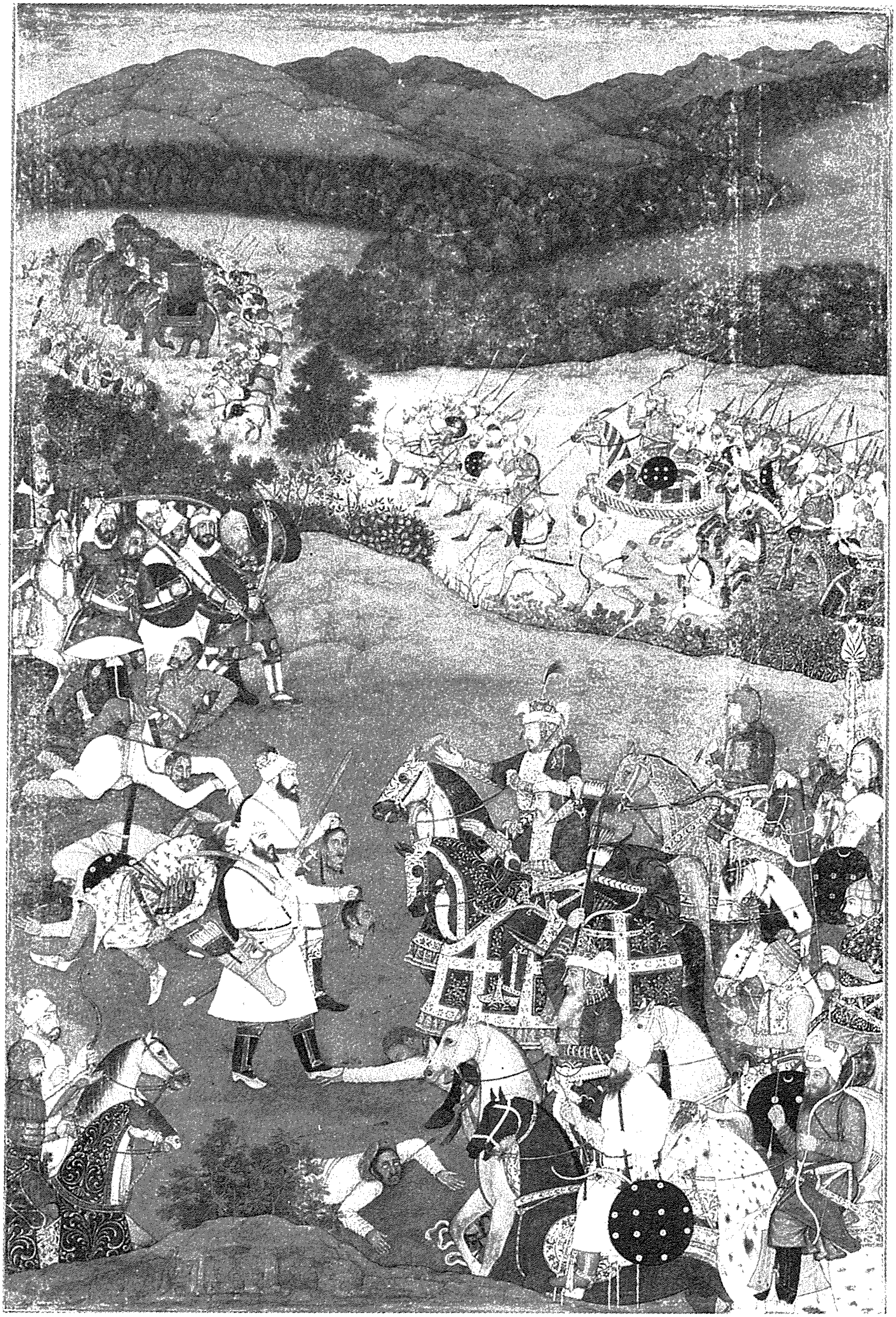


Fig. 5.23 Attributed to Payag, Khan Dawran receiving the heads of Jajhar Singh and his son Bikramajit in January 1636. Circa 1638, from the *Padshahnamas* fol. 176b (KoW, 36). Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

engraver's burin[53]—with such minute stippling, parallel lines and cross-hatching that one can fully appreciate their painstaking efforts only with the help of a microscope or a strong magnifying glass. The effect was heightened by thinly applied gold washes. Among the most amazing expressions of this miniature realism are the landscapes of royal processions or the royal hunt, which reflect the imperial patron's own personal experience of nature.

Unrestrained recession into space could occur in the backgrounds where it did not disturb the main formal figure composition. To explore these margins for free representation to the fullest advantage, some painters developed a stunning illusionism, which, in this miniature format and in its best and freest expressions—such as the stampede on the riverfront at Agra or the troops storming through the jungles of Bundela country (**29**, Fig. 5.12, **35**, Figs. 5.13, 14)—has hardly an equal in the history of painting.

Conclusion

The paintings of Shah Jahan's *Padshahnama* are highly complex creations, which, in their artistic ambition and dialectic of form and content reach far beyond their apparent function as illustrations of a historical narrative in the tradition of Islamic miniature painting. Each episode contains ahistorical references, opposing the accidental and changing forces of history with that which was not supposed to change, namely the hierarchy and order of Shah Jahan's rule. Programmatic statements were expressed through aesthetic means; artistic style could serve as an interpretational key. Through the manipulation of antithetical modes, Mughal painting developed its own pictorial code, to supplement, comment on, paraphrase, and sometimes even contradict, historiography. The formal linear idiom stood for the power structure of Shah-Jahani rule, for the forces that regulated the system. The use of naturalism was much more complex: besides expressing genuine aesthetic interests, naturalism had to grade strata within the power structure and identify that which was outside it; at the same time, it had also to support the system, permeating it subtly but thoroughly to give Shah Jahan's ordered world the utmost appearance of reality. Thus, the *Padshahnama* paintings provide, in miniature format, the most detailed pictorial records of Mughal court culture ever produced, a congenial visual equivalent to the detailed literary account in Abu'l-Fazl's earlier *A'in-i Akbari*.

The formality of the Shah-Jahani court style, coupled with its concern for painstaking detail, has led scholars to misjudge its intentions as an empty aesthetic formalism.[54] However, no other instance in the history of art comes easily to mind where the artistic form was so methodically manipulated for non-artistic aims, namely imperial ideology. If we are allowed to make connections over large expanses of space and time, a surprisingly close parallel may be found in Egyptian art: Shah-Jahani art, with its hierarchical impositions (frontally presented settings and figures in pure profile) against which work genuine naturalistic interests (expressed in particular in plant forms and 'flowermania'), appears almost as a transposition of Egyptian art into another culture.[55]

In the realm of more tangible historical connections, the occurrence of 'at least two separate and very different visual idioms' in Timurid painting of the fifteenth century has been identified by Thomas Lentz.[56] The formal idiom of manuscript illustration, conceived as a Timurid link to the Persian past, was juxtaposed—in the context of wall-painting—with freer modes of representation derived from Chinese art, reflecting a renewed interest in expanding cultural and aesthetic aspirations. It is noteworthy, I think, that the Mughals, in their comparable quest, turned not to China but toward Europe for inspiration; from the time of Greco-Buddhist Gandhara art this led to the first systematic exploitation of western forms for the aims of Indian art. European realism best served the Mughals' interest in nature and their close and rational observation of the visual world. At the same time it provided fresh ideas and representational techniques, allowing them to use the visual arts as a vehicle for the expression of abstract concepts, as Abu'l-Fazl acknowledged:

> Although in general a picture represents a material form and [here in particular] the painters of *firang* quite often express, by using rare forms, our mental states and [thus] they lead the ones who consider only the outside of things to the place of inner meaning.[57]

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[53] This technique, especially when hatching is used instead of shading, resembles the translation of western prints into miniature paintings.

[54] See, for instance, Leach 1995, I, p. 354: 'He [Shah Jahan] seems to have viewed painting purely as a decorative art and therefore did not require the same expressiveness from his miniaturists as did Jahangir.'

[55] In my analysis of the principles of Shah-Jahani painting I have been greatly helped by Schäfer 1986.

[56] Lentz 1993, in particular p. 256.

[57] *A'in-i Akbari*, I, p. 11; trans. I, pp. 102–3; here as translated in 'Jahangir and the Angels', this volume, p. 35, n. 73.

This approach agreed in principle with the traditional aims of Indian art, and the Hindu masters who dominated Shah Jahan's imperial studio would have been the most likely to explore naturalism for non-naturalistic purposes. For all its dependence on Persian traditions and European realism, and despite its programmatic support of Mughal rule, Shah-Jahani painting is here truly Indian in its intention.

Its syncretistic and programmatic approach and high standards of artistry set Shah-Jahani painting apart from contemporary Safavid and Ottoman painting. In the context of book illustration, only the Mughals achieved such ambitious history painting. The Ottomans did not match their written descriptions of the sultans' activities with paintings of a similarly detailed realism, and the Safavids, lacking a particular urge towards self-representation, had no such a systematic historiography and hardly any history painting. Confronted with the vastness and complexity of their empire and its heterogeneous traditions, the Mughals felt a greater need to measure and support their imperial authority with a carefully constructed image of rulership. Each emperor found his own means of translating this image into the arts, while building on the tradition of those who preceded him. For Shah Jahan, these means were the absolute control of the pictorial world and its laws of representation.

6

The Delhi of the Mughals Prior to Shahjahanabad as Reflected in the Patterns of Imperial Visits*

INTRODUCTION

For Mughal historians, Mughal Delhi has always been synonymous with Shahjahanabad (founded in 1639). This is borne out even by the most recent publications on the subject.[1] Hardly any scholar in the field has given a second thought to the role Delhi played for the Mughals in the span of over a hundred years between Humayun's foundation of Dinpanah in 1533 and the year 1639 when construction was started on Shah Jahan's new city.[2] Whatever observations have been made on this point focus on the period of Humayun (1530–43; 1555–56) and the young Akbar (1556–1605); and even there the available evidence has been only partly considered. J.F. Richards sums up the current view when he defines Akbar's relationship to Delhi only in the negative: 'For two and a half centuries Delhi had been the unassailable redoubt . . . the seat of the Sultans of Hindustan. By moving first from Delhi to Agra, and later to his own capital at Fatahpur [sic] Sikri . . . Akbar' not only 'reduced existing associations of legitimate rulership with Delhi' but even 'firmly broke with the Delhi-centred political tradition.'[3] It was only G.D. Lowry who tried to show that there was more to 16th century Delhi than that: as part of his study on Humayun's tomb, he also attempted to reconstruct its surrounding urban landscape.[4]

One of the reasons for the scholarly neglect of pre-Shahjahanabad Mughal Delhi seems to be the fact that it features only marginally in the literary records of the period—whether of the Mughal writers or foreign observers. Sixteenth and early 17th-century Delhi is poorly documented because the Mughals hardly ever resided there. Babur, the first Mughal ruler, established his headquarters at Agra, which had

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[1] See R.E. Frykenberg (ed.), *Delhi through the Ages: Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society* (Oxford, Delhi, 1986). Also S.P. Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India: 1639–1739* (Cambridge, 1991).

[2] Despite being aware of the fact that Delhi's 'role as principal centre of Muslim rule had not been forgotten'. Blake (*Shahjahanabad*, pp. 12, 28–9) deals only in the briefest possible way with this aspect and does not consider the recent discussion about the Delhi of Humayun and Sher Shah, for which see our n. 17 and Appendix.

[3] J.F. Richards, 'The Formulation of Imperial Authority under Akbar and Jahangir', *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, ed. J.F. Richards, South Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, no. 3, 2nd edn. (1978; Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1981), p. 255; rpt., p. 289. Akbar's move from Delhi to Agra was not as original a decision as Richards makes it appear: already the later Lodis had moved the capital from Delhi to Agra and, consequently, Babur also chose it as the capital.

[4] G.D. Lowry, 'Delhi in the 16th Century', *Environmental Design*, 1983, 1, pp. 7–17.

already been the capital of the later Lodis. When Humayun reconquered Hindustan in 1555, Delhi was an agglomeration of successive cities built since the end of the 12th century where, in 1533, he himself had embarked on the construction of his own Dinpanah, 'over-built' in turn by the Surs. Delhi became Humayun's residence, but only for a brief period. After Humayun's untimely death in 1556, Akbar stayed at Delhi for brief spells in the early years of his reign. After that, the Mughal emperors resided mainly at Agra, Lahore or, in Akbar's case, at Fatehpur Sikri, as well as in their summer residence at Srinagar in Kashmir. Consequently, these cities received the greater share of attention on the part of contemporary writers. However, the fact that Mughals did not reside at Dar al-Mulk Dihli (Seat of the Empire)—as it continued to be officially known—does not necessarily imply that they no longer considered the old historical capital as a potent political symbol to be taken into account in their definition as the rightful rulers of Hindustan. One also has to bear in mind that during long stretches of the period in question, the emperor and his court (who represented the central government) did not stay in any of the capital cities but moved about, and the capital was wherever the imperial camp happened to be. That means that whenever the court came to Delhi the 'mobile Mughal capital'—an Akbari transformation of the nomadic encampment heritage of the Mughals into an elaborate imperial institution[5]—coincided for the duration of its stay with the ancient capital city styled by contemporary observers as 'the site of India's throne (*pa-i takht Hindustan*)'[6] and 'the original home and source of the Mogol Monarchy.'[7] To this highly charged conjunction of present mobile, and ancient historical capital, the Mughal emperor responded in turn with a gesture congenial to their peripatetic style of rule, namely, by a perambulation of certain historical sites of Delhi. Although the descriptions of these imperial visits when seen in isolation provide only the most meagre information, but taken together as part of a whole body of related texts, they enable us to discern highly revealing patterns. An analysis of these hitherto unconsidered[8] imperial visiting patterns allows us to come closer to an understanding of what Delhi represented to the Mughal emperors, in particular to Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, before the latter established new permanent ceremonial and administrative Mughal headquarters there with the construction of his new capital Shahjahanabad.

BABUR'S VISIT TO DELHI

The tradition of Mughal imperial tours of the greater urban area of Delhi was initiated by Babur. When Babur came to Delhi shortly after his victory at Panipat in 1526 as the new Timurid conqueror of the Delhi Sultanate, he 'appropriated' its old capital by making a perambulation of what he apparently considered to be the most important of its historical sites:

> After we . . . had made the circuit of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya's tomb we dismounted on the

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[5] Richards, *Kingship and Authority*, pp. 259 ff.; rpt. pp. 294 ff. Cf. P.A. Andrews, 'Manzil, in the Eastern Islamic Lands', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn. VI, pp. 456–7. The importance accorded to the layout and the structures of the Mughal camp is reflected in the detailed description in Abul Fazl's *A'in-i Akbari*, I, trans., Blochmann, pp. 47 ff. Blochmann's illustrations are largely his own reconstructions, but his represention of the layout of Akbar's camp (pl. iv) is based on late 16th–early 17th century illustrations of the *A'in-i Akbari*, for which see British Library MSS Add. 7652, Add. 6552 and Add. 6546. Such coverage is sadly lacking for the real architecture of the period. However, this must not tempt us into unreservedly equating tent architecture with real architecture.

[6] *Akbarnama*, text, I, p. 351 (cf. tr. i, p. 634). Cf. Antonio Monserrate S.J., *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius or the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar*, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, III, no. 9, p. 589: 'Delinum . . . in qua Indici regni solium . . . constitutum erat'; cf. *The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J.*, Eng. trans. J.S. Hoyland (Oxford, 1922), p. 95.

[7] *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique 1629–1643*, trans. C.E. Luard and H. Hosten S.J., II (Oxford, 1927), p. 180. Manrique saw Delhi early in 1641.

[8] So far there has been no assessment of the imperal Mughal visits to Delhi. The issue has been broached only by S.P. Blake ('Cityscape of an Imperial Capital: Shahjahanabad in 1739', in Frykenberg's *Delhi through the Ages*, p.154), who adduces only two imperial Mughal visits to the tombs of the Delhi saints to support his claim that 'For the Muslims of the mid-seventeenth century the Delhi area . . . was a religious centre, a place of pilgrimage, and one of the most important sites in the subcontinent for pious Muslims.' Blake even goes so far as suggesting that these two imperial visits (one by Akbar in 1576–7 and one by Shah Jahan in 1633–4) were probably 'representative of the pilgrim population as a whole' (cf. Blake, *Shahjahanabad*, pp. 28 ff.). We shall show in this essay that things were far more complex; while Blake's statement may be valid for Akbar, it does not at all prove right for Jahangir and Shah Jahan. At the same time, it will emerge that the gestures of the emperors did not necessarily coincide with those of visitors to the shrines who belonged to other social levels.

> bank of the Jaun [Jamuna] over against Dihli. That same night . . . we made an excursion into the fort of Dihli and . . . there spent the night . . . Next day . . . I made the circuit of Khwaja Qutbuddin's tomb and visited the tombs and residences of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Balban and Sultan 'Alauddin Khalji, his Minar, and the Hauz-Shamsi, Hauz-i Khas and the tombs and gardens of Sultan Bahlul and Sultan Sikandar [Lodi] . . . On Thursday we dismounted on the bank of the Jaun, over against Tughluqabad.[9]

The political implications of Babur's *tour de ville* are borne out by the fact that, afterwards (on a Friday), he sent a delegation of men of religious background into Delhi to have the *khutba* (sermon) read in his name, an act by which, according to Islamic practice, a ruler formally assumed sovereignty. Babur's companion, Zain Khan, who gives a corresponding account of the visit, concludes his description of this event on a didactic note by adding that its purpose lay in 'rendering warning and setting certain examples.'[10] With the somewhat cryptic remark of 'rendering warning' Zain Khan perhaps alludes to an ancient theme of Persian literature—particularly popular in 'mirrors of princes'—which reveals that ruined sites of past glories are to remind the observer that his own achievements are as ephemeral as those of the great ones who raised the buildings now lying in decay before him.[11] The idea represented, so to speak, the reversal of the widespread notion that monuments were to testify to their patrons glory.[12] The dialectic of the theme thus allowed Babur as conquering princely 'sightseer' to savour tacitly his triumph while responding to the situation with a noble reflective gesture. Zain Khan's remark about Babur setting an example apparently refers to the pious gesture he made with the pilgrimage to the graves of the great *sufis* of Delhi. What is not acknowledged *expressis verbis* by Babur or by Zain Khan on this occasion but in other instances is that the Mughal undertook the Hindustan campaign literally with Sharaf al-Din Yazdi's *Zafarnama* (the history of Timur) in his hands.[13] When we consult the *Zafarnama* on this point, we realize that Babur's perambulation of Delhi was clearly inspired by the example of his great paternal ancestor. After his conquest of Delhi in 1398, Timur set up his throne at the *'idgah* and had the *khutba* read in his name in the Masjid-i Jami' and other mosques of Delhi. When his 'mind was no longer occupied with the destruction of the people of Delhi', he 'took a ride round the cities' of Siri, Old Delhi (then Qil'a Rai Pithora) and Jahanpanah and saw also Firuz Shah Tughluq's city Firuzabad to the north and its palace *Jahan Numa* (today known as Kotla Firuz Shah).[14]

Seen in this context, Babur's visit to Delhi was by no means merely that of a modern 'sightseer' who wants to see as much as possible of a place which is new to him, although it is in particular this aspect of genuine curiosity which makes it so easy for us today to identify here with the first Mughal. Seen in its historical context, the visit must be understood in the first instance as a symbolic statement which was intended to express several ideas, all of which combined to underline the significant representative character of the event. First, the symbolic appropriation of land with strong dynastic overtones; secondly, a reflective gesture of proper princely comportment acknowledging the futility of all human effort while containing at the same time an element of triumph; thirdly, an association with the religious and spiritual authority of *sufis*.[15] We shall see below that the ideas which can be associated with Babur's first vist to Delhi were also of consequence for the subsequent imperial visits to the city, although not all of them had had the same impact and long-term effect.

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[9] Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur, *Baburnama*, trans. A.S. Beveridge (rpt. New Delhi, 1970), pp. 475–6.

[10] Zain Khan, *Tabaqat-i Baburi*, trans. S. Hasan Askari, annot. B.P. Ambastha (Delhi, 1982), pp. 92–3.

[11] For example, I quote a *ruba'i* of Omar Khayyam in a translation kindly provided by Saiyid Ghulam Samnani of Dr. Zakir Husain College (formerly Delhi College):

> On the turret of the palace which rose too high/Where kings and emperors prostrate did lie/I saw there perched a ring-dove which/'Where-to, where-to, where-to' did cry.

The theme is not only particularly popular in *adab* literature (mirrors of princes); it is also often used—as in Babur's and later in Humayun's case (for which see n. 26 below)—to give weight and background to historical princely sightseeing. For the use of the theme in the context of conquest and appropriation of land in Akbari epigraphy, see n. 46 below. For another example of its use, seen n. 34 below.

[12] See Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development (1526–1858)* (Munich, 1991), p. 13.

[13] Zain Khan, *Tabaqat-i Baburi*, pp. 77–9.

[14] Sharafuddin Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnama*, trans. H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians* (rpt. Lahore, 1976), III, pp. 502–4. Our quotations are from the *Malfuzat-i Timuri*, where Timur's stay at Delhi is described in greater detail. See ibid., in particular pp. 443–4, 447–9. For Timur inspiring Humayun's perambulations in Persia, see below, n. 26.

[15] This aspect is discussed under 'The Dargah of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya', below pp. 176 f.

DELHI AS THE MUGHAL RESIDENCE, 1555–60

After Babur's first visit to Delhi, there was a break in the tradition of imperial visits which is due to the fact that the status of Delhi changed under Humayun and in the early years of Akbar's reign. Humayun was the one Mughal before Shah Jahan who chose Delhi as his residence and in August 1533 began to build a new Mughal capital there 'on a raised area of the embankment of the river Jaun [Jamuna]' at 'a distance of three *karoh*' from the older urban areas in the south.[16] We do not know how much he completed of the work which he called Dinpanaḥ (Asylum of Religion). Sher Shah Sur, who ousted Humayun, in turn, built a fortified city and a palace in the same area. What survives of these building operations is mainly the citadel now known as Purana Qil'a. The question of what was built by Humayun and what by Sher Shah has never received an entirely satisfactory answer, but this is not the place to attempt to reconcile the contradicting evidences (see Appendix).[17] What can be established with certainty is that when Humayun reconquered Delhi in July 1555 he took up residence in the fort or citadel (*qil'a-i Dihli*)[18] as it then presented itself to him as a result of Sur building activity during the time of his exile. According to 'Abdullah, Sher Shah had given the name Sher Manzil to his palace (*kushak*) within the fortified area (*qil'a*) and this name lives on in the isolated octagonal pavilion which is generally identified with the one work of architectural 're-Mughalization' of the fort which Humayun had time to carry out,[19] namely the building of the library where he fell to his death in January 1556.

The second site in Delhi connected with Humayun, but not well known, was also taken over from the Surs. It was the small isolated citadel, Salimgarh, built by Islam (Salim Shah) Sur (1545–54) in the northern urban area of greater Delhi in the middle of the river Jamuna. From there Humayun had undertaken the reconquest of Delhi[20] and, according to Jahangir, he used Salimgarh also subsequently for informal outings for which he built a pleasance there.[21]

The third point of association between Humayun and Delhi about which the sources inform us concerns the subject of our inquiry directly. It is an excursion which the emperor undertook in the company of the Ottoman admiral Sidi 'Ali Reis to the shrines of serveral *sufi*s such as 'Shah Qutbuddin [Bakhtiyar Kaki] the *Pir* of Delhi' and 'Shaikh Nizam Wali [Nizamuddin Auliya]'.[22] This perambulation of the Delhi shrines must suffice to establish a link in the tradition of imperial visits from Babur to Akbar because no other visits of Humayun to Delhi have been recorded. After Humayun's reconquest, one would have at least expected, a 're-appropriation tour' in the style of Babur—all the more so since we know from Abul Fazl that during the time of his Persian exile Humayun visited in great style the historical cities of Khurasan and Azarbaijan.[23]

These visits represent a substitute for Humayun's omitted (or perhaps only unrecorded?) visits to Delhi, not only for us in search of evidence for the subject we are pursuing, but more so for Humayun himself at a time when he had lost his hold over the throne of Hindustan. Abul Fazl's descriptions of Humayun's perambulations of the cities of Khurasan and Azarbaijan also compensate, by the vivid picture they paint, of such events for the rather dry accounts of the subsequent Mughal visits to Delhi. This is particularly true for Humayun's visit to Herat in January 1544 where he was given a splendid reception on the orders of Shah Tahmasp.[24] That Humayun, claiming to be the heir to the house of Timur, was given the opportunity to make such a grand formal entry and subsequent festive perambulations in the great former Timurid capital (where in 1506 Babur had already underlined his status as Timurid prince, not least by his indefatigable sightseeing)[25] was doubtless as important for the self-image of the Mughals as Indian Timurids as it was to assert themselves at Delhi. The associations with rightful rulership that were connected with Herat in the Timurid context were comparable to those of Delhi in the Indian context.

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[16] See Ghiyasuddin Khwandamir, *Qanun-i Humayuni*, ed. M. Hidayat Husain, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta, 1940), p. 85; trans. pp. 61–2.

[17] For recent discussions of the problem, see C.B. Asher, 'The Qala'a-i Kuhna Mosque: A Visual Symbol of Royal Aspirations', *Chavvi*, II (Varanasi: Bharat Kala Bhavan, 1981), pp. 212–7; R. Nath, *History of Mughal Architecture* (New Delhi, 1982), II, pp. 134 ff.; M.C. Joshi, 'The Authorship of Purana Qil'a and Its Buildings', *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*, eds. F.M. Asher and G.S. Gai (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 269–74; G.D. Lowry (n. 4 above), in particular pp. 9 ff. See Appendix to the present article for my views on this subject.

[18] *Akbarnama*, I, text, p. 351; trans. p. 635.

[19] Since this pavilion represents such a successful synthesis of Timurid ideas and the ornamenal sandstone style of Delhi one feels inclined to date it somewhat later. A possible date would be that of the building operations of 1560 mentioned in the Appendix to this article.

[20] *Akbarnama*, I, trans., p. 634.

[21] *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, trans. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge (Delhi, 1968), I, p. 137. See also 'Salimgarh' below, pp. 172 f..

[22] *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, during the Years 1553–1556*, Eng. trans. A. Vambery (rpt. Lahore, 1975), pp. 53–4.

[23] *Akbarnama*, I, trans., pp. 416–17. Cf. Sukumar Ray, *Humayun in Persia*, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta, 1948).

[24] *Akbarnama*, I, trans., pp. 432–4, not only vividly describes Humayun's visit to Herat but also quotes in full the *farman* of Shah Tahmasp to Muhammad Khan, the governor of Khurasan, where instructions about the

From Herat Humayun went to Sultaniyye via Mashhad and Qazwin to meet the Shah and from there—and this is of particular interest in our context—'in accordance with the precedent set by his Majesty Sahib Qiran (i.e., Timur)' to Ardabil and Tabriz. After watching such mundane entertainments as 'hockey and wolf-running' at Tabriz

> His Majesty visited the splendid buildings, the memorial of ancient kings—and the pleasure-parks of the city. Fresh illustrations were thereby brought to his mind of the bypast . . . monuments of the earth, of the revolutions . . ., of the mansions of the skies, of the passing away . . . of the inconsistent universe, and of the breaches . . . of the unstable earth, and they brought to his lips truthful words about compassing the favour of the Creator.[26]

Humayun is then quoted as reciting some fitting verses expressing a similar *memento mori* theme. We recognize here the same literary associations which Zain Khan connected to Babur's visit to Delhi.[27]

Humayun's residence at Delhi lasted for only six months which hardly gave him time to put his architectural stamp on the city. However, the Mughals considered it an important historical episode in their dynastic history symbolizing the establishment of Mughal presence in the old capital. This strong dynastic association of Humayun with Delhi is first borne out by the fact that his mausoleum was built at Delhi and not at Agra where Akbar's court had already moved when construction of the tomb was started in about 1562.[28]

Akbar resided in Delhi only for brief periods during the first years of his reign. After his victory in early November 1556 over Hemu, who had tried to wrest the throne from him, Akbar remained for a month at Delhi. The next period of his stay in the capital in 1558 lasted from the end of April to October, after which he moved the court to Agra.[29] However, in 1560 (to get away from the control exerted over him by his guardian Bairam Khan), Akbar returned to reside again at Delhi for two brief periods, from March to April, followed by another three months from May to August.[30] At that time the area between the Purana Qil'a, the *dargah* of Nizamuddin, and the site of the construction of Humayun's tomb represented Mughal Delhi.[31] Besides the grand imperial project of Humayun's tomb, the most noteworthy building projects undertaken there in the 1560s were the *madrasa* of Maham Anga (now called Khair al-Manazil, completed in 1561–62) and—this has not yet been considered—the strengthening and the repair of the walls and bastions (*burj-o-bara*) of the fort (Purana Qil'a) by Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, the governor of Delhi, on the occasion of Akbar's first stay in 1560.[32]

When Father Monserrate, who accompanied Akbar on his campaign to Kabul, passed through 'Delinum' with the imperial train in 1581, he described it as a magnificent city with 'broad roads . . . more imposing and impressive than in other Musalman towns . . . planted down the middle with beautiful green trees', with 'parks and gardens filled with a rich profusion of fruit and flowers', and with residences on both sides of the Jamuna. Monserrate credits Humayun with all these urbanist achievements, including the construction of the fort, which shows that his informants were at pains to put Mughal contribution to the urban history into profile at the expense of that of the Sur rulers.[33] However, already soon afterwards, Mughal Delhi appears to have been abandoned to a large degree since Abul Fazl reports in the 1590s that 'even is this latest Delhi [namely that of Humayun and Sher Shah] now for the most

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organization of the visit are given in minutest detail (pp. 418–31). Cf. Ray, *Humayun in Persia*, pp. 10–4.

[25] *Baburnama*, trans. Beveridge, pp. 295–306, in particular pp. 304–6.

[26] *Akbarnama*, I, trans., pp. 443–4. Cf. Ray, pp. 41–2.

[27] See n. 11 above; cf. notes, 34, 46.

[28] See also 'The Tomb of Humayun', pp. 174, 176 below.

[29] Abdul Qadir Bada'uni, *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, II, trans. W.H. Lowe (Calcutta, 1924), p. 10; *Akbarnama*, II, trans., pp. 60, 70, 75, 104, 117.

[30] *Akbarnama*, II, trans., pp. 142, 152, 157, 169.

[31] For a discussion of the whole area with the emphasis on the interaction of the construction of Humayun's tomb with the surrounding urban landscape, see Lowry, 'Delhi in the 16th century'.

[32] See the last part of the Appendix.

[33] Monserrate, *Commentarius*, trans., pp. 95–8. Cf. the accounts of later travellers, for instance, Manrique, *Travels*, p. 180, who states that the palace 'shows in the most imposing of its gateways that it is the work of the first founder, Humayun'.

part in ruins' and only 'the cemeteries are . . . populous.'[34]

Other places of interest for our discussion which were frequented by the youthful Akbar when residing at Delhi were the suburban Salimgarh to the north and the hunting ground of Palam to the west of the Mughal city.[35]

So much for the historical background of the imperial Mughal visits to Delhi of which we have continuous records from the year 1564 onwards.[36]

THE 'CHOREOGRAPHY' OF THE IMPERIAL VISITS TO DELHI

Akbar

In January 1564, Akbar came to Delhi, visited the shrine of Nizamuddin and was shot at by an agent of the discontented nobility of Delhi who had been incited by the somewhat unfeeling marriage policy envisaged by Akbar to bring them closer to the throne. On this occasion we learn incidentally about a further topographical feature of the sixteenth century Delhi because we are told that the incident happened on the emperor's return to his dwelling (later called *daulat khana*, obviously the Purana Qil'a) in the bazaar (*chahar su*) of the city (*shahr*) near the *madrasa* of Maham Anga.[37] Akbar's subsequent visits took a less dramatic turn and began to follow a certain pattern. Of particular significance here is his Delhi visit of 1577:

> On the day of Asman, 27th Azar, Divine month, [18th December], the capital of Delhi [Dar al-Mulk Dihli] was glorified by the Shahinshah's advent. First of all he circumambulated the holy shrine of His Majesty Jannat Ashiyani [Humayun] and showered gifts on the custodians. Then he visited the other tombs [*bar sa'ir asudgan*], and was also lavish in gifts there. On 3 Dai, Divine month [24th December], he visited the quarters of Shaikh Farid [Bukhari] Bakhshi Begi, who had many seats in that delightful neighbourhood on the banks of the Jamuna . . . On the 5th of the month he halted at the *sarai* of Badli[38] and spent some days there in administrative work and in hunting. The needy of that part were replenished from the table of his bounty.[39]

This passage from the *Akbarnama* does not report that Akbar also hunted at Palam; it is, however, reported on the same occasion by Bada'uni and Nizamuddin Ahmad.[40] These authors also tell us more about the identity of the other tombs which, according to Abul Fazl, Akbar visited after the tomb of Humayun, namely that they were those of 'the great saints of that illustrious locality'.[41] Taking Akbar's devotion to the Chishti order into account, it is fair to assume that these included the shrine of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya which he had already visited in 1564. The quarters of Shaikh Farid where Akbar took up residence may well have been at Salimgarh because we learn later from Jahangir that Akbar had given the fortress to the prominent nobleman who subsequently added to it.[42]

However, Akbar did not follow this pattern every time he visited Delhi. Out of the eleven visits reported by his historians for the years 1564, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1570, 1574, 1577, 1578, 1581, 1585 and 1599, Akbar went to Humayun's tomb nine times, to the tombs of the saints (which must have included that of Nizamuddin Auliya) eight times, hunted only twice (?) at Palam and stayed two or three times in the house of Shaikh Farid Bakhshi.[43] An analysis of these accounts reveals an emphasis on the pilgrimages to the tomb of Humayun and those of the saints of Delhi.

That Akbar considered Delhi mainly a place of pilgrimage (*ziyarat*) is also borne out by Abul Fazl who at times tells us about the purpose of an Akbari visit to Delhi. Thus we learn, for instance, that in

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[34] *A'in-i Akbari*, II, trans., p. 284. Abul Fazl does not miss the opportunity to include some *adab* in his description: '. . . the monuments of these [ruined] cities are in themselves eloquent and teach us the higest moral lessons . . .'

[35] *Akbarnama*, II, trans., p. 115; I, trans., p. 385.

[36] A study of the descriptions of Mughal imperial visits to Delhi shows that the recording of these events was in the first instance the concern of the official sources of the period. Therefore, I have quoted other authors mainly when they provide supplementary information.

[37] *Akbarnama*, II, text, p. 202, trans., pp. 312–3; cf. Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, II, trans. B. De (Calcutta, 1973), pp. 275–6, who says that Akbar did not return from the shrine of Nizamuddin but from hunting.

[38] The translation has 'Bawali', which is a misreading for 'Badli' on the Delhi-Karnal road where remains of a Mughal sarai survive. See Zafar Hasan, *Delhi Province: List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments*, IV, compiled under the supervision of J.F. Blakiston (Calcutta, 1922), p. 32.

[39] *Akbarnama*, III, text, p. 228, trans., p. 322.

[40] Bada'uni, II, trans., p. 259; Nizamuddin Ahmad, II, trans., pp. 507 ff.

[41] Bada'uni, II, trans. p. 259.

[42] *Tuzuk*, trans., I, p. 137. See also 'Salimgargh', pp. 172–4 below.

[43] *Akbarnama*, II, trans., pp. 312–3, 411, 424, 489, 511–3; III, trans. pp. 154, 322, 360, 547, 705, 1118; cf. Nizamuddin Ahmad, II, trans., pp. 275–6, 323, 331, 352–3, 359, 453–4, 507–8, 513, 605.

1568, when Akbar made a pilgrimage to the tombs of the Delhi *shaikhs*, he did so to 'strengthen his heart by the influences of holy recluses' for the conquest of Ranthambhor.[44] His Delhi visits of 1570 and 1574 are to be understood as extensions of his customary pilgrimage to Ajmer because they either preceded or followed it. This is particularly true of his Delhi visit of 1570 which Akbar undertook immediately after his great historical pilgrimage on foot from Agra to Ajmer to redeem his pledge to Shaikh Mu'inuddin Chishti for the birth of his son Salim (Jahangir). By including their Delhi shrines in this pilgrimage, Akbar clearly wanted to make the grandest devotional gesture to the Chishti *sufi*s. To heighten the moral character of his 1570 Delhi visit, he went at a later point also to 'the stations and buildings which right-thinking princes had erected in former times, and received instructive warning thereby'.[45] We see that on this particular occasion Akbar made it a point to follow the same example of princely conduct which—according to Zain Khan—informed Babur's first visit to Delhi (and incidentally also Humayun's visit to Tabriz).[46]

The remaining visits of Akbar to Delhi appear to have had no special purpose; they were undertaken when the emperor happened to pass through the city on his way to some other destination.

Jahangir

When we look at the six visits to Delhi reported by Jahangir (1605–27), we notice that early in his reign there was no occasion for great ceremony. In April 1606, while pursuing his rebellious son Khusrau, Jahangir passed hastily through Delhi and stopped only briefly to turn to the tomb of Humayun and that of Nizamuddin Auliya for intercession in the matter of Khusrau.[47] In March 1608, on his return to Agra, Jahangir took up residence at Salimgarh where he held wine parties and planned a hunt at Palam. But when he learned that the astrologers had fixed the time of his grand entry into Agra earlier than expected, he gave up the idea of the hunt and went directly to Agra by boat.[48] Only on his way to Lahore and Kashmir in November 1619 did he have enough leisure for a more formal visit to the old capital for the first time since his accession. In our context, it is of great interest that the sites visited on this occasion not only coincided with those to which Akbar went in 1577, but that he also observed the same order in going to them:

> On Thursday the 29th [Aban = 20th November], Dihli, the abode of blessings, was adorned by the alighting of the army of good fortune. At first I hastened with my children and the ladies on a visit to the enlightened shrine of Humayun [*ba ziyarat-i rauza-i munawwara Ḥazrat Jannat Ashiyani*] . . ., and having made our offerings there, went off to circumambulate the blessed mausoleum [*ba tawaf-i rauza-i mutabarraka*] of the king of holy men [Shaikh Nizamuddin Chishti], and strengthened my courage, and at the end of the day alighted at the palace [*daulat khana*], which had been got ready in Salimgarh. On Friday, the 30th, I halted. As they had at this time preserved the hunting-place [*shikargah*] of the *pargana* of Palam, according to order, it was represented that a great number of antelope had collected there. Accordingly, on the Ist of the Divine month of Azar, I started to hunt with cheetahs.[49]

On his subsequent visit to Delhi in early 1621, Jahangir stayed at Salimgarh, hunted at Palam, and later went to the tomb of Humayun.[50] When he came to Delhi again at the end of November in the same year, he stayed at Salimgarh and hunted near Delhi (perhaps at Palam?).[51] The last visit reported is that of January 1624 when we only learn that he took up residence in Salimgarh.[52] The conclusion which emerges from the descriptions of his visits is that Jahangir did not come to Delhi for a special purpose but visited it only when he had to pass through it on his way to some other destination. But when he came, he was mainly attracted by the prospect of hunting at Palam.

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[44] *Akbarnama*, II, trans., p. 489.

[45] Ibid., pp. 511–2.

[46] See above notes 11 and 27. On a later occasion, during his Deccan campaign of 1600–1, Akbar was to elaborate on this gesture by putting up commemorative inscriptions at prominent sites of the conquered Faruqi kings of Khandesh as well as of the Sultans of Malwa. All were composed by his poet and calligrapher Nami. I quote the first two lines of the inscription on one of the 'Adil Shahi tombs at Burhanpur reported by S.A. Rahim, 'Some More Inscriptions from Khandesh', *Epigraphia Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1962, pp. 74–5:

> Have a look at those who are in the graves (. . .) and take lesson, O possessors of sight!/Because it is said 'Is the negligence of the living greater or the remorse of the dead?'

Another example was put up at Mandu—the previous residence of the Malwa Sultans—in the Mughal pleasure house Nilkanth:

> His Majesty, the shadow of God, the king Akbar after having conquered the Deccan and Khandes set out for Hind in the year 1009 (1600–1); composed by Nami.
> At dawn I saw an owl sitting on the pinnacle of Shirwan Shah's tomb.
> Plaintively it uttered the warning, 'Where is all that glory and where all that splendour?'

Zafar Hasan, 'Inscriptions of Dhar and Mandu', *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909–10, pp. 26–7. The reflective theme reminding the ruler of the transitoriness of human achievement is here nevertheless employed in a dialectic way to commemorate as well as to symbolize conquest and appropriation of land.

[47] See *Tuzuk*, trans., I, pp. 57–8.

[48] Ibid., p.137.

[49] Ibid., II, pp. 108 f. Cf. Persian text, p. 281, from where I have transcribed the passages inserted in square brackets into Roger's translation.

In sum, we can state that for Akbar Delhi was primarily a place of pilgrimage while Jahangir saw it rather as a place for hunting. Concurrently, we begin to see a pattern of an imperial Delhi visit evolving with its focus on Salimgarh, the tomb of Humayun, the tomb of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, and Palam (Fig. 6.1). However, this scheme was not binding and remained open to variations, so that some stations could be emphasized at the expense of others.

Shah Jahan

In contradistinction to Akbar and Jahangir, Shah Jahan followed the full 'imperial pattern' more consistently. This is borne out in particular by his first visit to Delhi after he had ascended the throne in 1628.

In early 1634, Shah Jahan decided to inspect the northern region of his empire, particularly Lahore and Kashmir. The imperial train set off from Agra at the beginning of February 1634 and at the end of the month the emperor arrived in Delhi which was to be the first major halt. The importance accorded to the emperor's first visit to Delhi is reflected by its detailed descriptions in the contemporary chronicles which provide us with information not obtained in the earlier periods. As often, it is not the official historian 'Abdul Hamid Lahori but the self-appointed historian Muhammad Salih Kanbo who provides the fullest account of the event:

> On the next day [5th Isfandar 1043/24th/ February 1634] Salimgarh which is situated on the bank of the river Jaun by the most holy alighting of His Majesty drew a veil on [put to shame] Madinat al-Salam Baghdad[53] . . . This place was originally founded by Salim Khan,[54] son of Sher Khan Afghan, but after laying out the base of the four walls of this edifice, he did not have the opportunity to construct a building (*'imarat*) because the times were unfavourable to him and so it remained unfinished. To the mind of Hazrat Jannat Makani ['His Majesty Dwelling in Paradise', the posthumous title of Jahangir], the plesantness of this place of the signs of paradise happened to be agreeable and [therefore] he ordered its construction and repair. He built delightful pavilions (*nashimanha*) and pleasant houses (*manzilha*) every time while coming and going through Dar al-Mulk Dihli [on his way from and back to Agra] he took up residence there. In short, Hazrat Sulaiman Makani ['His Majesty of the Station of Solomon', i.e. Shah Jahan] on the second day of his stay at Salimgarh which was the 7th of the month [Isfandar = 26th February] rode—alongside Victory and Success—and hastened to perform the pilgrimage (*ziyarat*) to the mausoleum (*rauza*) of Hazrat Jannat Ashiyani ['His Majesty Nestling in Paradise'] Humayun Padshah. After carrying out the ceremony of the circumambulation (*tawaf*) of that exalted place he performed the ritual of visiting that great funerary enclosure (*hazira*) which is the most noble and august among the sacred places of that land (*kishwar*), and carried out a distribution of largesse to the attendants and those employed in the service and the like of that place. After that, he turned towards the *ziyarat* of the holy tomb (*marqad-i muqaddas*) of the leader of those who walk on the mystic path, the model of holy men, the Sultan of the Shaikhs, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. And with full devotion he gained in abundance different kinds of blessings and spiritual strength (*barakat*) by reading the Fatiha [the first Sura of the Qur'an] [and in this way] he kindled the torches for the further illumination of the soul and the [greater] comfort of this holy dust [i.e., the body of the saint]. And according to the sublime order, a sum of five thousand rupees from the private purse (*sarkar khassa sharifa*)—in addition to what the imperial children of high dignity had offered—

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[50] Ibid., trans. II, pp. 193–6.

[51] Ibid., p. 218.

[52] Ibid., pp. 287 f.

[53] Such references to Baghdad as the classical capital of the 'Abbasid Caliphate are a standard theme in Mughal writings; their purpose was to illustrate the contention that the capitals of the Mughals surpassed even the caliphal one.

[54] The Mughals reserved the title 'Shah' for themselves. This is why the rulers of the Sur dynasty that had replaced Mughal rule between 1543 and 1555 were described as 'Khan' and not as 'Shah' as they designated themselves. The same holds true for the rulers of the Deccani Sultanates.

> [were given to] the trustworthy persons of the exalted *dargah*[55] to be distributed among deserving persons of Dar al-Mulk Dihli. On the 8th of the month, the emperor moved further afield towards Palam. The magnificent building (*'imarat*) of this place which had been founded by His Majesty was elevated to the atlas of the sky by his noble arrival. For four days in this pleasure ground he enjoyed the hunting and by hunting he gained joy.[56]

In his subsequent visits to Delhi, Shah Jahan kept to this very scheme. When the emperor halted at Delhi on his way to the north or when returning from there to Agra, he would take up residence at Salimgarh (also named Nurgarh). From there he would make the pilgrimage to the tomb of Humayun and then to the shrine of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya. The visit would end with a few days of hunting at Palam. The emperor would leave the main part of his train behind at Delhi or send it off to the next halt and continue accompanied only by his closest entourage for a few days of open-air sports in the hunting ground. The visits of February 1634, March 1635 and September 1638 follow this very pattern, except that in 1635 he dropped his visit to the tomb of Nizamuddin.[57] The pattern begins to change more distinctly in his visits of 1642/43 and 1645 which fall in the period when the construction of his new city and fortress palace had started. Now the inspection of the construction site of the *qil'a* which was given priority in the urban building programme took precedence over two of the traditional points of the visit. Shah Jahan would now not stay at Salimgarh but strike camp near the construction site and omit the pilgrimage to Nizamuddin's shrine altogether. Humayun's tomb and, in particular, the hunt at Palam were kept in the programme.[58] During Shah Jahan's last visit to the city described by his historians, of December 1647 to January 1648 on his way back from his unsuccessful Balkh and Badakhshan campaign, he gave up the ritual of the visit altogether. Now the emperor was so preoccupied with the new palace that he halted only briefly at Salimgarh and went for a last inspection to the almost completed *qil'a*. He then boarded a boat directly to Agra and returned three months later to take up residence in the new palace with a grand formal entry.[59] On the occasion of this move, Agra had to cede its time-honoured title Dar al-Khilafa ('Seat of the Caliphate', i.e. imperial residence) to Shahjahanabad; it was, however, recompensated with a title giving a similar meaning, namely Mustaqarr al-Khilafa ('Settled Abode of the Caliphate').[60]

The history of the Delhi visits of Shah Jahan thus shows two conflicting impulses. On the one hand, in the first phase, we witness the tendency to develop the imperial visits into a firm ritual; on the other hand, in the second phase, we observe the dissolution of the established pattern. This conflict, we believe, was brought about by the transformation of Delhi from a historical political symbol (Dar al-Mulk Dihli) into the site of the new imperial residence and seat of government (Dar al-Khilafa Shahjahanabad). It was only the older status of Dar al-Mulk Dihli which had to be acknowledged with the visiting ritual, and a ritual it had become by then—at least this is the picture the reports convey. It is particularly noteworthy that Shah Jahan visited no other places in Delhi than those of the established programme or, if he did, his historians were careful not to mention it. It is typical of Shah Jahan that he sought to give a fixed form to institutions that had been handled in a more informal way by his predecessors. This is true of a wide range of activities such as urban planning, architecture and the order of marches, in addition to etiquette and court ceremonial. The trend to regulate the activities of the emperor and the court explains why the imperial visits focused on the same places and observed a certain order. But to understand why the four particular sites had become the focal points of an imperial Delhi visit we have to recapitulate briefly their history and understand what they meant to the Mughals.

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[55] Literally 'royal court'; in India, a place or complex where the tomb of a Muslim *sufi* saint is situated. The term also corresponds to *khanqah* which designates a hospice or a dervish's convent.

[56] Muhammad Salih Kamboh, *'Amal-i Salih*, I (1967), text, pp. 518–19; cf. 'Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshahnama*, vol. I, part 2, p. 6, who calls Salimgarh 'Nurgarh'. I thank Dr. S.M. Yunus Jaffery for assisting me in the reading and translation of this difficult passage. pp. 26–7.

[57] Lahori, I, part 2, pp. 6, 72–3; II, pp. 110–12; cf. Kamboh, I (1967), pp. 518–9; II (1967), pp. 66, 245.

[58] Lahori, II, p. 319–20, 410; Kamboh, II (1967), p. 314 (does not mention Palam) and p. 351.

[59] Kamboh, III (1972), pp. 13–14; cf. Muhammad Waris, *Badshahnama*, British Museum, Persian ms. Add. 65 56. fol. 382b, unpubl. typed transcript S.M. Yunus Jaffery, pp. 26–7.

[60] While this change of titles is tacitly employed by Lahori and Kamboh, Muhammad Sadiq Khan (*Tawarikh-i-Shahjahani*, BM Or. 174, fol. 153b [156b]) draws special attention to it. I thank Dr. Yunus Jaffery for drawing my attention to this passage. For the later consequences of this move on Agra, see Blake 1991, p. 102.

THE SETTING

Salimgarh

Salimgarh is a small fortress of a segmental polygonal outline enclosed by rubble masonry walls with several bastions, situated opposite the north-eastern corner of Shah Jahan's palace fortress, the Red Fort. Today both fortresses are separated by the road which takes the place of a diversion of the river Jamuna, which in Mughal times flowed between them (Fig. 6.2). As we have learned already from Kamboh's brief history of the citadel, Salimgarh took its name from Salim Shah Sur who founded it during his brief reign from 1545 to 1554.[61] We have already noted that Humayun undertook from there the reconquest of Delhi and that he used it as a suburban place of retreat and recreation for which he built a 'square *chaukandi* [pavilion whose dome sits on four open arches] with glazed tiles [*kashi kari*]' near the river bank. Above it was a *suffa* (platform or *iwan*) of stone constructed by Murtaza Khan (Shaikh Farid Bukhari) after the fortress had been given to him by Akbar.[62] By 1619, a new palace (*daulat khana*) had been constructed there by order of Jahangir.[63] In 1621–22, Jahangir also built a bridge between the south-western part of Salimgarh and the raised ground on the opposite bank of the Jamuna which was later to be occupied by Shah Jahan's Red Fort. A *ba'oli* (stepwell) situated in this very area (enclosed by the walls of the Red Fort) to the south of the bridge dates from the same period.[64]

The *daulat khana* at Salimgarh served as residence for the Mughal court whenever it passed through Delhi until Shah Jahan's new fortress palace was constructed across from it. It remains an open question why Salimgarh was chosen as the pre-Shahjahani Delhi residence of the Mughals rather than the Purana Qil'a—the first citadel of the Mughals at Delhi—which would have been much closer to the tombs of Humayun and Nizamuddin Auliya, both of which were fixed stations of the imperial visit (Fig. 6.1). One of the reasons might have been the proximity of Salimgarh to the river whose bank by this time had perhaps already moved away from the Purana Qil'a. Another possible reason is that, as we have seen above, already in the later part of Akbar's reign, this residential area was in ruins and only the tomb districts were well kept.[65] It is also possible that Jahangir felt an affinity to Salimgarh because of his own given name (*ism*) Salim.[66] Whatever the reasons, Jahangir's choice of Salimgarh as the imperial residence seems to have set a precedent which Shah Jahan followed by building his own palace and new city right opposite it. That Salimgarh might have been the decisive factor for the selection of the site of Shah Jahan's palace has so far not been considered by Mughal historians.[67] Salimgarh as a time-honoured imperial residence managed to hold its own even in the planning of

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[61] See n. 56 above. For a brief but informative history, see Keene, *Handbook for Visitors to Delhi*, re-written and brought up to date by E.A. Duncan, 6th edn. (Calcutta, 1906), pp. 18–20. Cf. Zafar Hasan, *Delhi Province*, II (1919), compiled under the supervision of J.A. Page, pp. 300 ff. Neither author, however, considers Salimgarh's role as imperial Mughal residence.

[62] Jahangir, *Tuzuk*, text, p. 65; I, trans., p. 137. Jahangir refers to Shaikh Farid with his later title 'Murtaza Khan'. I am not quite sure what Jahangir understood by *'suffa'*, which is a term not much used by the Mughals. According to L. Golombek and D. Wilber (*The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan* [Princeton University Press, 1988], pp. 73–4, 470) it describes in the Timurid context an *iwan*, arched niche or a platform. Rogers translates it as platform but since Jahangir refers to it also as *'imarat'* it seems to have been more than that.

[63] See *Tuzuk* (n. 49 above) and Kamboh's description quoted above in 'Shah Jahan' (p. 170). Kamboh does not mention that Salimgarh was for some time in the possession of Shaikh Farid, perhaps so as not to blur the imperial connotation of the place.

[64] Today Salimgarh belongs to the Indian Army and is not easily accessible. I was allowed to survey it in 1980 and found no remains of the Jahangiri structures with the exception of a small ruined mosque of the one-aisled three-bayed Delhi type in the north-western part of the fortress. Jahangir's bridge was replaced by two bridges during the British period, but it can still be seen on our Fig. 6.2. Jahangir's inscription commemorating the construction of the bridge was removed to the museum in the Red Fort (See Y.K. Bukhari. 'Inscriptions from the Archaeological Museum, Red Fort, Delhi', *Epigraphia Indica*: *Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1959 and 1960, pp. 11–12). The *ba'oli* is in the northern (military) area of the Red Fort south of the point where Jahangir's bridge used to be. It is not yet known to scholars but I have surveyed it and its plan can be made out on my new map of the Red Fort which has been published in Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, p. 110. I shall deal elsewhere with the Jahangiri structures of the area.

[65] See n. 34 above.

[66] We know from Jahangir himself that he attached great importance to such associations. He had a number of places and buildings named or re-named to connect them with his *laqab* (honorific name) Nuruddin. See *Tuzuk*, I, trans., pp. 269 ff., II, pp. 75, 151, 154, 192, 226. These included Salimgarh, which was renamed Nurgarh.

[67] Salimgarh as the imperial Mughal residence is not even considered in the most recent work on the subject by Blake, *Shahjahanabad*, p. 12 (on his Map 5 Jahangir's bridge is shown in the wrong location).

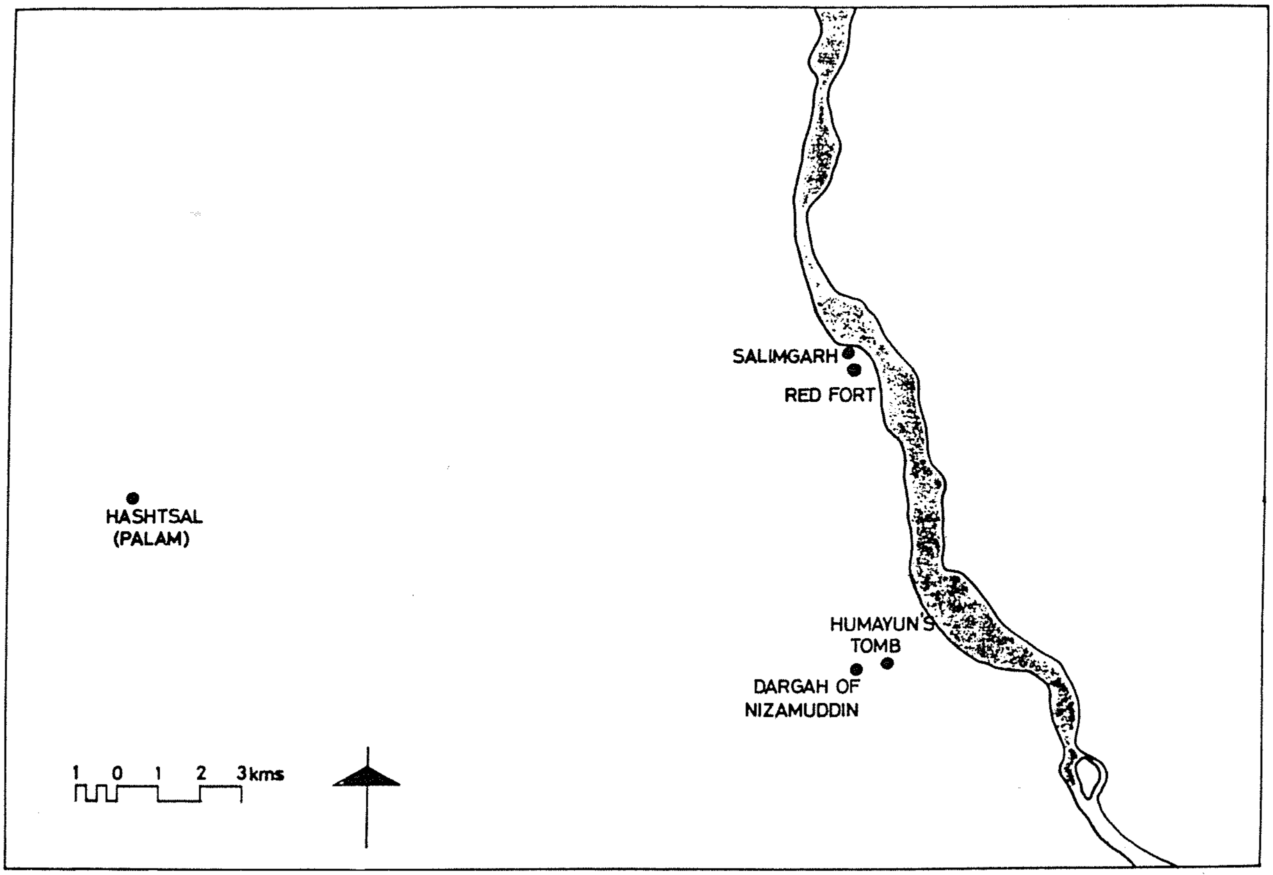
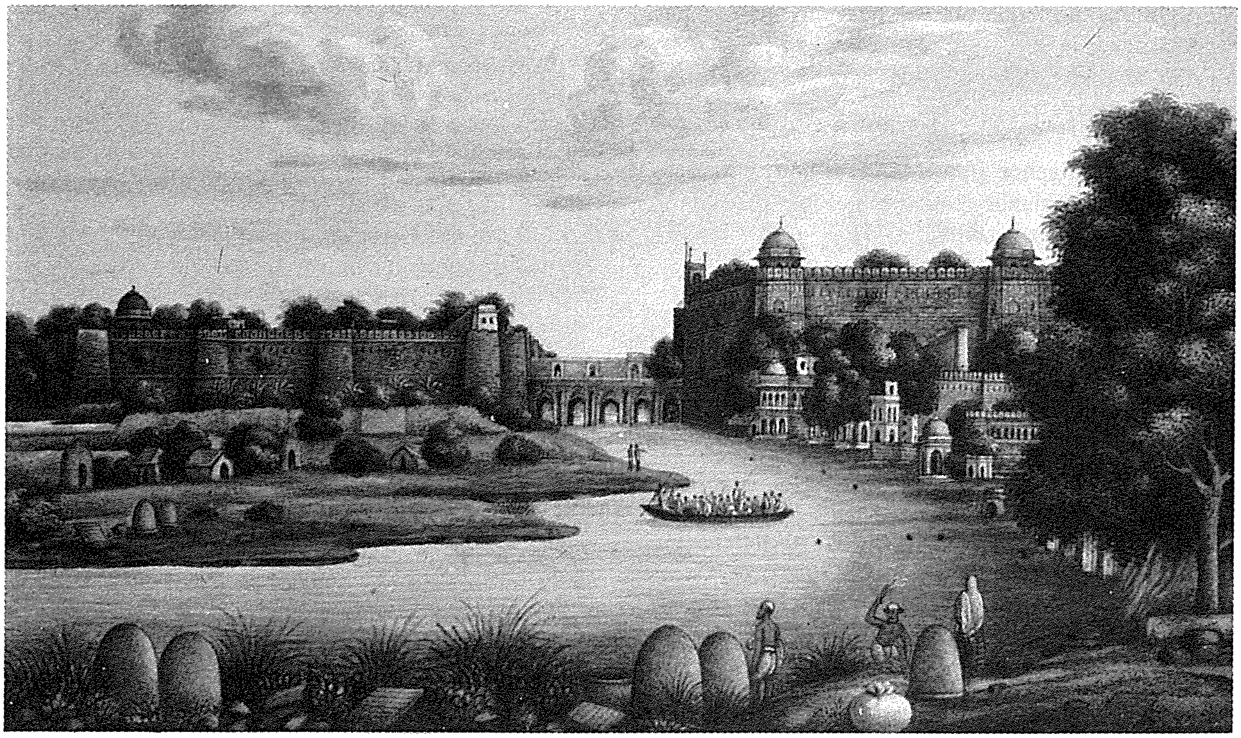


Fig. 6.1 Map of the area of Delhi showing the focal points of imperial visits.

Fig. 6.2 Company artist, Salimgarh connected with the Red Fort by Jahangir's bridge, the Jamuna flowing between them, seen from north. Delhi, first half of 19th century. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Shahjahanabad; this is apparent from a look at the map of Shah Jahan's Red Fort. The intended ideal of a perfect geometry of its plan as an elongated irregular octagon or oblong with chamfered corners (*musamman baghdadi*) was abandoned to include Salimgarh within the lines of defense by means of a wedge-shaped extension in the enclosure wall (Fig. 8.17). That such considerations were hardly dictated by antiquarian interests may be deduced from the way Shah Jahan's builders treated other historical remains in the area. The fourteenth century Tughlaq city of Firuzabad was ruthlessly quarried for the construction of the new capital.

The Tomb of Humayun

The tomb of Humayun was the first of the grand dynastic mausoleums of the Mughals and as such a major statement of Mughal rule (Fig. 6.3). The contemporary texts known so far tell us very little about the history of its construction and nothing about its purpose. However, its sheer size and its well thought out conception which amalgamates Timurid traditions with those of the Delhi Sultanate[68] leave no doubt that it was built as an architectural manifesto of the Mughals as descendants of Timur taking over Hindustan. Clearly it was aimed at eclipsing the earlier mausoleums of the Timurids as well as those of the Delhi Sultans. What the architecture was meant to convey was still obvious to Shah Jahan's court poet, Abu Talib Kalim Kashani:

> From the [steep] stairs of the building [*narduban-i bina*] it can be found out that heavenly majesty has taken place in it.
> From its podium [*kursi*, meaning also throne] men of vision have recognized that an enthroned one reposes here
> Imperial effulgence [*farr-i shahinshahi*] emanates from it—the splendour of the building proclaims: 'Stand back [*dur bash*]!'[69]

Kalim's poetic appraisal of the tomb of Humayun which occurs in the description of Shah Jahan's ancestors in his versified history of the emperor's reign (begun in 1636), deserves special attention because it presents us with the rare explanation of an imperial mausoleum on the part of a Mughal writer. The poet emphasizes the purity of the dome as well as of the whole building: a purity which gives lustre to the flowers of the surrounding garden and to the river Jamuna (whose bank at the time of the construction was close to the tomb garden). The verbal imagery becomes more specific in the verses translated here, which relate characteristic features of the architecture and the overall design of the mausoleum to its purpose of symbolizing Mughal kingship. The aspects it was meant to illustrate here in particular, according to Kalim, were the kingly quality *farr-i shahinshahi* as well as forbidding majesty exacting *dur bash* on the part of the beholder.[70] The *farr-i shahinshahi* (*padshahi*) was believed to be the king's share of the *farr-i izadi* (divine effulgence). Since according to the tradition (*hadis*), the Sultan is 'God's shadow on earth', the divine shadow (*al-zill al-ilahi*) has been assimilated in the *adab* literature to the 'divine effulgence', a Persian concept of a manifestation of the sacred element of fire or light in the person of the rightful ruler, which had evidently endured from Sasanian times but without its original Zoroastrian implications.[71] Although Kalim leaves it open in

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[68] A useful work on the tomb of Humayun is still S.A.A. Naqvi, *Delhi: Humayun's Tomb and Adjacent Buildings* (Delhi, 1946). For a more recent treatment, see G.D. Lowry, 'Humayun's Tomb: Form, Function, and Meaning in Early Mughal Architecture', *Muqarnas*, 4 (1987), pp. 133–48. For a brief new assessment, in particular with regard to its Timurid connections, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, pp. 44–5.

[69] Abu Talib Kalim Kashani, *Badshahnama*, Persian ms., British Library (India Office Library and Records), Ethé 1570, fol. 37a, unpubl. typed manuscript S.M. Yunus Jaffery, pp. 59–60. For a better understanding I also quote the original Persian:

Tawan yaft az narduban-i bina
ki gardun-shukohi dar u karda ja
Zi kursish danista and ahl did
ki sahib-i sariri dar u aramid
Az u farr-i shahinshahi gashta fash
shu'a-yi 'imarat zanad dur bash.

[70] What the Mughals understood by *dur bash* ('Stand back!') can be deduced from Abul Fazl's use of the phrase in the context of Bairam Khan being kept (in 1560) from open rebellion by the *dur bash* 'emanating from the daily increasing fortune of His Majesty the Shahinshah', *Akbarnama*, II, trans., p. 147.

[71] *Farr* is the Arabic adaption of the Avestan *khwar-nah*, the intermediator being the East Iranian *pharro* which appears in Greek letters on coins of the Kushan period. I thank Dr Joachim Deppert for drawing my attention to this etymology. The quotation is from Ghazali's *Book of Counsel for Kings*, trans. F.R.C. Bagley, rpt. (Oxford, 1971), p. xli; cf. also pp. 45, 73–4, 85, 110. For the concept of *farr* in the Indian Sultanate context, see Peter Hardy, 'The Growth of Authority over a Conquered Political Elite: The Earl Delhi Sultanate as a Possible Case Study', in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, ed. J.F. Richards (n. 3 above) in particular p. 200. For the concept of *farr* in the Mughal theory of kingship, see Hardy, 'Abul Fazl's Portrait of the Perfect Padshah: A Political Philosophy for Mughal India—or a Personal Puff for a Pal?', in *Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries*, vol. 2: *Religion and Religious Education*, ed. C.W. Troll (Delhi, 1985), especially p. 117.

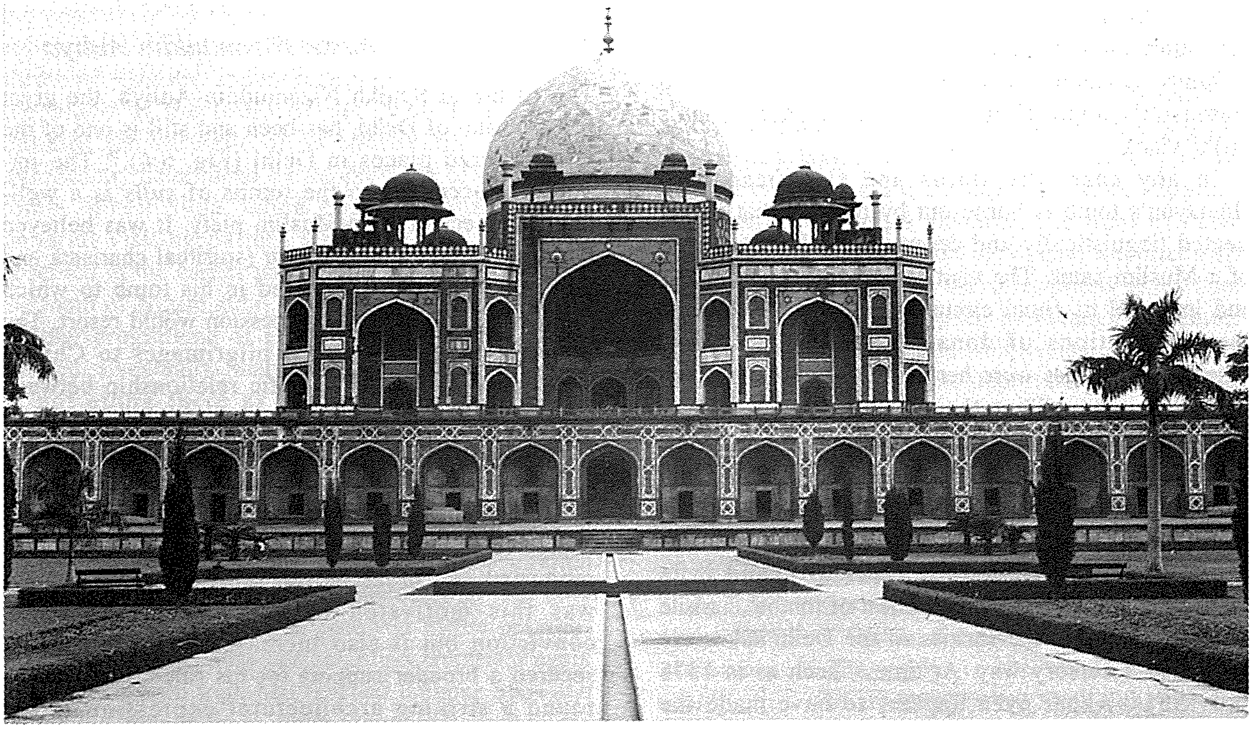
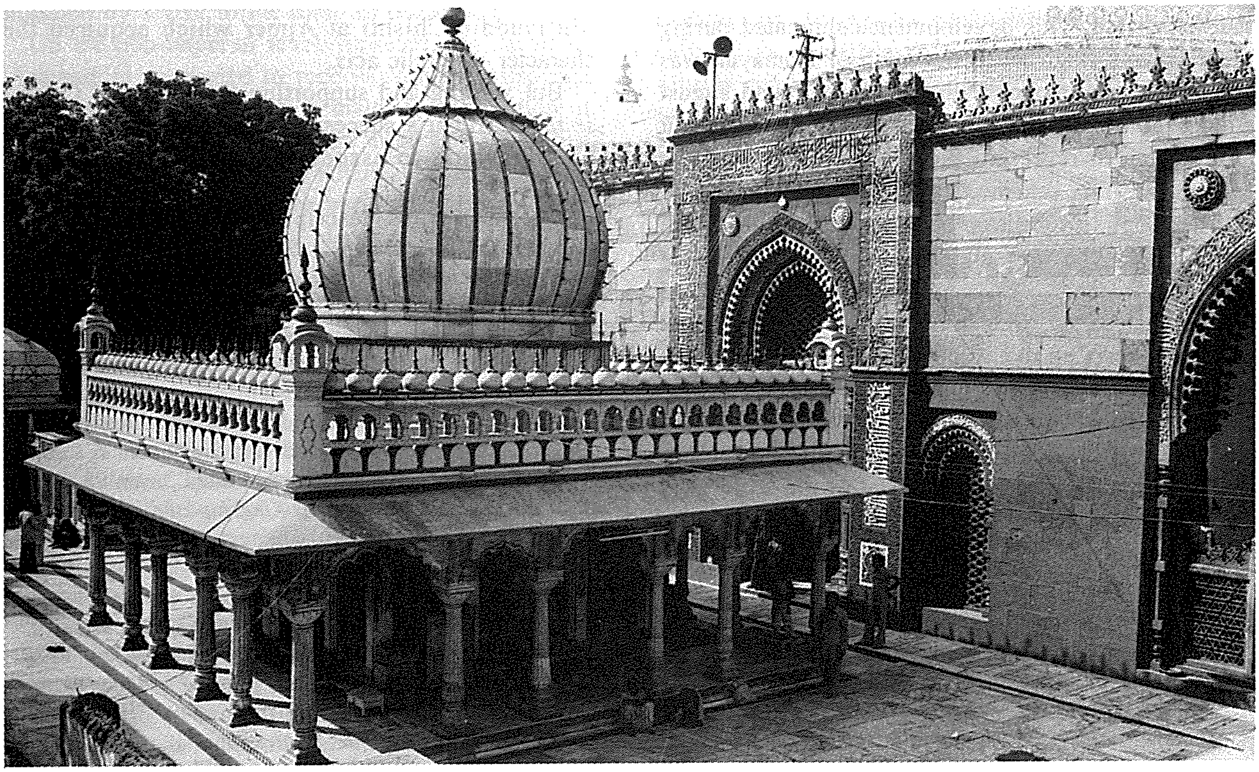


Fig. 6.3 Tomb of Humayun, Delhi. 1562–71.

Fig. 6.4 Tomb of Nizamuddin Auliya, Delhi. 14th–19th century.



which way the tomb expresses *farr-i shahinshahi*, we feel that its veneer of red sandstone—the imperial colour—highlighted with white marble—the colour of Indian shrines—must have played a definite role in such associations. We can, of course, not be sure how far Kalim's interpretation was an afterthought, but he certainly acquaints us with what the Mughals saw in Humayun's tomb during the time of Shah Jahan's Delhi visits.

In any case, the status and significance of Humayun's tomb is borne out by the fact that it was treated linguistically and ceremonially like the tomb of a Muslim saint. The visit to it was termed *ziyarat* and included its ritual circumambulation (*tawaf*) and the distributions of donations and alms. These religious overtones were here directed to the memory of the dynasty. That the cult of dynastic commemoration was eventually to supercede the religious one was already presaged in the time of Akbar. From 1568 onwards, even before the completion of Humayun's mausoleum, Akbar's historians refer explicitly to the emperor's visits to it and even describe it as 'the site of the holiest of tombs',[72] while his pilgrimages to the shrines of the Delhi saints are treated in a cursory way. At times—such as in 1578 and 1581—Akbar even appears to have made the *ziyarat* only to the tomb of his father.[73] Jahangir, too, clearly gave preference to the *ziyarat* to the tomb of Humayun over that of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya which, incidentally, is the only tomb of a Delhi saint that he visited. This development culminated during Shah Jahan's reign when the tomb of Humayun was unambiguously declared 'the most noble and august among the sacred places of that land',[74] and finally it alone came to represent the pilgrimage part of the imperial visiting scheme.

The prominent position of Humayun's tomb is also reflected by the impact it had on its surrounding urban landscape.[75]

For Shah Jahan, who in his artistic enterprises put much emphasis on dynastic themes, Humayun's tomb as the first monumental mausoleum of the Mughals had an additional significance. It was the yardstick by which he measured his own great mausoleum project, the Taj Mahal. The formal concept of the latter goes back to that of Humayun's tomb and not to the mausoleums of his father and grandfather. The importance the tomb of Humayun had for Shah Jahan is also evident from the fact that it was one of the few pre-Shahjahani buildings on which the court poet Kalim was allowed to shower his praises.

The Dargah of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya

The shrine of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, the great Chishti saint of Delhi, has been and still is one of the most revered places in Delhi (Fig. 6.4).[76] The importance accorded to the tombs of *sufi*s is a well-known aspect of Indo-Muslim piety. It was believed that a measure of the *barakat* (spiritual charisma and power) of the saint persisted in his tomb to which those who required his intercession would resort. The imperial Mughal ritual of pilgrimages to Chishti *dargah*s reflected the specific relationship between *sufi*s and kings as exponents of worldly and spiritual power which was already an object of continuous reflection and discussion during the Delhi Sultinate.[77]

Of the Mughals, it was Akbar in particular who expressed reverence to the Chishti saints as the most renowned *sufi* order on the subcontinent. Not only was this motivated by his personal religious conviction but it also increased his prestige and secured a broader support for his rule[78]. His attitude found a striking architectural expression in the construction of his suburban residence at Fathpur Sikri near the *dargah* of Shaikh Salim Chishti. As already pointed out, special emphasis was also placed on his pilgrimages to the shrine of Shaikh Mu'inuddin Chishti at Ajmer which acquired the character of public acts.

But visiting and supporting the tombs of Chishti *shaikh*s, Akbar's successors continued to seek their blessings and to associate themselves with their spiritual power. However, we can observe dynamic changes in the patronage of shrines. In the case of the *dargah* of Nizamuddin Auliya, we noted a distinct withdrawal of Mughal imperial patronage reflected in the practice of its ritual visits which always entailed substantial donations.[79] Humayun's tomb—as the shrine of dynastic commemoration—eventually took the place of the tomb of the Shaikh; although, initially, the very site of its construction had been significantly determined by the presence of the Chishti tomb. When Shah Jahan began to abandon the imperial visiting pattern which he had so strictly observed in the earlier part of his reign, the *ziyarat* to the tomb of Nizamuddin clearly was the station in the visiting programme of Delhi which was most easily omitted. Eventually Shah Jahan even made it a point of not going there as can be deduced from the emperor's Delhi visit of 1645. Before marching north from Agra in connection with his Balkh and Badakhshan campaign, Shah Jahan had planned to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaikh Mu'inuddin Chishti at Ajmer that he had vowed for the restoration of the health of his daughter Jahanara, who was only then recovering from burns received in the previous year. However, because her condition worsened again after the imperial train had reached Fathpur Sikri and visited the *dargah* there, Shah Jahan gave up the idea of continuing to Ajmer and proceeded from there directly to Delhi. Even though he had not fulfilled his promised pilgrimage, he did not make up for this omission by a visit to the tomb of Nizamuddin.[80]

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[72] Nizamuddin Ahmad, II, trans., p. 454.

[73] See note 43 above, in particular III, pp. 360, 547.

[74] Kamboh *'Amal-i Salih* as quoted on p. 170 above.

[75] See Lowry, 'Delhi in the 16th Century', in particular p. 16.

[76] For a detailed description of the whole *dargah* complex, see Zafar Hasan, *A Guide to Nizamuddin, Memoir of the Archaelogical Survey of India*, 10 (Calcutta, 1922). For a consideration of Shaikh Nizamuddin, see Simon Dibgy, 'Tabarrukat and Succession among the Great Chishti Shaykhs of the Delhi Sultanate', in *Delhi through the Ages*, ed. Frykenberg, pp. 63–103.

[77] See Zafar Hasan, *A Guide to Nizamuddin*, pp. 1–6; Simon Digby, 'The Sufi Shaykh and the Sultan: A Conflict of Claims to Authority in Medieval India', *Iran*, 28 (1990), pp. 71–81. Cf. also Richards, *Kingship and Authority*, pp. 256–7, who discusses this aspect for Akbar and the Chishtis.

[78] For a useful brief exposition of the relationship between Akbar and the Chishtis, see D.E. Streusand, *The Formation of the Mughal Empire* (Delhi, 1989), pp. 89–91, with further literature. However, I would not like to quote from this work without pointing out its presumptuous biased approach, in particular towards Indian scholarship.

On the non-imperial level, however, the shrine of Nizamuddin continued to receive Mughal patronage during Shah Jahan's reign. A major reconstruction of the saint's tomb was undertaken in 1652–53 by Shah Jahan's governor of Delhi, Khalilullah Khan.[81] The *dargah* again received more imperial attention when it became one of the burial places of the Mughals in their later days, after they had given up building monumental dynastic mausoleums.[82] On the level of popular religon, the *dargah* has remained a focus of continuous attraction up to the present day.[83]

The Hunting Ground of Palam and Its Minar

The hunting ground in the *pargana* of Palam near Delhi was one of the established hunting grounds (*shikargah muqarrar*, *saidgah muqarrar*) of the Mughal emperors since the days of Akbar. Especially from Jahangir's reign onwards, the hunt at Palam became a prominent station in Mughal imperial visits to Delhi. As noted above, the descriptions of his hunts at Palam take up more space in Jahangir's memoirs than any other aspect of his Delhi visits. That the hunt at Palam was also the most important part of a Delhi visit for Shah Jahan is borne out by 'Inayat Khan's *Shahjahannama*. In this abridged history of Shah Jahan, the hunt at Palam is the only station of a Delhi visit which the author considers worth mentioning, although in 1647/48 he does report on the construction of the new palace of Shahjahanabad.[84] Some Shahjahani authors credit Jahangir with the conception of the palace of Palam; the stylistic evidence points decisively to the early 1630s when the actual construction was undertaken by Shah Jahan.[85] The most outstanding surviving feature of the now almost entirely ruined complex is a hunting tower (now named Hashtsal Minar) modelled after the lowest stage of the famous Qutb Minar built at the end of the twelfth and during the early part of the thirteenth century as a visible sign of the establishment of Muslim rule in northern India (Fig. 6.5). The fact that Shah Jahan had his hunting tower built in the shape of the Qutb Minar (Fig. 11.1) invites various explanations. An interpretation which comes readily to mind is that Shah Jahan felt that an imperial visit to Delhi should also include its oldest landmark and, since the original was out of his way, he had it recast on a smaller scale in his favourite station of a Delhi visit. At the sime time, one has to bear in mind that

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[79] The shift in financial support is clearly reflected by the records of imperial donations made on the occasion of *ziyarat*. In 1634, the *dargah* received 5,000 rupees and Humayun's tomb an unspecified amount. From 1635 onwards, however, the donation of 5,000 rupees was given to Humayun's tomb while the *dargah* received only one more donation of 2,000 rupees in 1638 after which it was no longer visited by Shah Jahan. Since the cessation of Shah Jahan's patronage of the *dargah* goes hand in hand with the construction of his new city, it is most revealing to note that during his visit to the construction site in 1645 he gave the amount of 5,000 rupees to the workmen or to the officers (*'amla*) of the building operations! See the sources quoted in notes 57 and 58, as well as Table 4.

[80] Lahori, II, pp. 407–10.

[81] Zafar Hasan, *A Guide to Nizamuddin*, in particular p. 13.

[82] Ibid., pp. 16–9.

[83] See Digby, 'Tabarrukat', pp. 96–9.

[84] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahanama*, trans. A.R. Fuller, eds. W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai (Delhi, 1990), pp. 120–1, 145, 247, 322, 403 ff.

[85] I have identified Shah Jahan's hunting palace referred to in the texts as being located 'in the pargana of Palam' with the remains of a palace and a *minar* in the village Hashtsal next to Uttam Nagar on the Delhi–Najafgarh Road, some 5 km north-west of present day Palam (see Ebba Koch, 'The Copies of the Qutb Minar', *Iran*, 29 (1991), pp. 95–7, 102, 106, n. 52. See also 'The Copies of the Qutb Minar', this volume.

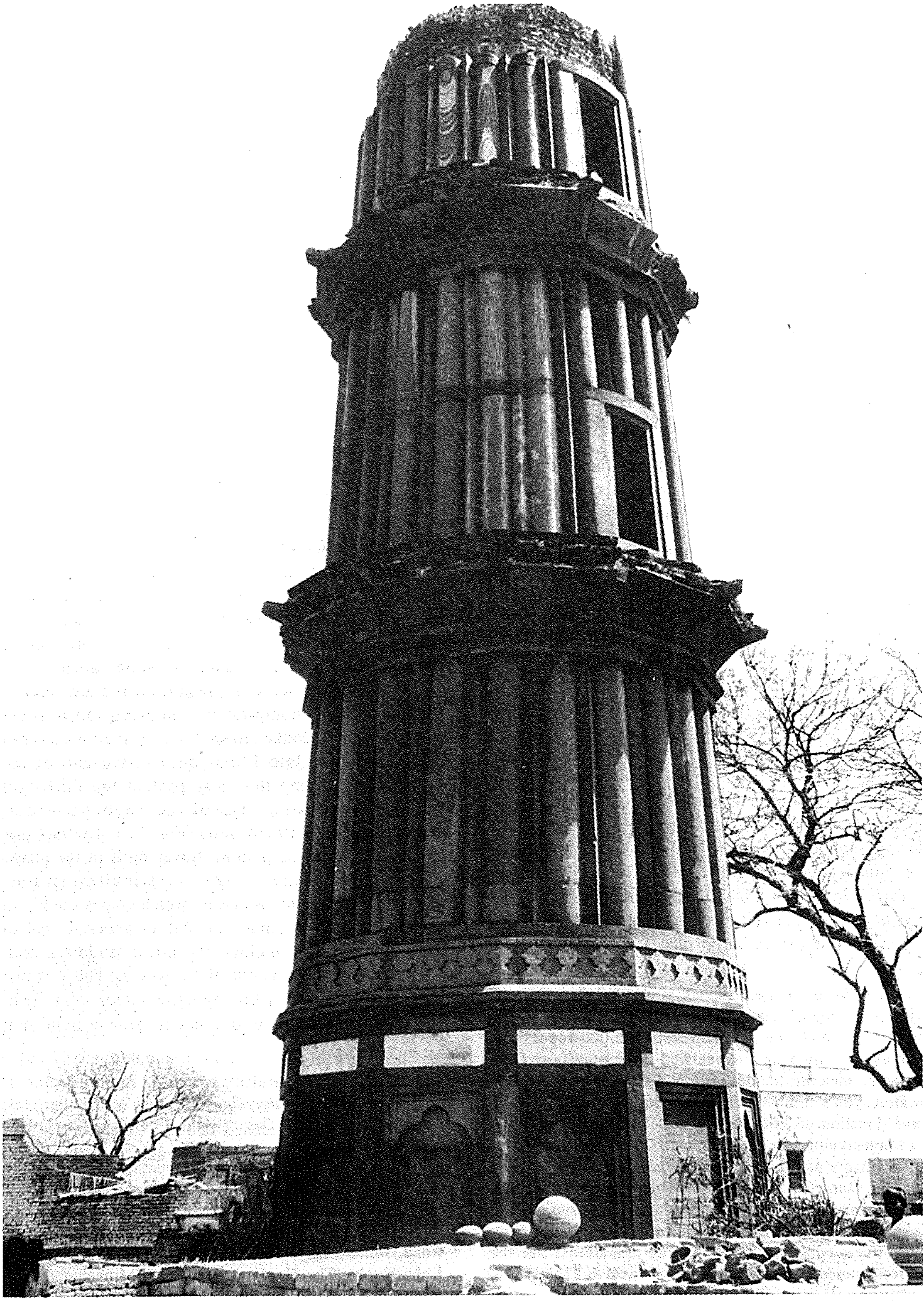

Fig. 6.5 Hashtsal Minar, Delhi, completed in 1634.

such conscious allusions to the Qutb Minar are part of an architectural tradition which can also be observed at Delhi both prior to and after the construction of the Hashtsal Minar. I have attempted to show elsewhere that such references to the first building of Islam at Delhi clearly had a political meaning, namely, to symbolize architecturally the continuity of Muslim rule.[86] I have also suggested that by copying the Qutb Minar for the purpose of a hunting tower Shah Jahan wanted to say more. The tower intended to demonstrate that the emperor's hunting served no frivolous purpose but that he performed here the duties of a just Muslim king. According to the Mughal theory of kingship—patterned here on ancient Persian models—the hunt of the ruler symbolized in a general sense his power to overcome the forces of evil, often meant in a political sense. In a more specific argument, the hunt was defended as a means to know about the condition of the subjects and to administer justice on the spot without any intermediaries. In other words, hunting made it possible to win over the subjects by peaceful means. The hunting tower in the form of the Qutb Minar was thus meant to demonstrate that as a just Muslim king Shah Jahan also conquered his subjects, yet not by physical force—as his forerunners, the first sultans of Delhi had done—but by actions of good government.[87] In the context of Mughal imperial visits to Delhi, the tower and palace represent Shah Jahan's own architectural expression of a time-honoured station in the programme.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, we must remind ourselves that the literary sources transmit to us only the facts but not the significance of the pattern of these imperial visits. However, the conclusions which can be drawn from these facts are evident. If we recapitulate the historical significance of each place visited, we realize that each one represented a particular link of the Mughals to Delhi's past; each location stood for a particular aspect of the historical relationship of the Mughals with Delhi. Salimgarh represented the residential *topos*, Humayun's tomb the dynastic one, the shrine of Nizamuddin Auliya stood for religion and spiritual power, and the hunting ground of Palam, in particular its *minar*, illustrated rulership. In moving from one of these great historical places to the other, the emperor spread a network of Mughal presence over the past of Delhi, creating thereby a Mughal map of the city. However, within this framework, each Mughal emperor adopted the 'choreography' of the visit to suit that aspect of his role which he preferred to emphasize: Babur came as the new Timur, Humayun as the ambiguous 'residential visitor', Akbar as pilgrim, Jahangir as hunter and Shah Jahan—perfecting the earlier aspects—as the ideal king.

The Mughals' selective way of emphasizing the urban landscape of Delhi was a source of legitimation. It was intended to support the contention that the Mughals not merely continued the Sultanate rule but surpassed it in their own ways. The ritual incorporation of the past in an urban context was focused on Delhi as the first capital of Muslim rule in India: we do not get reports of such visits for any of the other Mughal cities. With the construction of Shahjahanabad, the pattern of ritual imperial movements begins to dissolve and after the city's completion is no longer reported. By building his own city, Shah Jahan again made Delhi the capital of the empire and its past was integrated into the day-to-day Mughal present.

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[86] Ibid., pp. 95–107; cf. 'Copies of the Qutb Minar', this volume.

[87] Ibid., pp. 101–2; cf. 'Copies of the Qutb Minar', this volume. See also Koch, *Dara Shikoh Shooting Nilgais*; and id., 'The Just Hunter'.

Appendices

PURANA QIL'A

I shall confine myself to raising a few points which might perhaps help clarify the situation. The main reason why scholars so far have not been able to solve the problem of what was built in the Puran Qil'a by Humayun and what by Sher Shah is that neither the textual nor the archaeological evidence—the two pillars of architectural research—present a clear picture. The textual evidence has given rise to some confusion because of the terminology used by those authors who are expected to provide the main key for solving the issue, in particular Khwandamir, 'Abdullah, and 'Abbas Khan Sarwani. A clear distinction must be made between the terms they use for fortified areas—cities as well as citadels—and those for palaces. Khwandamir in his *Qanun-i Humayuni* (n. 16 above) speaks of Dinpanah as *baldah* or *shahr* and of the palace within it as a *qasr-i khassa badshahi.* Since he also tells us that the city was built on the raised area overlooking the Jamuna, it seems to have been confined to the site of the present Purana Qil'a. This is confirmed by Abul Fazl (*A'in-i Akbari*, II, trans., p. 284) when he says that Humayun's Dinpanah was built on the site of the citadel of Indrapat. Consequently, the fortifications which Khwandamir describes as having been completed in May 1534 as *fasil* (outer wall enclosing the fortress), *bara* (walls), *saur* (? ramparts) and *darwaza* (gates) in all likelihood surrounded the area of the Purana Qil'a only. At the time of the foundation of the city, construction had also started on the palace (situated within the walls) which took the first place in the building programme—as almost a hundred years later in the case of Shahjahanabad. Nowhere is it mentioned that Sher Shah's project involved the destruction of what Humayun had already built, as it is often represented: 'Abdullah in his *Tarikh-i Da'udi* (Text ed., Shaikh Abdur Rashid, introd. I.H. Siddiqi [Aligarh: Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, 1969], pp. 148–9) says that what was destroyed was the *qil'a-i 'Ala'i*, i.e., the fort of 'Alauddin Khalji, that is Siri. (Cf. the trans. of Elliot and Dowson, [n. 14 above], IV, p. 477). 'Abdullah is quite clear that Sher Shah built his new city, described also as fort (*qil'a*) named Shergarh, in the village of Indrapat. Within it was constructed a palace (*kushk*) called Sher Manzil. This is supplemented by 'Abbas Khan Sarwani who (I have not seen the Persian text) describes Sher Shah's works at Delhi as two forts, a smaller residential one and a larger urban one. (See *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*, Eng. trans., Brahamadeva Prasad Ambashthya [Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute 1974] pp. 763–4.) In any case, none of this excludes the possibility that Sher Shah integrated existing constructions by Humayun. Secondly, the architectural evidence does not provide the desired answers because the architectural style which had developed in Delhi during the second quarter of the 16th century bears a strong local flavour not much affected by the respective patron (See E. Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, n. 12, above, pp. 38–9). However, and this has not yet been considered, the features of the Purana Qil'a which have been identified as 'Mughal' could also date from Akbar's period beause we learn that in spring 1560 Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, the governor of Delhi, in anticipation of an attack by Bairam Khan, proceeded to 'strengthen the fort of Delhi and to repair its towers and walls' (*dar istihkam-i qil'a-i Dihli wa marammat-i burj-o-bara*). (See *Akbarnama*, II, text, p. 95, trans. p. 143).

TABLES OF IMPERIAL VISITS TO DELHI

TABLE 1 SITES AT DELHI VISITED BY AKBAR

Salimgarh (Quarters of Shaikh Farid)	*Tomb of Humayun*	*Shrines of Saints (Tomb of Nizam al-Din)*	*Shikargah of Palam*	*Other Places*
		1564		
	1566	1566		
	–	1567		
	1568	1568	1568	
	1570	1570		1570
	1574	1574	?	1574
1577	1577	1577	1577	1577
	1578			
	1581			1581
1585	1585	1585		
1599?	1599			

Sources: Akbarnama; Bada'uni; Nizam al-Din.

TABLE 2 SITES AT DELHI VISITED BY JAHANGIR

Salimgarh	*Tomb of Humayun*	*Tomb of Nizam al-Din*	*Shikargah of Palam*	*Other Places*
	1606	1606		
1608			planned but not carried out	
1619	1619	1619	1619	1619
1621/A	1621A		1621A	1621A
1621/B			?	

Source: Tuzuk.

TABLE 3 SITES AT DELHI VISITED BY SHAH JAHAN

Salimgarh	*Red Fort under Construction*	*Tomb of Humayun*	*Tomb of Nizam al-Din*	*Shikargah of Palam*
1634		1634	1634	1634
1635		1635		1635
1638		1638	1638	1638
	1642–43	1642–43		1642–43
	1645	1645		1645
1647–48	1647–48			

Sources: Lahori; Kamboh.

TABLE 4 DONATIONS IN RUPEES MADE TO SITES AT DELHI BY SHAH JAHAN

Year	*Tomb of Humayun*	*Tomb of Nizam al-Din*	*Red Fort under Construction*	*Other Places*
1634	unspecified	5,000		
1635	5,000			
1638	5,000	2,000		
1642/43	5,000			
1645	5,000		5,000	

Sources: Lahori; Kamboh

7

The Mughal Waterfront Garden*

Gardens belong to the better-studied areas of Mughal patronage. The context, function, and meaning of early Mughal gardens in particular have recently moved to the centre of scholarly interest;[1] their formal aspects have received far less attention, and their typology and the relation between form and function have not as yet been sufficiently considered. Formal analysis will, however, be the major source from which one can expect to draw conclusions when one addresses the theory and design of gardens in a Mughal context. The Mughals were not much inclined to theorize; they expressed their concepts much better in forms than in words.

Babur, the first Mughal, who ruled in India from 1526 to 1530, is credited with having introduced into Hindustan—the Indo-Gangetic plain—the Timurid form of the *chahārbāgh* or *chārbāgh. A chārbāgh* is generally taken to be the Persianate walled-in garden divided by intersecting walkways, ideally but not necessarily, into four compartments (Fig. 7.1 A and B).[2] However, no garden of this description survives

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*Reprinted from *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, edited by Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden, 1997).

Author's note: This article has resulted from a project initiated in 1976 to survey the entire palace architecture of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58) I wish to thank the Archaeological Survey of India, the Indian Army, and the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, for the permission to carry out this survey, and the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, Austria, the Jubiläumfonds der oesterreichischen Nationalbank, and the Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung, Austria, for supporting the project. My thanks also go to Richard A. Barraud for preparing measured drawings from measurements taken by him and myself, and to S.M. Yunus Jaffery and Sussan Babaie for their assistance in the reading and translation of the Mughal texts.

[1] James L. Wescoat, Jr., 'Picturing an Early Mughal Garden', *Asian Art*, 11, 4 (Fall 1989), pp. 59–79; *idem*, 'Landscapes of Conquest and Transformation: Lessons from the Earliest Mughal Gardens in India, 1526–30', *Landscape Journal*, 10 (1991), pp. 105–14; *idem*, 'Gardens versus Citadels: The Territorial Context of Early Mughal Gardens', *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods*, ed. John Dixon Hunt (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1992), pp. 331–58. Wescoat persuasively suggests that Babur placed his gardens outside the citadels or fortress palaces of pre-Mughal rulers in deliberate opposition to them. As symbols of the appropriation of land and 'royal emblems of territorial control' (Wescoat, 'Picturing an Early Mughal Garden', p. 76), the gardens had a definite political meaning. For Catherine Asher the gardens of Babur had a significance beyond mere territorial conquest and the introduction of a new aesthetic; she shows that they also had funerary dynastic and religious associations, and, in the last analysis, were conceived as 'a visual metaphor for his ability to control and order the arid Indian plains and ultimately its population'. See Catherine B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 37; see also pp. 20, 23, *idem.* 'Babur and the Timurid Char Bagh: Use and Meaning', *Mughal Architecture: Pomp and Ceremonies, Environmental Design*, 1991, nos. 1–2, pp. 46–55. Further connotations of early Mughal gardens are delineated by Wescoat, 'Gardens of Invention and Exile: The Precarious Context of Mughal Garden Design during the Reign of Humayun (1530–1556)', *Journal of Garden History*, 10, no. 1 (1990), pp. 106–16.

[2] The form of the *chahārbāgh* is discussed by Ralph Pinder-Wilson, 'The Persian Garden: *Bagh* and *Chahar*

which can be attributed with certainty to Babur or one of his followers.[3] Contemporary accounts provide limited information because they focus on plantation and individual features rather than on the overall garden plan. The growing interest in the Mughals as heirs to Timurid traditions has made the poverty of our understanding of early-Mughal garden form all the more unfortunate. A little more light is brought into the matter by Ahmad Yadgar who, in the 1570's, wrote a history of the Afghan dynasties of India and their struggles against the invading Mughals, Babur and Humayun.[4] Ahmad Yadgar tells us that a *ṭarḥ-bandī-yi khiyābān*, 'plan with walkway(s)', was the most salient, and—in a Hindustani context—revolutionary feature of Babur's first garden at Agra.[5] The whole passage reads:

> And in the second year of his reign [in India] Hażrat Gitī Sitānī [i.e., Babur] laid out a garden without equal on the bank of the river Jamna. And it was the first example of the plan with walkway(s) in Hindustan. Before that the plan with walkway(s) was not used in Hindustan. . . . And on the pattern of this garden Mirza Kamran [Babur's son] made another garden at Lahore.[6]

This characterization—helpful as it is—still leaves room for a range of possibilities. Did Babur's primordial *chārbāgh*, named the Bagh-i Hasht Bihisht, have a single walkway, or did it show two or more intersecting walkways? The latter version is suggested by the evidence provided by all surviving Mughal gardens in the plains of Hindustan. But here again arise questions: Did Babur's first *chārbāgh* show the intersection of walkways in the centre which would imply the canonical four-part form (Fig. 7.1 A)? Did it have several intersections along one axis which would produce an overall rectangular plan (Fig. 7.1 B)? Or did it merely have a feature with intersecting walkways integrated somewhere in its design, as *pars pro toto* so to say (Fig. 7.1 C)? The last solution is suggested by the remains of Babur's only surviving garden, the Bagh-i Nilufar. Carved between 1527 and 1529 out of the rocky plateau of Dholpur[7] on what seems to have been a rather

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Bagh', *The Islamic Garden* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1976), in particular pp. 79 ff. Lisa Golombek, 'From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal', *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. A. Daneshvari (Malibu, 1981), p. 47, addresses the problem whether the Timurid *chahārbāgh* described a garden divided into four quarters or rather a garden containing quadripartite beds. Cf. Wescoat, 'Picturing an Early Mughal Garden', p. 69. I return to this point below. Yet another version of the Timurid *chārbāgh* is analysed later in this essay. It is also possible that, at times, the term *chārbāgh* was extended to any architecturally planned garden; see Pinder Wilson, p. 81. The *chārbāgh* of Darwesh Muhammad Tarkhan in Samarqand, for instance, had, according to Babur's description, two or more terraces; Żahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, English trans. A.S. Beveridge (1921; rpt. New Delhi, 1970), pp. 80–1. For a new English trans. with a highly useful transcription of the Chaghatay Turkish text and its Mughal Persian translation, see Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Mirza, *Baburnama*, 3 vols, Turkish Sources 16 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1993); for the garden of Darwesh Muhammad Tarkhan, see 1, pp. 96–7. The terrace feature of the garden is described as *martaba martaba* in the Turkish and Persian text; omitted in the English trans.

[3] Howard Crane, 'The Patronage of Zahir al-Din Babur and the Origins of Mughal Architecture', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. 1 (1987), pp. 108–10, provides a catalogue of Babur's buildings and gardens.

[4] The author, who describes himself as a servant of the Sur kings, compiled his work *Tārīkh-i Shāhi* or *Tārīkh-i Salātīn-i Afāghina* (ed. M. Hidayat Husayn [Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,1939]) on the order of Da'ud Shah Kararani ruling at south Bihar from 1572 to 1576 when Bengal was overrun and incorporated into the Mughal Empire. See D.N. Marshall, *Mughals in India: A Bibliographical Survey*, vol. 1 (Bombay, 1967), p. 51.

[5] For the primordial Agra *chārbāgh* which was named Bagh-i Hasht Bihisht, see Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, pp. 531–3, 537, 543, 544, 616, 634, 686; cf. Thackston, 3, pp. 643–5, 658–61, 734–5, 750–1, 802–3. Zayn Khān, *Tabaqāt-i Bāburī*, trans. S.H. Askari, annot. B.P. Ambastha (Delhi,1982), pp.156–61; Abu'l Fażl, *Akbar nāma*, Persian text eds. Āghā Aḥmad 'Alī and 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 3 vols. (Calcutta: 1873–86), 1, pp. 105; trans. H. Beveridge, 3 vols. (1902–39; 2nd rpt. Delhi,1979), 1, pp. 258; Muḥammad Amīn or Amīnā-yi Qazwīnī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, Persian ms., British Library: Oriental and India Office Collections (henceforth quoted as BL), Or. 173, fol. 26a, Persian pagination, 27a library pagination; Muḥammad Ṣaliḥ Kambō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ or Shāh Jahān-nāma*, rev. Persian text ed. Waḥid Qurayshī based on the Calcutta ed. (1912–46) by Ghulam Yazdānī, 2nd edn., 3 vols. (Lahore, 1967–72), 1, pp. 19.

[6] *Wa ba-sāl-i duwum-i julūs Hażrat Gītī Sitānī bar lab-i dariyā-yi Jawn bāghī bī-nażīr buniyād kardand. Ṭarḥ-bandī-yi khiyābān auwal dar Hindūstān namūdār shud. Wa illā dar Hindūstān pīsh azīn ṭarḥ-bandī-yi khiyābān na-būd. . . . . Wa bar tartīb-i īn bāgh Mīrzā Kāmrān dar Lāhāur bāghī dīgar tartīb dād.* Aḥmad Yādgār, *Tārīkh-i Shāhī*, ed. M. Hidayat Husayn, pp.120–1. Cf. the translation of H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, 8 vols. (1867–77; rpt. Lahore, 1976) 5, pp. 38: '. . . and pathways were introduced into Hindustan for the first time, not having been in use before.'

[7] Bābur, *Bābur-nāmā*, trans. Beveridge, pp. 585, 606–7, 615, 634, 639, 642; cf. trans. and text. ed. Thackston, 3, pp. 702–3, 723–4, 732–3, 750–1, 758–9.

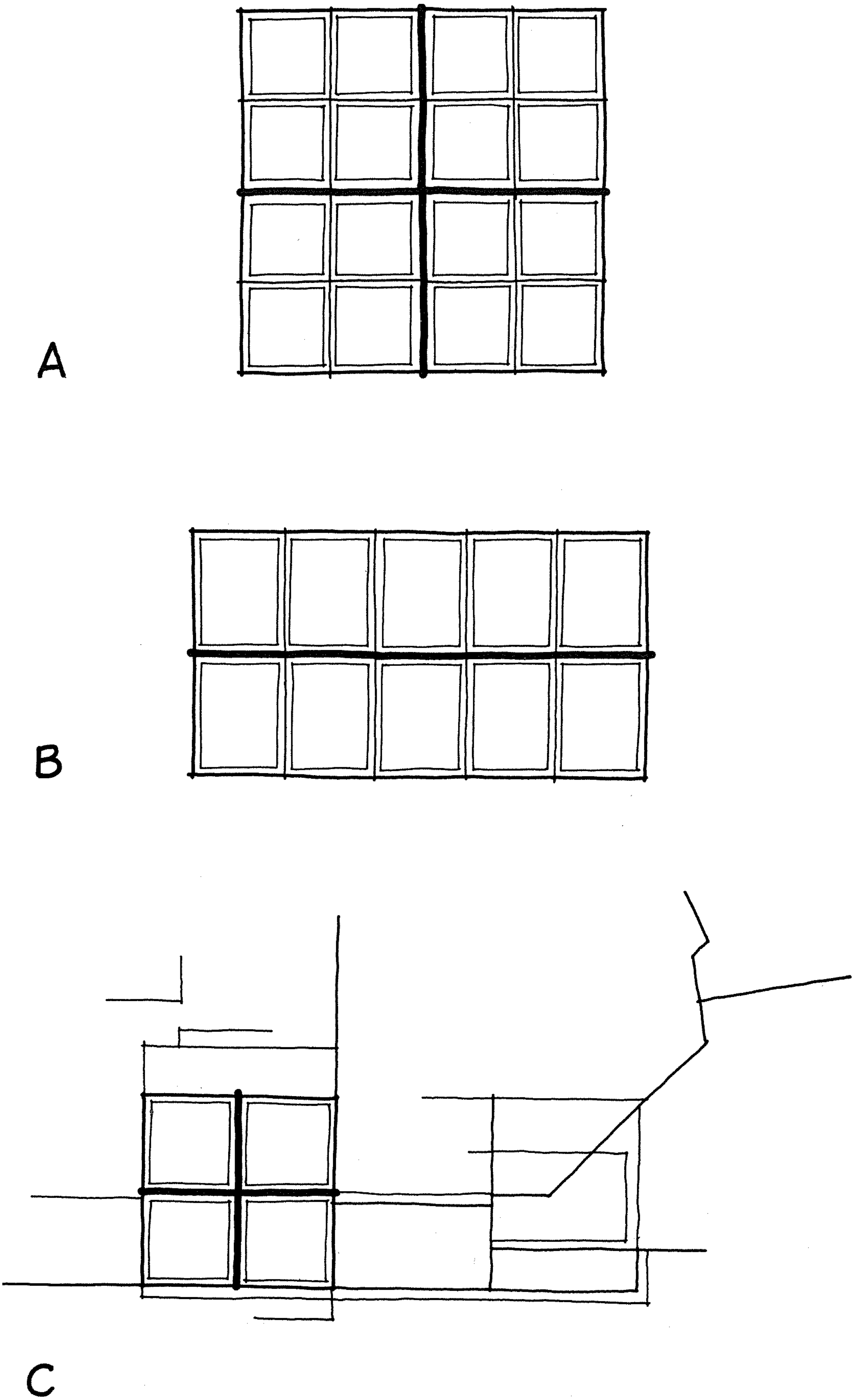

Fig. 7.1 *Chārbāgh* variants.

irregular plan,[8] the extravagant Lotus garden appears to have had more in common with contemporary Mannerist gardens of Italy than with a *chārbāgh* of the Persianate tradition. But this is what Babur called it,[9] and he perhaps applied the term because of the cross-axial feature of the pool and its four channels, or because of another four-part feature which has not survived.

Babur himself fails to inform us of the overall design of his gardens. Although he repeatedly draws attention to the fact that they were symmetrically planned and well laid out—features he considered new and noteworthy in a Hindustani context[10]—Babur was obviously less preoccupied with the plan of his gardens than with another aspect, namely their supply of running water.[11] In his pre-Indian gardens, such as the Bagh-i Wafa, newly founded in 1508–09 near Jalalabad in present-day Afghanistan,[12] or the garden at Istalif near Kabul refashioned by Babur in 1519,[13] there would be a spring or a small stream on a hillside which would determine the layout of the whole garden.[14]

After the conquest of Kashmir, the Mughals could easily transfer this concept into the celebrated landscape of the valley, but the gardens they established on the Indo-Gangetic plain had to be conceived with another kind of available water source in mind, namely a large river.[15] Consequently, Babur and his followers laid out their first gardens at Agra on the banks of the river Yamuna or Jamna, announcing thereby a new era in the evolution of the city (Figs. 7.2, 3, 4, 5). The riverfront site was not only to become a major factor in the urban planning of the Mughals, but it was also to have a decisive impact on the design of Mughal gardens of the plains. I have touched on these two points before,[16] but I should like again to make them the subject of my investigation in the light of new findings.

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[8] Elizabeth B. Moynihan, 'The Lotus Garden Palace of Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur', *Muqarnas*, 5 (1988), pp. 135–52, in particular fig. 4. Our Fig. 7.1 C is based loosely on this plan.

[9] Bābur, *Bābur-nāmā*, trans. Beveridge, p. 615; trans. and text ed. Thackston, 3, pp. 732–3.

[10] Bābur, *Bābur-nāmā*, trans. Beveridge, pp. 519, 531 f.; trans. and text ed. Thackston, 3, pp. 642–3. Cf. Zayn Khān, *Tabaqāt-i Bāburī*, p.160.

[11] Bābur, *Bābur-nāmā*, trans. Beveridge, pp. 465, 531 f., 581; trans. and text ed. Thackston, 3, pp. 560–1, 642–5, 696–7. Babur generally uses this criterion to judge gardens; for instance, in his eyes the main defect of the *chārbāgh* of Darwesh Muhammad Tarkhan at Samarqand was that it had no stream (trans. Beveridge, p. 81; trans. and text ed. Thackston, 1: 96–7).

[12] In 1508–9, I had constructed a *charbagh* garden called Bagh-i Wafa on a rise to the south of the Adinapur fortress. It overlooks the river, which flows between the fortress and the garden. It yields many oranges, citrons and pomegranates. . . . The ground is high, with constant running water, and the weather is mild in winter. In the middle of the garden is a small hill . . . from which a one-mill stream always flows through the garden. The *charchaman* [four garden plots; was this the feature which made the garden a *chārbāgh*?] in the middle of the garden is situated atop this hill. In the southwest portion of the garden is a ten-by-ten pool surrounded by orange trees and also pomegranate trees. All around the pool is a clover meadow. The best place of the garden is there. When the oranges turn yellow it is a very beautiful sight—really beautifully laid out.

(Bābur, *Bābur-nāmā*, trans. and text ed. Thackston, 2, pp. 272–3; cf. trans. Beveridge, pp. 208–9) .

[13] There are few places known to equal Istalif. . . . In this village is a garden called Bagh-i Kalan. . . . From the middle of the garden a one-mill stream flows constantly. On the banks of the stream are plane and other trees. Formerly the stream ran higgledy-piggledy, but I ordered it to be straightened. Now it is a very beautiful place.

(Bābur, *Bābur-nāmā*, trans. and text ed. Thackston, 2, pp. 280–3; cf. trans. Beveridge, pp. 216–17).

[14] For this feature in the Timurid context, see Golombek, 'From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal', p. 47.

[15] 'Most of the provinces of Hindustan are located on flat terrain. So many cities and so many provinces—yet there is no running water anywhere. The only running water is in the large rivers. There are still waters in some places, and even in cities that have the capability of digging channels for running water they do not do so' (Bābur, *Bābur-nāmā*, trans. and text ed. Thackston, 3, pp. 584–5; see also pp. 586–7; cf. the trans. of Beveridge, pp. 486–7). Rivers also determined, of course, the sites of the earlier Timurid gardens of Samarqand and Herat; the elaborate system of canals (which Babur missed in Hindustan) allowed, however, for sites more independent of rivers, often on the slopes of hills. On the geographical setting and the irrigation system of Timurid Central Asia and Khurasan, see Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 1, pp. 19–29; for gardens, see especially pp. 174–8; vol. 2, maps 7 and 8; Terry Allen, *Timurid Herat*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, no. 56, eds. H. Gaube and W. Röllig (Wiesbaden, 1983), in particular pp. 51–5 and maps 1 and 2; Bernard O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1987), pp. 1–2, 15–16, 104–6; Wescoat, 'Garden Versus Citadels', pp. 342–55.

[16] Ebba Koch, 'Notes on the Painted and Sculptured Decoration of Nur Jahan's Pavilions in the Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan) at Agra', in *Facets of Indian Art*, eds. R. Skelton *et al.* (London, 1986), in particular pp. 51–4; *idem*, 'The Zahara Bagh (Bagh-i Jahanara) at Agra', *Environmental Design*, 1986, no. 2, pp. 30–7; *idem*, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development*

The riverfront garden scheme at Agra seems to have been adopted to a certain extent for the new residential quarters of the Mughals at Lahore, as the garden Mirza Kamran built there on the pattern of Babur's first garden at Agra[17] testifies.[18] By the time of Akbar (r. 1556–1605), we have evidence for a similar urban development at Delhi. The Jesuit father Monserrate described Mughal Delhi in 1581 as having many lovely gardens and residential suburban quarters filled with a rich profusion of fruit (trees) and flowers on both sides of the Jamna which, at that time, flowed close to the city on the east.[19]

More weight, however, was given to the development of Agra as a riverbank city because in 1558 Akbar had moved the imperial headquarters from Delhi to Agra, and it had again become the main capital of the Mughal Empire, or, in the words of Akbar's historian Abu'l Fazl, the 'abode of the Caliphate and centre of the Sultanate' (*dār al-khilāfat wa markaz al-sulṭanat*). Abu'l Fazl further tells us that 'abodes [*manāzil*] were distributed to the grandees . . . on either side [of the river] the servants of fortune's threshold [i.e., the court] erected pleasant houses and made charming gardens' (*az do jānib . . manāzil-i dilgushāy wa busātīn dilkash tartīb dādand*).[20] From Abu'l Fazl's description it is evident that Akbar's Agra already appeared very much as it is shown on the early eighteenth-century map in the Jaipur City Palace Museum.[21] The Mughal city consisted of bands of gar-dens lining both sides of the river Jamna (Figs. 7.2, 3, 4, 5).

Mughal Agra certainly continued to develop as a riverbank garden city in Jahangir's time. Francisco Pelsaert tells us that

> the breadth of the city is by no means so great as the length, because everyone has tried to be close to the riverbank, and consequently the waterfront is occupied by the costly palaces of all the famous lords, which make it appear very gay and magnificent.[22]

(1526–1858) (Munich, 1991), pp. 33 f., 86–8, 99. James L. Wescoat, Jr., 'Early Water Systems in Mughal India', *Environmental Design*, 1985, no. 2, pp. 50–7, while realizing the relevance of rivers for Mughal gardens, has not explained in which way the riverfront situation affected their design. He merely draws attention to the fact that many of the gardens related to the outside landscape by being open to the river.

[17] See n. 6 above. It seems that the garden was laid out on the bank of the river Ravi. It is traditionally identified with the site called Kamran's Baradari (recently heavily restored) on an island in the river Ravi (Saifur Rahman Dar, *Some Ancient Gardens of Lahore*, 2nd edn. [1977; Lahore, 1989], p. 9), but the surviving constructions there date certainly from the seventeenth century. See James L. Wescoat Jr., Michael Brand and M. Naeem Mir, 'The Shahdara Gardens of Lahore: Site Documentation and Spatial Analysis', *Pakistan Archaeology*, 25 (1990), pp. 358–62. However this does not exclude the possibility that the site is indeed that of the garden of Mirza Kamran and that its buildings were rebuilt at a later date. It was usual for Mughal gardens to pass through a chain of successive owners which led to repeated remodelling.

[18] Wescoat, 'Gardens of Invention and Exile', pp. 110–11. Wescoat postulates a riverfront garden scheme for Lahore similar to that of Agra, but it still has to be substantiated by textual and/or archaeological evidence. Father Anthony Monserrate who accompanied Akbar on his expedition to Kabul in 1581 reports a riverfront garden scheme for Delhi, but not for Lahore (see n. 19 below).

[19] *'Porro hortorum amoenitatem, trans, et citra Jomanem (qui ad ortum solis, urbem pene contingit) et suburbana, longum esset recensere, cum multa sint; et coeli clementia, omnium frugum, fructuumque ubertate praestantia'.* Father Anthony Monserrate, S.J., *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius or The First Jesuit Mission to Akbar*, Latin text, ed. H. Hosten, S.J., *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 3/9 (Calcutta, 1914), p. 590; Eng. trans. J.S. Hoyland, *Commentary of Father Monserrate*, annot. S.N. Banerjee (London, 1922), pp. 97–8. At that time Mughal Delhi was situated in the area between the Purana Qil'a, the Dargah of Nizamuddin, and the tomb of Humayun. See G.D. Lowry, 'Delhi in the 16th Century', *Environmental Design*, 1983, no. 1, pp. 7–17; Ebba Koch, 'The Delhi of the Mughals Prior to Shahjahanabad as Reflected in the Patterns of Imperial Visits', this volume. No physical evidence of these gardens has been discovered so far.

[20] Abu'l Fażl, *Akbar-nāma*, vol. 2, Persian text, pp.76–7; trans., pp.117–18. For the further development of the riverfront garden scheme in 1560, see ibid., Persian text, pp. 122–3, trans., pp. 187–8.

[21] Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, no. 126. The map on cloth measuring 294 × 272 cm. inscribed in *Devanāgarī* is so far the best document available on Mughal Agra. It was first published by Chandramani Singh, 'Early 18th-Century Painted City Maps on Cloth', in *Facets of Indian Art*, pp.185–92; and, with a colour illustration, by Susan Gole, *Indian Maps and Plans: From the Earliest Times to the Advent of European Surveys* (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 199–201. I am grateful to the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum for permission to photograph and publish the map, and to Dr. B.M. Jawalia, Keeper of Manuscripts, for assisting me in its reading.

[22] *Jahangir's India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, trans. W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl (1925; rpt. Delhi, 1972), pp. 2 ff. A similar statement is made by William Finch, 'William Finch, 1608–11', *Early Travels in India, 1583–1619*, ed. William Foster (1921; rpt. New Delhi, 1985), p. 185: 'Most of the noble mens houses are by the rivers side.' Pelsaert (p.1) also tells us that 'the luxuriance of the groves all round makes it resemble a royal park rather than a city'. There were no building restrictions 'and everyone acquired and purchased the plot of land which suited or pleased him best.'

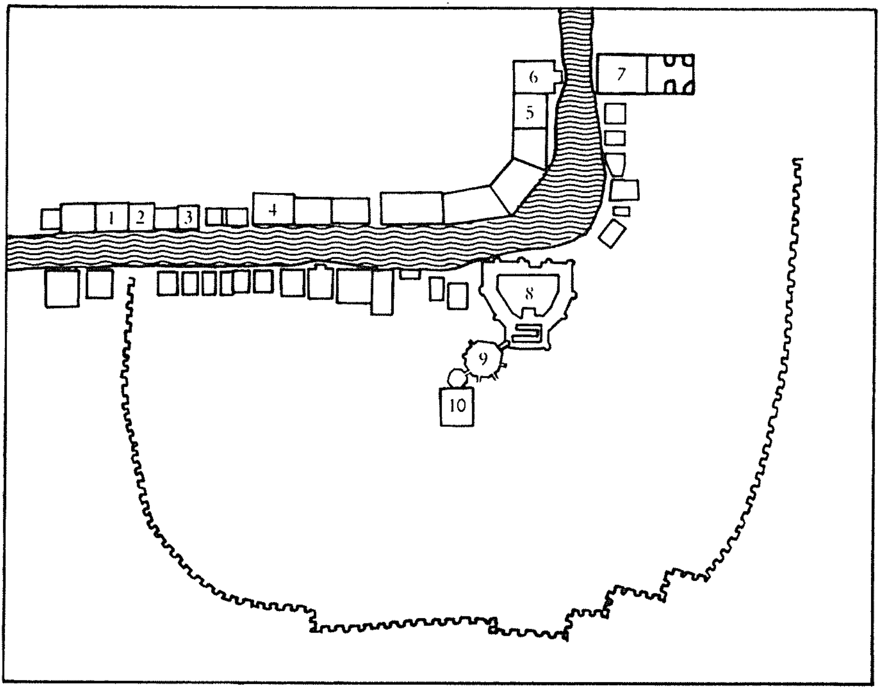
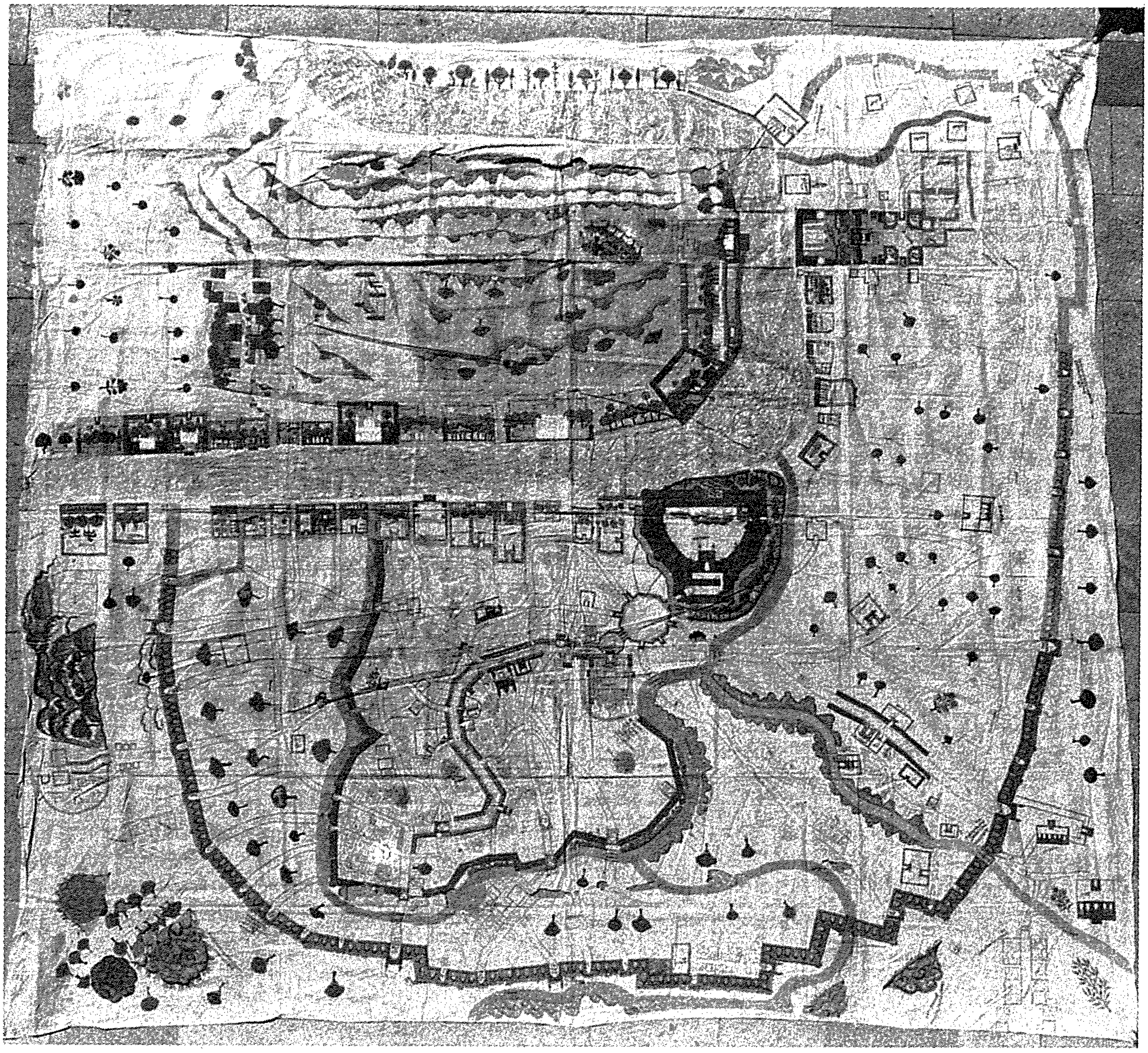


Fig. 7.2 Line drawing of map of Agra, cf. Fig. 7.3. (1) Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan), (2) Zahara Bagh (Bagh-i Jahanara), (3) Chini ka Rawza (tomb of Afzal Khan), (4) tomb of I'timad al-Dawla, (5) Chaharbagh Padshahi (Bagh-i Hasht Bihisht?), (6) Mahtab Bagh, (7) Taj Mahal, (8) Red Fort, (9) Octagonal bazaar (not preserved), (10) Jami' Masjid.

Fig. 7.3 Map of Agra inscribed in *Devanāgarī* script. Early 18th century. Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur.



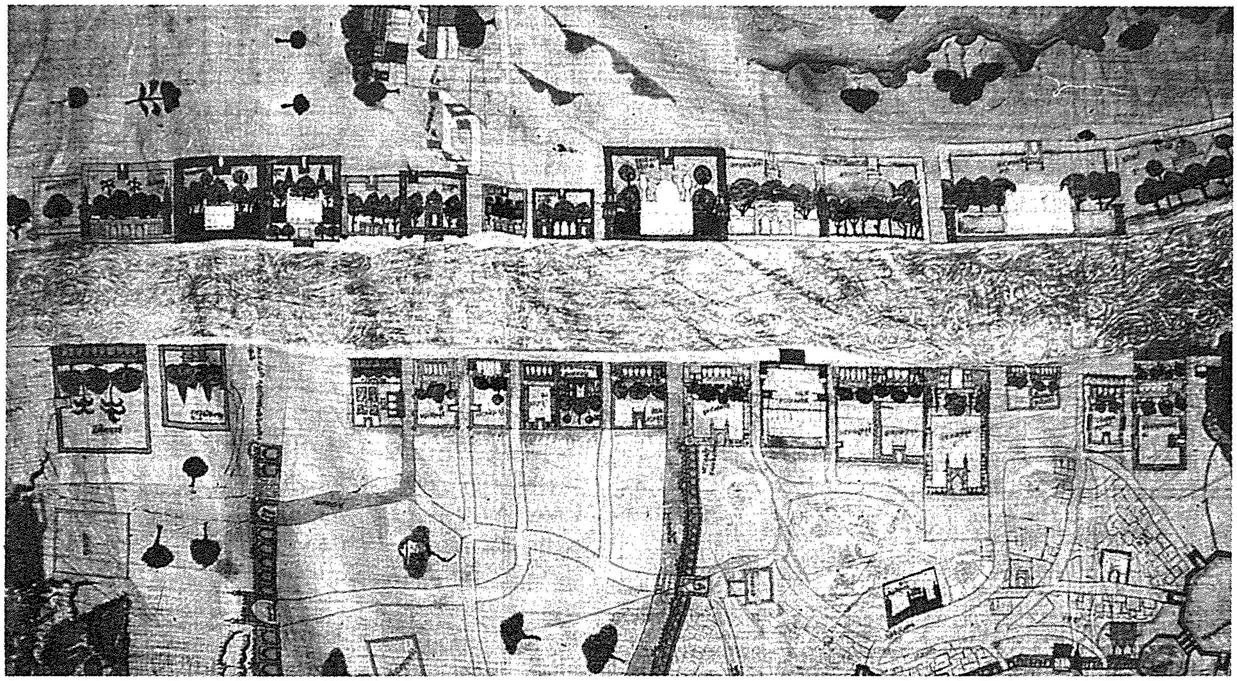
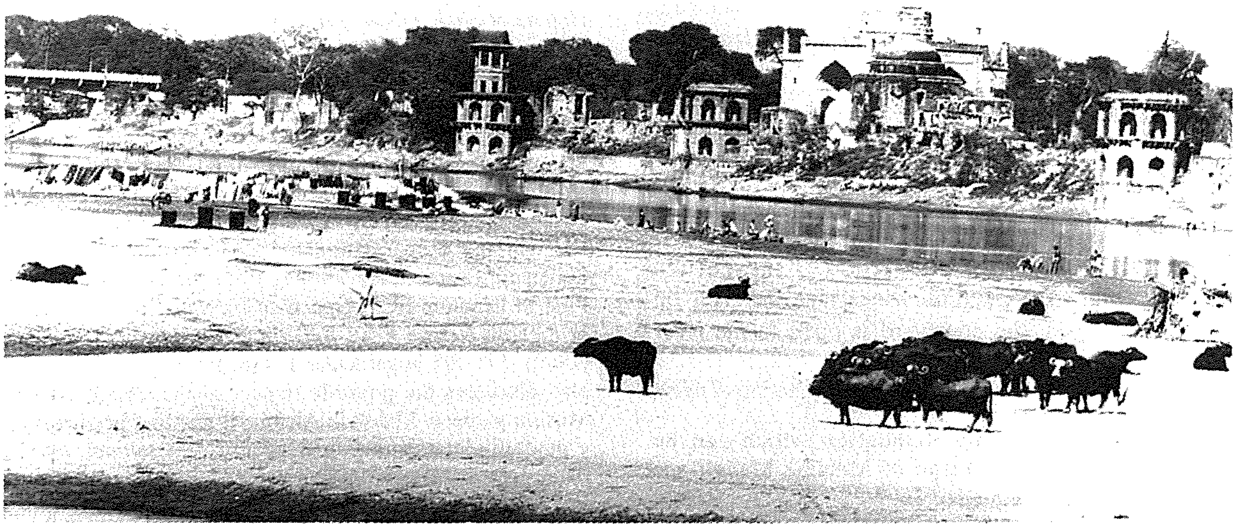


Fig. 7.4 Map of Agra. Detail with the riverfront scheme.

Fig. 7.5 View of east bank of Jamna showing the surviving riverfront structures from the Zahara Bagh to the Chini ka Rawza.



Pelsaert, who saw the city in the 1620s, lists thirty-three gardens with their names; about a third of them were created or remodelled during Jahangir's reign.

From this period also date the earliest preserved Mughal riverfront gardens which can be securely identified and dated. These include the Ram Bagh built, or rebuilt, by Nur Jahan as Bagh-i Nur Afshan in 1621[23] and the Zahara Bagh, a distorted form of Bagh-i Jahanara, built in the late 1620s by Mumtaz Mahal (Figs. 7.5, 6). The garden belonged later to Shah Jahan's favourite daughter Jahanara, who had inherited it from her mother.[24] In seventeenth-century Mughal India to bequeath a large, architecturally planned garden to one's children was an imperial prerogative, only exceptionally extended to a member of the imperial family and the nobility. Muslim nobles in particular were limited in their rights to own inheritable property, bequeath it to their heirs, or to endow *awqaf*. Gardens generally reverted to the crown unless their owners had converted them into tomb gardens.

The Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan) (Fig. 7.6) and the Zahara Bagh (Bagh-i Jahanara) are the earliest preserved examples of a garden design which eventually became typical of riverfront Agra. In this garden form the main buildings were not placed in the centre of the garden, but were set on a terrace (*kursī*) built along the riverbank. On the landward side of the terrace was the garden, a *chārbāgh* subdivided into (four) garden plots by intersecting paved walkways or *khiyābān*s which may contain water channels. The buildings on the riverfront terrace were framed by the corner towers of the enclosure wall of the garden. This arrangement provided the main garden pavilions with the climatic advantages as well as the view of the river and presented a carefully composed front to those who saw it from a boat or across the river (Figs. 7.5, 8, 13). The riverfront group could be viewed from both sides: from the inside the buildings presented an equally satisfying backdrop for the garden (Figs. 7.9, 11).

In the Ram Bagh the main group of riverfront buildings consists of two oblong pavilions forming the wings of an open courtyard on a terrace with a sunken pool in the middle; the whole ensemble is placed in the southern riverfront of the garden (Fig. 7.6). Since the pavilion wings face the river on their shorter sides, the courtyard is open to the river (as well as to the landward side) and the ensemble does not present a pronounced façade towards the river.[25] More typical of the scheme are the versions where a single large pavilion on its terrace is placed in the centre of the frontage flanked by subsidiary wings or smaller structures. This scheme appeared in the Zahara Bagh,[26] but—like all other residential gardens of Agra—it is not very well preserved. Therefore, a garden from Shah Jahan's hunting palace at Bari (completed in 1637), so far unpublished, will have to serve as a blueprint for the type.[27]

The small isolated garden, today called Dhobi Mahal, is one of several walled-in complexes laid out on the shores of a lake, which there takes the place of the river (Figs. 7.7, 8, 9). The enclosure is rectangular (ca. 48m. × 34m., without gate) and surrounded on three sides by a wall; the fourth side on the waterfront is taken up by the wing with the garden building. The waterfront wing consists of a raised terrace (*kursī*) with the main pavilion in the centre flanked by symmetrically arranged pillared wings; in front of the main pavilion is a sunken pool (*ḥawż*). The terrace arrangement is combined with a lower garden in the shape of an oblong four-part *chārbāgh* with a pool (*ḥawż*) at the intersection of its paved walkways (*khiyābān*s) which contain shallow channels. This oblong *chārbāgh* is a purely residential form and does not appear in the funerary gardens of the Mughals.[28] The garden was also surrounded by a paved walkway.

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[23] Koch, 'Notes on the Painted and Sculptured Decoration', pp. 51–65.

[24] So far it is the only foundation which can be connected with the patronage of Mumtaz Mahal; see Koch, 'The Zahara Bagh', pp. 30–7.

[25] For a detailed plan of the terrace with the pavilions, see Koch, 'Notes on the Painted and Sculptured Decoration', pp. 52–3; and idem, *Mughal Architecture*, Figs. 97, 98.

[26] For a sketch plan, see Koch, 'Zahara Bagh', p. 36. The plan is derived from R.A. Jairazbhoy, 'Early Garden-Palaces of the Great Mughal', *Oriental Art*, N.S. 4 (1958), p. 71.

[27] I present here the first results of a detailed survey of the palace complex carried out since 1978. The documentation will be fully published in my forthcoming book, *Hunting Palaces, Suburban Residences and Summer Houses of Shah Jahan.* For a brief description of the palace of Bari, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, pp. 103–5.

[28] It appears also in other Shahjahani palace gardens such as the Anguri Bagh of the Agra Fort (see Fig. 7.10). If we are to trust the much published reconstruction of David Stronach, the oblong *chārbāgh* would have such an early antecedent as the Achaemenid *chārbāgh* in the palace of Pasargadae founded by Cyrus the Great (r. 559–530 BC; see, for instance, Stronach, 'The Garden as Political Statement: Some Case Studies from the Near East in the First Millennium BC', *Aspects of Iranian Culture in Honor of Richard Nelson Frye*, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. (1990): 171–80, in particular 174–8, fig. 3, where the author also discusses the possible impact of the design on later Muslim gardens. Mahvash Alemi, 'Il giardino persiano: tipi e modelli', in *Il giardino islamico: architettura, natura, paesaggio*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Milan, 1994), p. 39, sees too much conjecture in Stronach's reconstruction.

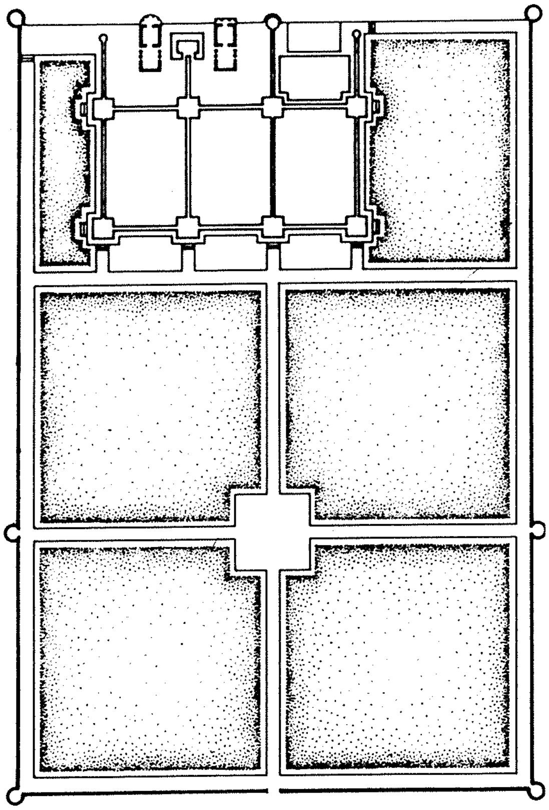


Fig. 7.6 Reconstructed plan of the Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan), Agra.

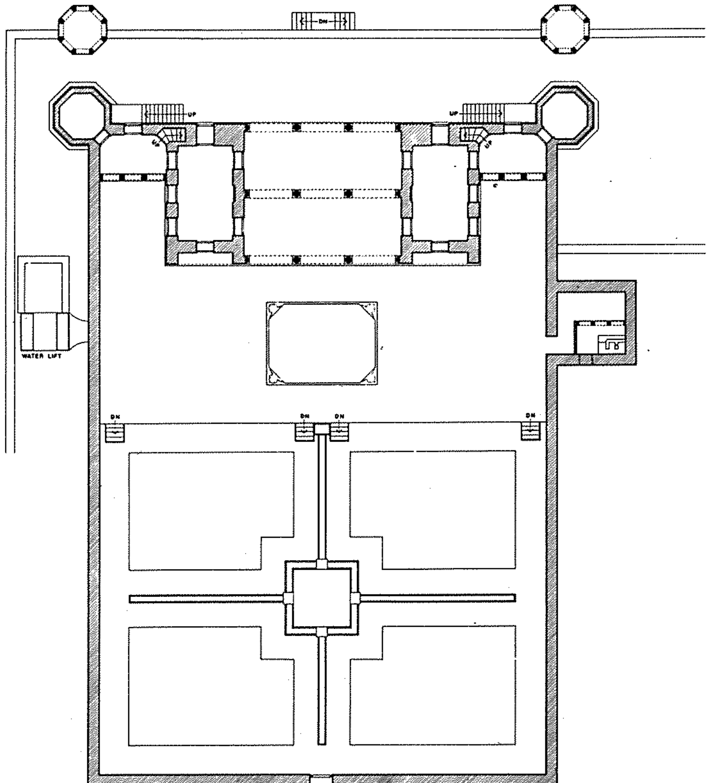


Fig. 7.7 Plan of walled-in garden now called Dhobi Mahal, forming part of the Lal Mahal, Shah Jahan's hunting palace in Bari, completed 1637.

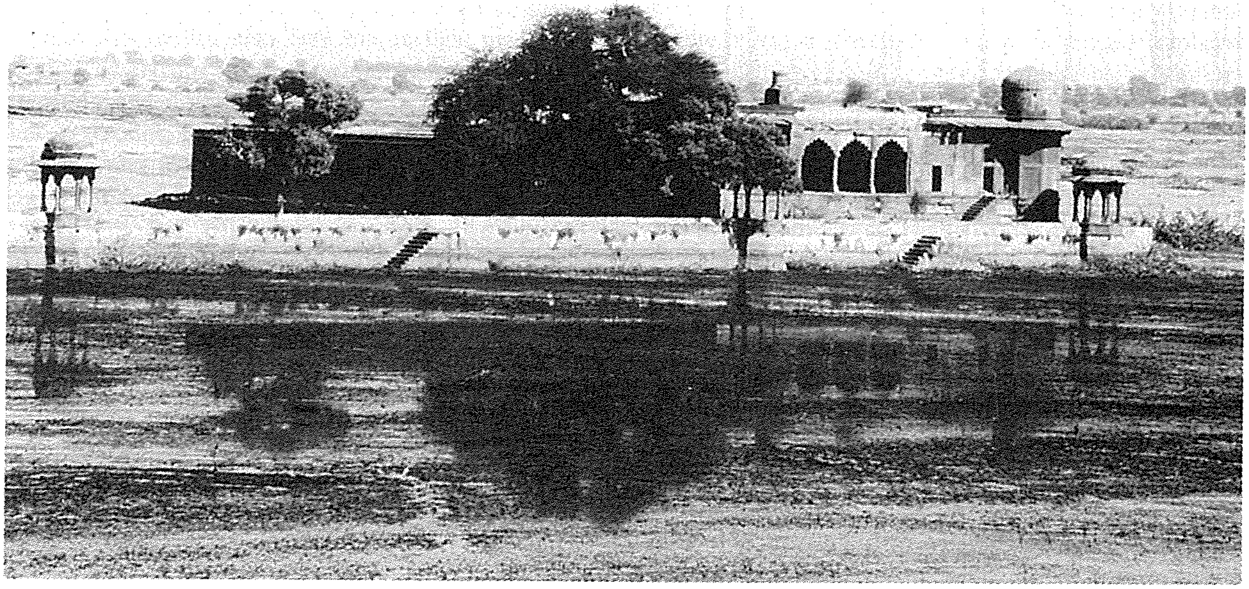
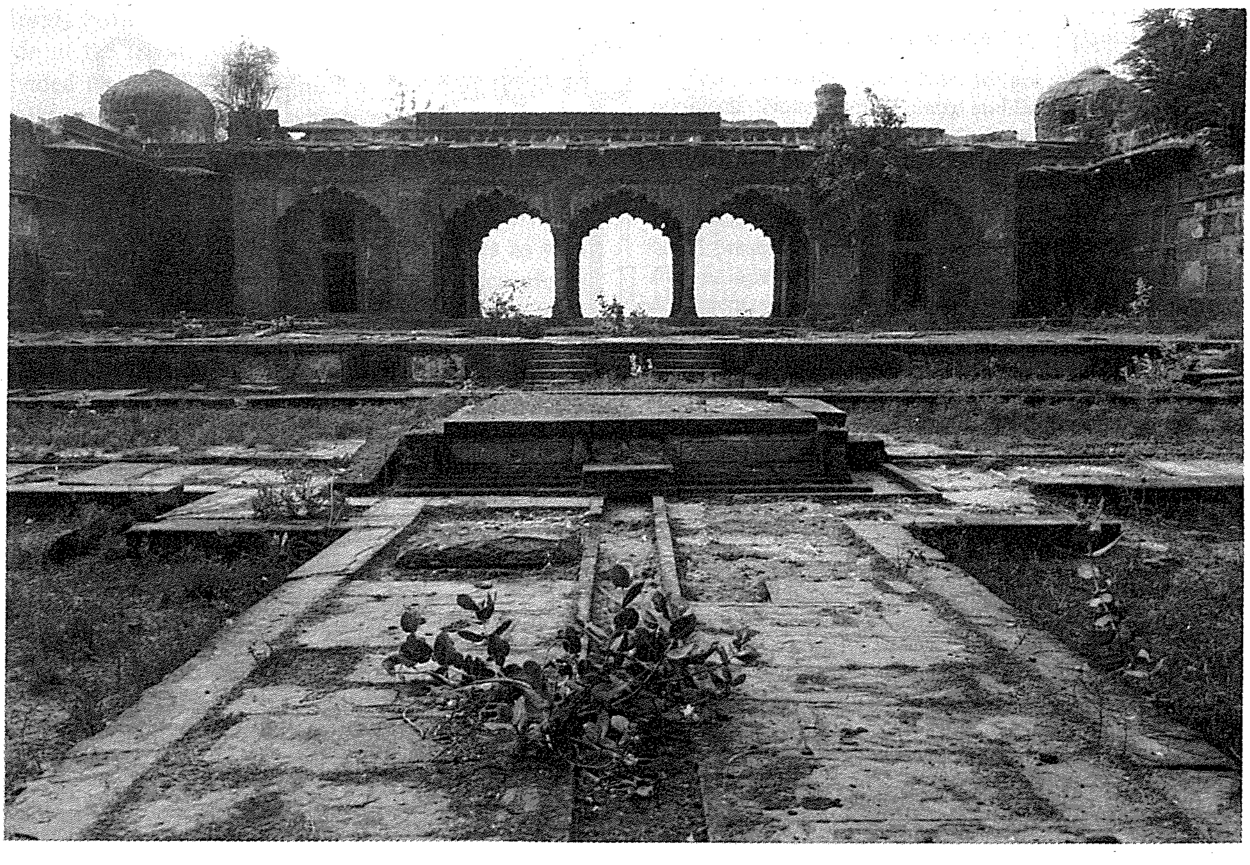


Fig. 7.8 Dhobi Mahal, Bari, seen across the lake.

Fig. 7.9 Dhobi Mahal, Bari, interior from north.



When I first identified this garden form I assumed that it was invented by the Mughals to adapt the centrally planned *chārbāgh* to their favourite waterfront sites.[29] However, it is also possible that this type of Mughal garden was inspired by a Timurid model. No Timurid garden of this type survives, but a closely related form is known through its description in the Persian manual on agriculture and horticulture, the *Irshād al-zirā'a*, written by Qasim ibn Yusuf Abu Nasri in Herat in 1515. Maria Subtelny has shown that the source of Qasim ibn Yusuf's information and inspiration was Mirak-i Sayyid Ghiyath, a renowned garden builder in late-Timurid Herat and the father of the architect of Humayun's tomb.[30] After Herat had been taken by the Uzbeks (1507) and the Safavids (1510) the persecution of the Qizilbashis forced him to leave his homeland. Mirak came to India, perhaps together with the author of the *Irshād*, and is mentioned by Babur in 1529 as working on his constructions at Agra and Dholpur.[31] The *Irshād al-zirā'a*, which thus represents primary evidence for how late-Timurid traditions could have been handed down to Mughal India, devotes a whole chapter to the layout of the Timurid *chārbāgh*.

Various attempts have been undertaken to reconstruct the *chārbāgh* described in the *Irshād*.[32] All versions agree that the garden had an oblong plan with the main building on a terrace set at the southern end of the main axis formed by a channel flanked by paved walkways. The four-part element seems to have been represented by garden plots (*chaman*) arranged in two pairs on either side of the main axis. According to Subtelny, two of the garden plots were divided into nine beds, and two into four squares, thus forming sub-*chārbāgh* patterns.[33]

The juxtaposition of a building on a terrace and a four-plot garden also appears in the later Mughal waterfront garden. What distinguishes the Mughal versions from their Timurid predecessor is that the pavilion was not positioned at the southern end of the garden but at the waterfront in whatever direction it happened to be. More important than the change in orientation, however, is the difference in the formal approach. The Mughal adaption reinforces the principle of organization and binds the elements of the Timurid model into a strictly planned architecturalized composition. The components of the *Irshād chārbāgh* were related loosely to each other, plantings playing a bigger role in the concept than solidly built garden architecture. The terrace there did not cover the whole southern area of the garden but was embedded in an orchard; the *chārbāgh* element was not generated by the rigid cross of the intersecting walkways but was put in the form of less sharply defined plots and beds in the area between the axial channel and the surrounding walls. The built features of the Timurid garden were confined to the surrounding frame and to the elements on the main axis.[34]

If the *chārbāgh* of the *Irshād al-zirā'a* did indeed serve as a model for the Mughal waterfront garden, the way the Mughals adapted it was characteristic for the whole relationship between Timurid and Mughal architecture. The Mughals with their clear and rational approach—aiming at strict functional planning and perfect symmetry—systematized and disciplined ideas which had been more vaguely expressed in Timurid architecture.[35] This trend gains momentum in Shah Jahan's time and also represents the characteristic contribution of the period to the development of the waterfront garden.

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[29] Koch, 'Zahara Bag', in particular, p. 31.

[30] M.E. Subtelny, 'A Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual in Context: The *Irshād al-Zirā'a* in Late Timurid and Early Safavid Khorasan', *Studia Iranica*, 22, fasc. 2 (1993), pp. 167–217; *idem*, 'Mirak-i Sayyid Ghiyas and the Timurid Tradition of Landscape Architecture: Further Notes to 'A Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual in Context', *Studia Iranica*, 24, 1 (1995), pp. 19–60; *idem*, 'Agriculture and the Timurid *Chaharbagh*: The Evidence from a Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual', in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, pp. 110–28. Lisa Golombek put me into contact with Maria Subtelny, with whom I had several stimulating exchanges of views and information about Timurid and Mughal garden architecture. She has also very kindly allowed me to quote from her then unpublished manuscripts which bring us a great step further in our understanding of Timurid gardens and their planners.

[31] Bābur, *Bābur-nāma*, trans. Beveridge, p. 642; trans. and text ed. Thackston, 3, pp. 758–9.

[32] The most thorough and detailed reconstruction is by Subtelny, 'Timurid Tradition of Landscape Architecture', pls. 5–6; *idem*, 'Agriculture and the Timurid *Chaharbagh*', fig. 5. Subtelny also discusses earlier attempts to reconstruct the garden of the *Irshād* such as that of Pinder-Wilson, 'The Persian Garden', pp. 82–4, fig. XIII, 8. Mahvash Alemi, ('Chahar Bagh', *Environmental Design*, 1986, no. 1, pp. 38–45; *idem* 'Il giardino persiano', pp. 45–6 [English version 'The Royal Gardens of the Safavid Period: Types and Models', in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*]), has presented yet another reconstruction of the *chārbāgh* of the *Irshād al-zirā'a*, the overall shape of which comes quite close to that of Subtelny. Alemi considers the garden type in the Safavid context.

[33] This subdivision of *chārbāgh* quadrants was to become a typical feature of Mughal *chārbāghs*, the first preserved example being the garden for Humayun's tomb at Delhi (1562–71). For an illustration of the plan, see Sylvia Crowe, Sheila Haywood, Susan Jellicoe, and Gordon Patterson, *The Gardens of Mughul India* (London, 1972), p. 73. Cf. also the description of Mundy quoted below at n. 40.

[34] The emphasis on the main axis is also characteristic of Safavid *chārbāghs*; see Alemi, 'Il giardino persiano', in particular illustrations on pp. 42, 47, 48 f.

It has been suggested that the garden form described in the *Irshād* was what the late Timurids understood by the term *chārbāgh* because the author does not allude to any other form.[36] However, it will be remembered that Babur, our main contemporary eyewitness, mentions features of his gardens, as well as of earlier Timurid foundations, which cannot be brought into accordance with the description by Qasim ibn Yusuf. Babur's first *chārbāgh* at Agra, built in 1526, eleven years after the *Irshād al-zirā'a* was written, and described *expressis verbis* as *chārbāgh* seems to have had intersecting walkways, an element absent in Qasim ibn Yusuf's definition. Babur's Bagh-i Nilufar at Dholpur was *a chārbāgh* with an irregular plan. For the early Mughals who transferred Timurid traditions to India, the *chārbāgh* of the *Irshād* was clearly not a canonical form. The first Mughal garden planners also employed other solutions, one of them being perhaps their architecturalized adaption of the *Irshād chārbāgh.*

Another variant seems to have been the centrally planned *chārbāgh* with the building at the main intersection in the middle of the garden. The splendid and confident introduction of this plan into the monumental funerary architecture of the Mughals in Humayun's tomb (1562–71)[37] leads one to believe that there were earlier treatments of it in residential garden architecture.[38] The problem is that the earliest preserved Mughal residential example of the centrally planned type, the first (lower) *chārbāgh* of the Shalimar Gardens at Kashmir which originally stood by itself, dates only from 1620.[39] The centrally planned *chārbāgh* remained the exclusive plan of Mughal tombs, also in a riverfront context, until the Taj Mahal. That it was also used together with the additive *'kursī*-cum-*chārbāgh'* formula for residential gardens along the riverbank, at least up to Shah Jahan's time, can be seen in the description of the gardens of Mughal Agra by Peter Mundy, a reliable European eyewitness, who stayed in the city in the early 1630s. He says that 'the better sort' of gardens had an enclosure wall with four towers at the corners with domes and galleries, anywhere from one to four gates, and long walks lined by cypresses leading 'comonly . . . towards the midle . . . where is the cheife howse of pleasure and Tancke . . . . This square Garden is againe devided into other lesser squares, and that into other like bedds and plotts'.[40]

Eventually, however, the 'riverfront kursi-cum-*chārbāgh* formula—which for simplicity's sake may be called a 'riverfront garden' or 'waterfront garden'—became the more widely used residential form. The early eighteenth-century artist of the map in the Jaipur City Palace Museum considered it so characteristic of the urban landscape of Mughal Agra that he even showed centrally planned *chārbāgh*s in this way, such as the tomb garden of I'timad al-Dawla (1626–28) (Figs. 7.2, no. 4; Figs. 7.3, 4).[41] The impression that Agra with its chains of riverfront gardens on either side of the Jamna made on contemporaries is put in highly poetic words by Shah Jahan's historian Muhammad Salih Kambo:

> On either side of that sea [the Jamna] full of pleasantness, buildings and gardens (*'imārat-hā wa*

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[35] Lisa Golombek ('From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal', p. 49) has noticed that Timurid geometry had never dealt so successfully with the architectural ideas which were taken up and explored by the Mughals: 'The [Mughal] architects understood Timurid architecture better than their [Timurid] predecessors who were caught up in the process of creating it.' Reluctant to find fault with Timurid geometrical genius, she has claimed that the Mughals merely fulfilled Timurid intentions. However, this belittles the Mughal achievement: while the Mughals absorbed Timurid forms, their style so thoroughly transformed the Timurid elements by their own individuality that it no longer represented its traditional roots.

[36] Subtelny, 'Timurid Tradition of Landscape Architecture', p. 39.

[37] For a plan see Crowe *et al.*, *Gardens of Mughul India*, p. 73.

[38] On the problem of missing forerunners for the *chārbāgh* of Humayun's tomb, see also Golombek, 'From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal', pp. 47–8.

[39] In the present state of the lower *chārbāgh*, named Bagh-i Farah Bakhsh by Shah Jahan, the axis crossing the principal longitudinal axis of the main water channel is only represented by a terrace step and shallow channels. That there was originally also a paved walkway is indicated by buildings (a *hammam* and a ruined structure) placed opposite each other at the points where the cross axis meets the centre of the garden wall. The upper *chārbāgh* named Bagh-i Fayz Bakhsh, which was added by Shah Jahan in 1634, shows this cross-axial feature more distinctly. For a plan, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, p. 87, Fig. 95.

[40] See *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia 1608–1667*, ed. R.C. Temple, vol. 2: *Travels in Asia 1628–1634* (London, 1914), p. 214. At Agra centrally planned *chārbāgh*s are best preserved in a funerary context (tomb of I'timad al-Dawla, 1626–8).

[41] For a plan of the garden, see Crowe *et al.*, *Gardens of Mughul India*, p. 121. However, as a concession to the riverfront scheme, the subsidiary pavilion situated at the riverfront is larger and more elaborate than the buildings at the other three end points of the cross axes.

> *bāgh-hā*) of paradisiac space are placed together in such a handsome close way that the sight of the beholder from the heart-attracting entertainment of each one of them gathers the flowers of bounty of the month of [spring] Urdi Bihisht. Because of the riverfront buildings (*'imārat-hā-yi sāḥil*) and the flower gardens, in front [of the landward side] of all of which it appears that garden is linked to garden and garden plot (*chaman*) to garden plot, the desire to stroll in the garden of Paradise is completely erased from the page of memory . . . . In particular, the spacious buildings (*'imārāt-i wazī'*) and wonderful pavilions (*nashīman-hā-yi badī'*) of the princes of exalted origin and other famous *amirs* . . . give a display of the garden of Rizwan[42] and the palaces of the garden of paradise.[43]

Comparable urban schemes were developed in the capitals of the two other great Muslim empires. In Ottoman Istanbul royal and non-royal suburban garden villas lined the Bosporus.[44] In seventeenth-century Safavid Isfahan garden residences were built on the shores of the Zayanda river.[45] However, in its systematic and uniform planning—in which we again recognize the peculiar Mughal logic—riverfront Agra differs from these more informal waterfront schemes. The planning actually anticipates a prominent landlocked feature of the urban development of Isfahan under Shah 'Abbas I, namely the scheme of the Chaharbagh realized since 1596. It consisted of gardens laid out on both sides of a large avenue (*khiyābān*), and its canal which extended across the river between the palace in the city and the suburban Bagh-i 'Abbasabad.[46] Did Shah Jahan's court poet Kalim allude to the fact that Mughal Agra resembled the scheme of Isfahan when he compared the river Jamna framed by garden buildings and towers with a cypress-lined *khiyābān*, the façades of the buildings reflecting each other like faces in a mirror?[47]

In Shah Jahan's reign we notice two important trends. First, as already pointed out, the elements of the riverfront garden were arranged in a perfectly symmetrical composition. Second, outside of Kashmir where the Mughal garden had developed its own form of terraced compositions, this garden formula became the predominant one of the period; the actual form of the component parts might be changed without disturbing the organization. At Agra, the pattern was employed not only for urban residential gardens but also for Shah Jahan's new palace garden in the Agra Fort, the ensemble now called Khass Mahal and Anguri Bagh, rebuilt as the main complex of the female quarters (*zanāna*) between the early 1630s and 1637 (Figs. 7.10, 11).[48] The waterfront plan appears, although enlarged to an unparalleled scale, in the funerary garden of the Taj Mahal, begun late in 1631 or early in 1632 and completed in 1643 (Figs. 7.12 A, 13).

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[42] The gatekeeper or gardener of paradise.

[43] Translation of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambō, *Bahār-i Sukhan*, Persian ms., BL Or. 178, fols. 248a and b.

[44] See Gülru Necipoğlu, 'The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture'.

[45] For the development of Safavid Isfahan, see Sussan Babaie, 'Safavid Palaces at Isfahan: Continuity and Change (1590–1666)', Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1994, pp. 60–70, with further literature. A famous now-lost waterfront palace of seventeenth-century Isfahan was the Ayina Khana, located on the south bank of the Zayanda Rud; ibid., pp. 250–2, figs. 29–31. Babaie dates it 'sometime before 1050/1641'. Until the time of Shah 'Abbas I (r. 1587–1629) only the northern shore of the Zayanda river was occupied by royal palaces and aristocratic estates. See Lisa Golombek, 'Urban Patterns in Pre-Safavid Isfahan', *Studies on Isfahan: Proceedings of the Isfahan Colloquium Held at Harvard University, January 21–24, 1974, Iranian Studies*, 7, nos. 1–2 (1974), pp. 18–44, in particular pp. 21 and 31.

[46] According to the world-obeying order, the khans, great amirs, viziers, sadrs and noble *'amils* . . . erected fine *chahār-bāgh* parks each to his own taste and opposite one another along both sides of the avenue beginning at 'Abbasabad. At the entrance to each park they built lofty structures of brick and stucco, the walls and roofs of which were faced with colored tilework. Some were decorated with delightful portraits . . . and colorfully exotic paintings. . . .

Mirzā Beg ibn Ḥasan Junabādī, *Rawżat al-Ṣafawiya*, translated together with the other main sources on the development of Isfahan under Shah 'Abbas I by R.D. McChesney, 'Four Sources on Shah 'Abbas's Building of Isfahan', *Muqarnas* 5 (1988), pp. 113; cf. pp. 124–5. For a map of this scheme, see Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bikhtiar, *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*, 2nd edn. (1973; Chicago and London, 1975), fig. 176, which minimizes, however, the role of the gatehouses as show pieces of the gardens highlighted in the sources; they corresponded to the riverfront buildings of the Agra scheme.

[47] *Binā-hā-yi dilkash buwad az dū sū, ba-sān rukh wa āyīna dū ba dū. . . . hama sarw-hā-yi khiyābān-i āb'*. Abū Ṭālib Kalīm, *Bādshāh nāma*, Persian ms., BL, Ethé 1570, fol. 115b, margin; typed transcript S.M. Yunus Jaffery, p. 210.

[48] 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, Persian text eds. Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmad and 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 2 vols. (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1866–72), 1, pt. 2, pp. 240–1. For translation, see Nur Bakhsh, 'The Agra Fort and Its Buildings', *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* (henceforth quoted as *ASIAR*) 1903–4, pp.164–93, in particular pp. 180–1. For an overall plan of the Agra Fort, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, Fig. 36; the position of the Anguri Bagh is indicated with the number 5; for a detailed discussion, see Ebba Koch, 'Mughal Palace Gardens from Babur to Shah Jahan', this volume.

The Taj complex and the fortress palace were positioned in the overall scheme of the riverbank garden city as a garden would be; consequently they adopted the predominant garden form of this urban plan. In other words, the form both of the palace garden and of the funerary garden of the Taj was dictated by their urban context. The design of the garden of the Taj Mahal[49] transposed an established Mughal residential garden type of possible Timurid antecedents into the context of monumental funerary garden architecture. Begley was overlooking evidence nearer home when he attempted to derive the plan of the Taj Mahal from complex concepts of Islamic cosmology.[50] All the evidence suggests rather that the aim of the planners was to perfect the earlier tradition of the waterfront garden, and then to enlarge it to a scale beyond the reach of ordinary mortals in order to create an ideal paradisiacal garden palace for the deceased. Moreover, the waterfront scheme was not only used for the organization of the tomb garden, but also for the spatial organization of the other two main units that make up the Taj complex (Fig. 7.12).[51] The garden configuration of rectangular unit and quadripartite square is repeated in the rectangle of the forecourt (*jilaw khāna*) (Fig. 7.12 E) with its subsidiary courts followed on the same axis by a square divided by cruciform bazaar streets into four quadrants containing *karwānsarā'īs* (Fig. 7.12 F). The whole complex of the Taj Mahal may thus be read as a band of two configurations based on the waterfront scheme.

The allusions to the waterfront garden plan do not end here because abbreviated miniature versions of the large tomb garden also served as settings for three subsidiary tomb enclosures (Fig. 7.12 B–D). Two of these funerary enclosures are placed at the southeast and southwest corner of the forecourt, and one appears as an independent unit outside the east wall. The funerary enclosures situated inside the complex are modified abbreviations of the main tomb garden; each one has an octagonal tomb flanked by small wings set on a terrace aligned on one side of a small square *chārbāgh* with a pool at the crossing of its paved walkways. The funerary unit situated outside the east wall varies the scheme in that a small mosque is placed on the terrace instead of the tomb; the tomb itself, also octagonal, is set in the centre of a small garden of which only traces remain. We are on safe grounds in assuming that it also had the form of a *chārbāgh* (Fig. 7.12 D). These subsidiary funerary enclosures in which the waterfront garden is transferred to a landlocked situation, were dedicated to the chief lady-in-waiting of Mumtaz, Satti al-Nisa Khanum (1647–48), and lesser wives of Shah Jahan.[52]

Since the waterfront garden appeared at the time when the Taj was built in the Agra Fort also in a *zanāna* context one feels tempted to assume that in the imperial context it had—at least in the earlier 1630s—a *zanāna* connotation attached to it. However, introducing the waterfront garden into the monumental tradition of imperial funerary architecture gave it a distinctly imperial connotation. The trend gains momentum in the Lahore Fort where a highly architecturalized variant of the waterfront garden is used for the complex of the Shah Burj (Shish Mahal), rebuilt in 1631–32 by Shah Jahan as one of his earliest additions to the Lahore palace (Figs. 7.15,

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[49] For scale plans, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, Fig. 108; W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, *Taj Mahal: The Illumined Tomb: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Mughal and European Documentary Sources* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), fig. 13, the grid of which is not, however, correct.

[50] Wayne E. Begley, 'The Myth of the Taj Mahal and a New Theory of Its Symbolic Meaning', *Art Bulletin*, 61 (1979), pp. 7–37. The issue is raised briefly in Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, p. 99. On this point, see also Subtelny, 'Timurid Tradition of Landscape Architecture', p. 49. Cf. our p. xiv.

[51] The whole complex is not preserved, but appears on the late 18th century–early 19th century plans, such as the one of the Museum für indische Kunst, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (MIK I. 10060), reproduced by Pratapaditya Pal, Janice Leoshko, J.M. Dye III, and Stephen Markel, *Romance of the Taj Mahal*, exhibition catalogue (Los Angeles, 1989), fig. 41. Another version is in the Museum of the Taj Mahal, see Z.A. Desai and H.K. Kaul, *Taj Museum* (New Delhi: Published by the Director General Archaeological Survey of India, 1982), p. 21 (no illustration). The complex with the sarais and bazaars has been reconstructed by Begley and Desai, *Taj Mahal: The Illumined Tomb*, fig. 17. Our sketch plan reproduced in Fig. 7.12 is based on the early plans and my own survey.

[52] None of the tombs bears an inscription but we can tentatively identify that of Satti al-Nisa Khanum, because Lāhawrī (2: 629) tells us that she was buried in the tomb 'to the west of the Illumined Tomb of Her late Majesty the Queen, adjoining the square (*chawk*) of the forecourt (*jilaw-khāna*)'. This refers either to the tomb at the southwest corner of the *jilaw khāna* (Fig. 7.12 B) or to the tomb outside its west wall. Cf. Begley and Desai, *Taj Mahal: The Illumined Tomb*, pp. 125–6, from which the translation of Lāhawrī is quoted; see their figs. 74–9 and XV for illustrations of the tombs. The burial of lesser wives of Shah Jahan in the other subsidiary tombs is based on varying traditions; the contemporary chronicles are silent on this point.

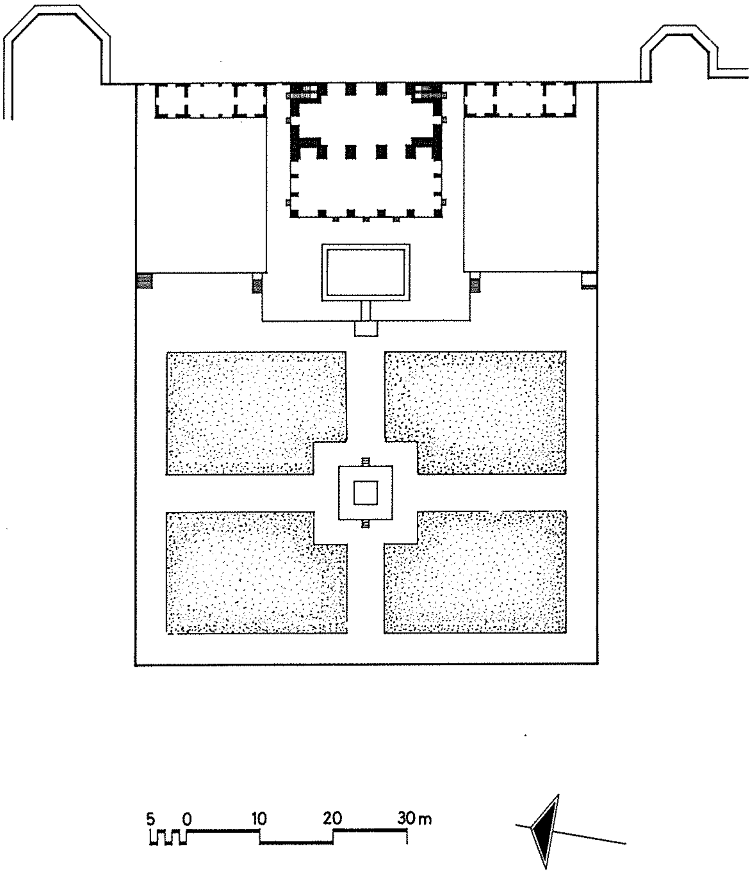
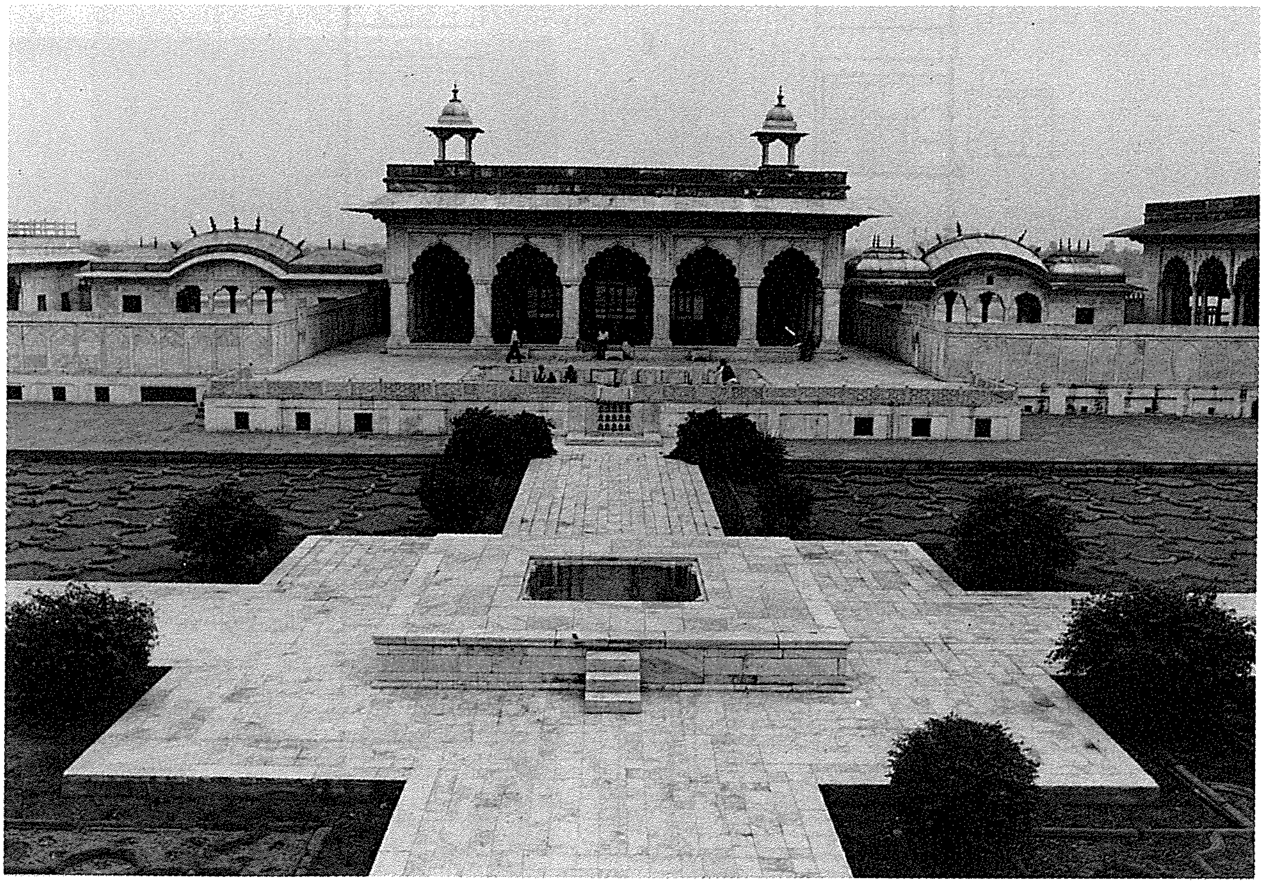


Fig. 7.10 Plan of palace garden ensemble, today called Anguri Bagh and Khass Mahal, Agra Fort.

Fig. 7. 11 Anguri Bagh and Khass Mahal, Agra Fort, consisting of Shah Jahan's sleeping pavilion (Khwabgah) flanked on both sides by pavilions with curved-up roofs. On the left is the Bangla-i Darshan and on the right the Bangla-i Jahanara, completed 1637. Seen from west.



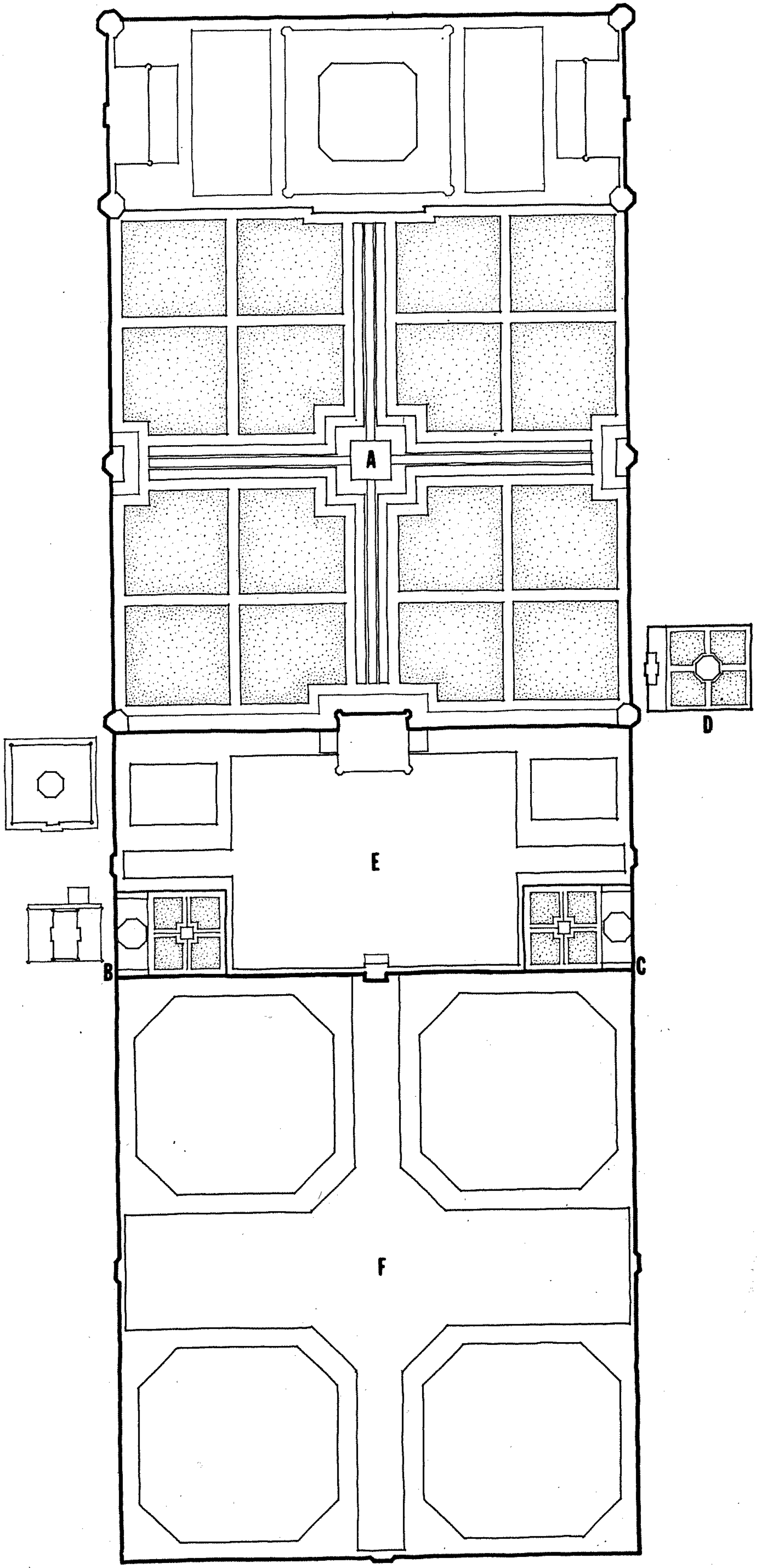


Fig. 7.12 Reconstruction sketch plan of the original complex of the Taj Mahal: (A) tomb garden, (B, C, D) subsidiary tomb enclosures, (E) forecourt and subsidiary courts, (F) bazaars and caravanserais.

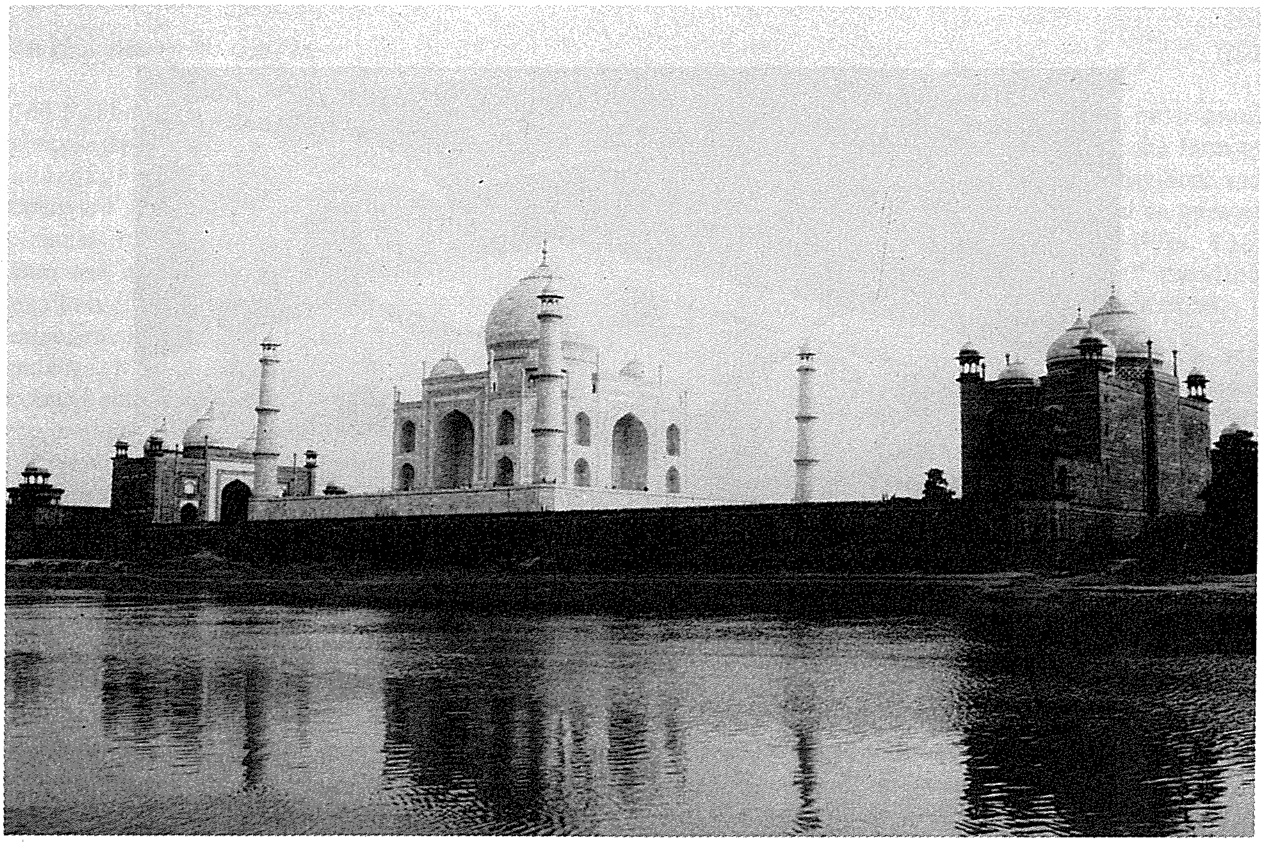


Fig. 7.13 Taj Mahal, group of waterfront buildings seen across the river.

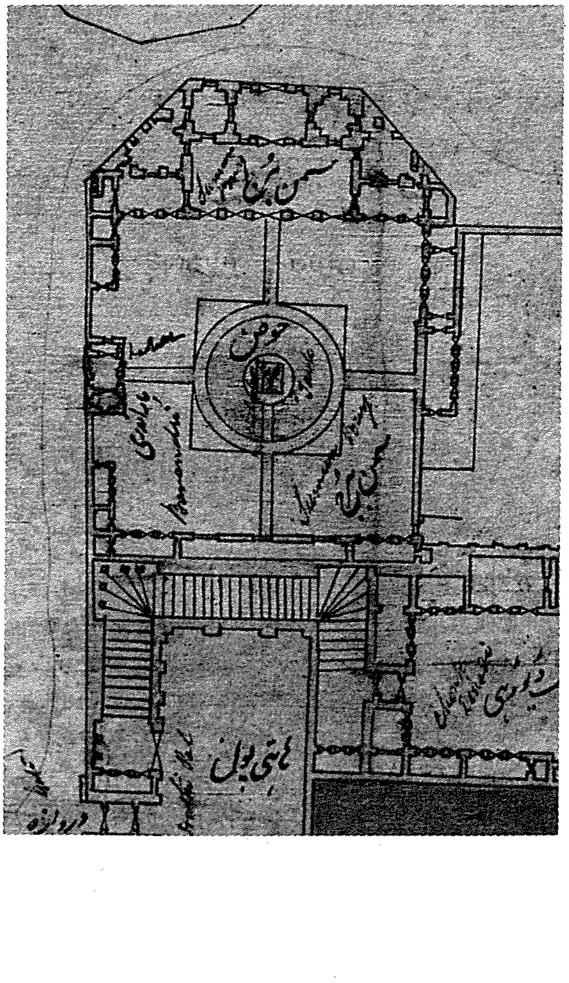


Fig. 7.14 Sketch plan of Shalimar Gardens, Lahore, 1641–42.

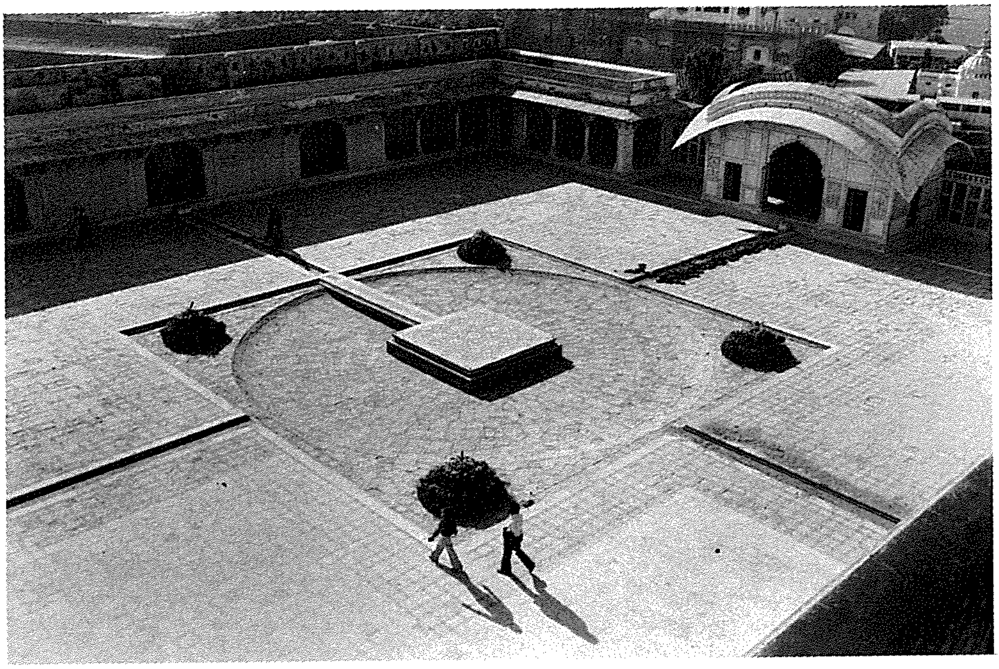


Fig. 7.15 Shah Burj (Shish Mahal), Lahore Fort, completed 1631–32. Courtyard seen from the roof of the riverside wing.

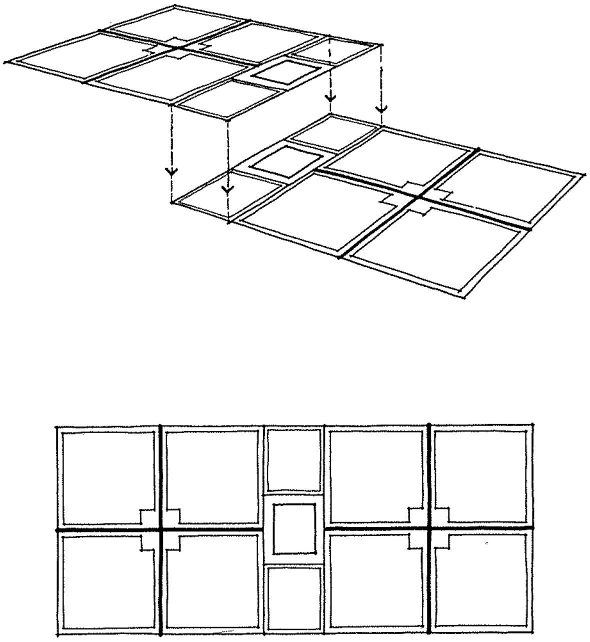


Fig. 7.16 Detail of map of the Lahore Fort dated 1894, showing the Shah Burj (Shish Mahal) inscribed as Samman Burj.

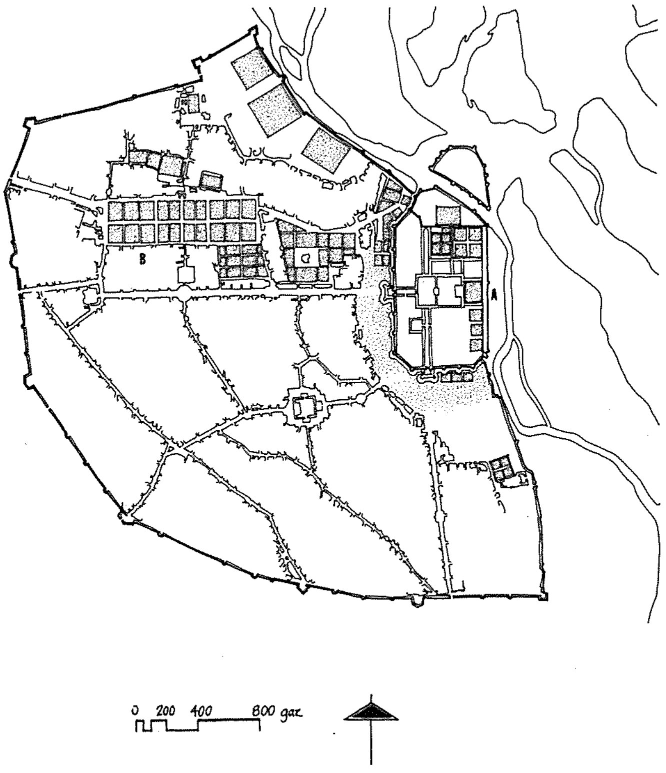


Fig. 7.17 Map of Shahjahanabad showing the main Mughal gardens in the Fort and in the city: (A) Red Fort, (B) Sahibabad gardens.

16).[53] The group of riverside buildings is here compressed into a massive polygonal block. The *chārbāgh* element is represented by the paved courtyard which is divided into four parts by narrow channels running off from a central pool. The Shah Burj was, as indicated by its name, a building with an exclusively imperial connotation. As one of the established ceremonial building types of Shahjahani palaces, it was reserved for the emperor's private council and accessible only to a select few who had the emperor's special confidence.[54]

Eventually, the waterfront garden became the main module for the planning of Shahjahani palaces and gardens. The plan could be used independently from a waterfront site. In the Shalimar Gardens at Lahore (1641–42),[55] for example, a single terrace is set between two square *chārbāghs* acting thus as a constituent element for a plan which reads as two overlapping waterfront schemes (Fig. 7.14). In the elevation the two *chārbāghs* are set on different levels, the terrace element being assigned to the lower one. The whole concept thus merges the type of terraced garden which the Mughals had developed in Kashmir with compositional elements borrowed from the waterfront scheme.

The use of the waterfront garden as a modular unit culminates in the fortress palace of Shah Jahan's new capital city Shahjahanabad (Fig. 7.17) built between 1639 and 1648.[56] The plan for the palace, which is today called the Red Fort, is based on a giant *muthamman baghdādī*[57] which here takes the form of a rectangle with chamfered corners. The pavilions and halls for the emperor and the *zanāna* stand on terraces threaded along a canal on the riverfront (Figs. 8.16, 17, 18). 'In front of each Iram-like[58] pavilion (*nashīman*),' says the emperor's historian Kambo,

> 'is a garden (*baghcha*) of perfect freshness and pleasantness, so that this [whole] paradisical ground [i.e. the palace] from one end to the other because of its exuberant vegetation has drawn a veil across the green sky and the sight is presented to the eyes of the beholder like the highest paradise.'[59]

In the organization of each individual complex we clearly recognize the formula of the waterside garden which was used in the palace of Shahjahanabad as a modular unit for planning the whole riverfront.[60] Moreover, the riverfront scheme, which had been borrowed from the Mughal riverfront city, was now usurped by the palace. The access to the riverfront for other members of the imperial family and the nobles was considerably limited. When Kambo tells us that the imperial princes and famous nobles built spacious and wonderful buildings (*'imarat-i wasi' wa badi'*) and extraordinary pavilions (*nashiman-ha-yi gharib*) on both sides of the fort along the riverfront,[61] he seems to repeat what he had said about Agra rather than to take in what was right before his eyes. The surviving Mughal urban landscape and recent reconstructions of Shahjahanabad[62] which, with help of contemporary literary sources, work back from a nineteenth-century map of the Oriental and India Office Collections in the British Library,[63] show that not only the nobles but also the members of the imperial family had to build their *hawilis*[64] inside the city rather than as garden residences on the riverfront (Fig. 7.17). The few residences on the waterfront were built by persons especially favoured by the emperor,[65] and there were none at all on the opposite river bank.[66] The evidence compares in no way with the 'democratic' riverfront garden scheme of Agra (compare Figs. 7.2, 3, 4 with Figs. 7.17) which had been imitated to some extent in Akbar's Delhi and probably also in Lahore. The best indication of the new state of affairs at Shahjahanabad is perhaps in the garden of Shah Jahan's favourite daughter, Jahanara. Her garden at Agra, the Bagh-Jahanara or Zahara Bagh, was praised as one of the fabled sights of the riverfront,[67] while at Shahjahanabad her Sahibabad gardens, large (982 *gaz* × 242 *gaz*) as they were,[68] were laid out *inside* the city. In Shah Jahan's new capital the waterfront garden scheme had become an imperial prerogative.[69]

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[53] Lāhawrī, 1/1, pp. 223–5; cf. Kambō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, 2, pp. 6–7. For trans., see Nur Bakhsh, 'Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and Its Buildings', in *ASIAR*, 1902–3, pp. 220–3. For an overall plan of the Lahore Fort, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, Fig. 93, where the Shah Burj is indicated with number 3; see pp. 114–15 for Shah Jahan's additions to the Lahore Fort. The palace contains the so-called Jahangir Quadrangle and the garden of the Diwan-i Khass, two more garden enclosures modelled on the waterfront pattern; they seem also to have been added to the ensemble in Shah Jahan's reign, probably in 1634 and 1645 respectively; see Koch, 'Mughal Palace Garden'. For a detailed plan of the Shah Burj and a view of the courtyard facade of the riverfront wing, see also James L. Wescoat, Jr., 'L'acqua nei giardini islamici: religione, rappresentazione e realtà', in *Il giardino islamico*, p. 122.

[54] See Lāhawrī, 1/1, pp. 150–1, 153; trans. Nur Bakhsh, 'The Agra Fort and Its Building', *ASIAR*, 1903–4, pp. 191–3.

[55] For a detailed plan and section, see Sajjd Kausar, Michael Brand, and James L. Wescoat, Jr., *Shalimar Garden Lahore: Landscape, Form and Meaning* (Lahore, 1990), fig. 2.

[56] Reliable general information on the Red Fort of Delhi based on contemporary texts is provided by Gordon Sanderson, *A Guide to the Buildings and Gardens, Delhi Fort*, 4th edn. (Delhi, 1937). For more recent treatments, see Peter Andrews, 'Mahall', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (henceforth cited as *EI*, 2nd edn.), 5 (1986) 1219–20; Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, pp. 109–13 with a new plan of its present state; Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, pp.192–200.

[57] The *muthamman baghdādī* ('Baghdadian octagon') was a favourite Mughal plan figure in the shape of a square or rectangle with corners chamfered so as to form an irregular octagon. Its attraction seems to have been that it could be read both as octagon and square.

[58] Reference to the legendary Iram at Aden built by King Shaddad ibn 'Ad as a terrestrial paradise. See W. Montgomery Watt, 'Iram', *EI*, 2nd edn., 3 (1979), pp. 1270; John Renard, *Islam and the Heroic Image: Themes in Literature and the Visual Arts* (Columbia, S.C., 1993), pp. 167–8. It was a favourite of Persian authors for eulogistic comparisons.

[59] Kambō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, 3, pp. 26.

[60] Today these gardens are only partly preserved. This is true also of the main garden of the palace, the Bagh-i Hayat Bakhsh, which is placed in the northeast corner of the riverfront. I am now engaged in its reconstruction with the help of contemporary descriptions as well as plans and views dating from before the Mutiny in 1858. After that the fort suffered major alterations at the hands of the British in adapting it for military use. I present the reconstruction of the Bagh-i Hayat Bakhsh in 'Mughal Palace Gardens', this volume, Fig. 8.20. That it shows a perfectly symmetrical riverfront garden scheme can also be made out on the eighteenth-century plan reproduced in Fig. 8.17.

[61] Kambō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, 3, pp. 36. It seems that the

On the landward side the fortress palace was encircled by gardens and garden residences (*bāghāt wa sarābustān-hā*).[70] The poets projected into these satellite gardens a sentiment which must have been echoed by many a new *hawīlī* resident of the city regretting the lost waterfront:

> The flower garden has fallen at its [the fortress palace's] feet
> so that perhaps it will be given a place inside.
> The heart of the tulip garden outside is full of grief,
> because it has fallen outside the garden [of the palace].[71]

The palace of Shahjahanabad as an entity represented the end of a development. A number of elements did emerge from the palace which were to have a lasting effect on Indian art, but the waterfront garden was not among them. The later history of the garden has still to be written, but it does not seem to have played a great role under the later Mughals and those Indian patrons who took inspiration from the Great Mughals.

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panegyric developed for Agra had such a lasting impact that Kambo found it difficult to break away from it to take in the new state of things. One notices, however, that he avoids lauding the garden features of the non-imperial residences of Shahjahanabad as he did for Agra (see n. 43 above).

[62] Stephen P. Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India 1639–1739* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 71–82, map 5. Attilio Petruccioli and Antonino Terranova, 'Modelli culturali nell' impianto e nelle trasformazioni di Old Delhi', *Storia della città*, 31–2 (1984), pp. 123–44.

[63] India Office Records X (1659). The map has now been fully (and attractively) published in *Shahjahanabad—Old Delhi: Tradition and Colonial Change*, eds. Eckart Ehlers and Thomas Kraft, Erdkundliches Wissen 111 (Stuttgart, 1993).

[64] The *hawīlī* is a building complex for residential use with one or more open courts or gardens closed to the outside. In Mughal India the term was used for non-imperial residences. For an attempt to reconstruct the Mughal *hawīlīs* at Shahjahanabad, see Blake, *Shahjahanabad*, in particular pp. 44–51.

[65] Blake (*Shahjahanabad*, pp. 74–6, 81, map 5) lists only four 17th-century Mughal *hawīlīs* on the river bank, all built by persons especially esteemed by Shah Jahan. According to Blake, three were situated to the northwest of the palace, of which two formed the residence of the heir apparent Prince Dara Shukoh and one belonged to 'Ali Mardan Khan, *amīr al-umarā*. To the south of the fort was the *hawīlī* of Sa'adullah Khan. These as well as the other major Mughal gardens of Shahjahanabad are highlighted on our Fig. 7.17.

[66] Ehlers and Krafft in their brief analysis of the Mughal gardens of Shahjahanabad ('Islamic Cities in India? Theoretical Concepts and the Case of Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi', in *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi*, pp. 16–17) merely observed that the Mughal gardens of Shahjahanabad were mainly situated in the suburbs 'in the vicinity of the city outside the city wall.' The contemporary eyewitness François Bernier (*Travels in the Mogul Empire: A.D. 1656–1668*, trans. Archibald Constable [1891; 3rd rpt. New Delhi, 1972], p. 247) seems to fuse Agra and Shahjahanabad into one picture when he states somewhat ambiguously that 'the dwellings of the *Omrahs* [*umarā*], though mostly situated on the banks of the river and in the suburbs, are yet scattered in every direction'.

[67] Koch, 'Zahara Bagh', pp. 34–6.

[68] Kambō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, 3, pp. 37–8, That means they extended over a length which almost equalled that of the 1000 *gaz* of the fort. The Shahjahani *gaz* used in architecture equals 81 to 82 cm., ideally, 81.21 cm., or 32 inches.

[69] As far as I know this aspect of the urban development of Shahjahanabad has not yet been considered. Much of the literature on Shahjahanabad is cited in Ehlers and Krafft, *Shahjahanabad/Old Delhi*.

[70] Kambō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, 3: 36.

[71] *Fitād ast gul-zār dar pay-yi ū, ki shāyad dahad dar darūn jāy-yi ū. Dil-i lāla-zar-i birūn pur zi dāgh, az ān shud ki uftāda bīrūn zi bāgh'*, Mir Muḥammad Yaḥyā Kāshī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, Persian ms., BL Or. 1852, fol. 15a Persian pagination; fol. 11a library pagination, last two lines.

8

Mughal Palace Gardens from Babur to Shah Jahan (1526–1648)*

Recent research has shed new light on the context, function, and meaning of the early Mughal garden. James Wescoat persuasively argues that Babur, who ruled in India between 1526–30, built his gardens in India outside the citadels or fortress palaces of pre-Mughal rulers in deliberate opposition to them, as symbols of the appropriation of land and 'royal emblems of territorial control'.[1] For Catherine Asher the gardens of Babur 'had a significance beyond mere territorial conquest and the introduction of a new ordered aesthetic'. She shows that they also had funerary-dynastic and religious associations and, in the last analysis, were conceived as 'a visual metaphor for Babur's ability to control and order the arid Indian plains and ultimately its population'.[2] Since Wescoat and Asher agree that the new Mughal gardens took the place of fortresses as centres of royal power and that, for Babur, they had little to do with the sophisticated paradise symbolism for which later Mughal gardens became famous,[3] we may well ask how the

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*Reprinted from *Muqarnas*, An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World, Volume 14, 1997.

Author's note: My ideas about the Mughal palace garden were first summarized in 'The Char Bagh Conquers the Citadel: An Outline of the Development of the Mughal Palace Garden', in *The Mughal Garden: Interpretation, Conservation and Implications*, eds. M. Hussain, A. Rehman, and J.L. Wescoat Jr. (Rawalpindi, Lahore, Karachi, 1996), pp. 55–60. My investigations into the Mughal palace garden form a part of a project initiated in 1976 to survey the entire palace architecture of Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58). I wish to thank the Archaeological Survey of India, the Indian Army, and the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, for permission to carry out this survey, and the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, Austria, the Jubiläumsfonds der oesterreichischen Nationalbank, and the Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung, Austria, for their support of the project. Architect Richard A. Barraud has prepared the scale drawings, several of which are published here for the first time, from measurements which we took together in the course of many field sessions in India. I also thank Dr. S.M. Yunus Jaffery for his assistance in the reading and translation of the Mughal texts.

[1] James L. Wescoat, Jr., 'Picturing an Early Mughal Garden', *Asian Art*, 11, 4 (Fall, 1989), pp. 59–79, in particular p. 76; *idem*, 'Landscapes of Conquest and Transformation: Lessons from the Earliest Mughal Gardens in India, 1526–30', *Landscape Journal*, 10 (1991), pp. 105–14; *idem*, 'Gardens versus Citadels: The Territorial Context of Early Mughal Gardens', *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, 13, ed. John Dixon Hunt (Washington, D.C., 1992), pp. 331–58.

[2] Catherine B. Asher, 'Babur and the Timurid *Chār Bāgh*: Use and Meaning', in *Mughal Architecture: Pomp and Cermonies—Environmental Design*, 1991, nos. 1–2, p. 53; *idem*, *Architecture of Mughal India* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 37.

[3] On the latter point, see Wescoat, 'Picturing an Early Mughal Garden', pp. 75, 77; *idem*, 'Landscapes of Conquest and Transformation', p. 105; *idem*, 'Garden versus Citadels'. p. 335; Asher, 'Babur and the Timurid *Chār Bāgh*', p. 47.

opposition between garden and citadel was eventually resolved. In the grand synthesis of Shah Jahan's fortress palaces, the fusion of palace and garden became—as we know from Amir Khusraw's all too often quoted verses[4]—a metaphor of paradise here on earth, the ideal dwelling of the Mughal ruler. How did the garden make its way into the palace? What form did it take there?[5] And did assuming the symbolism of paradise necessarily exclude a political message?

At Agra, where the story of the Mughal palace garden began in 1526, relations between fort and garden were not entirely antagonistic. True, the new gardens laid out by Babur and his followers were on the other side of the river Jamna, opposite the fort of the vanquished Lodi sultans which had been taken over by Babur (Fig. 8.1). But even before Babur built his new *chahār bāgh* (or *chār bāgh*)[6] named Hasht Bihisht on the bank of the river,[7] he had ordered the construction of an elaborate step-well complex which provided water for a garden *inside* the fort.[8] However, we learn nothing more about this garden or any other palace garden of the early Mughal period. According to Khwandamir, Humayun (r. 1530–43; 1555–56) planned to build for his new residence called Dinpanah (begun in 1533) at Delhi (the present Purana Qil'a), a palace of seven stories which was to be surrounded by gardens and orchards, but we do not know how much of this project was carried out.[9] When Humayun returned to Delhi after being ousted by the rulers of the Sur dynasty, he used the small fortress of Salimgarh as a suburban retreat and place of recreation. Salimgarh had been constructed by the

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[4] *'Agar firdaws bar rū-yi zamīn ast, hamīn ast u hamīn ast u hamīn ast'* (If there is a paradise on earth, it is this, it is this, it is this). Inscribed in gilded letters below the cavetto of the ceiling of Shah Jahan's Diwan-i Khass, or hall of private audiences, in the Red Fort of Delhi, completed in 1648.

[5] There is as yet no special study of the Mughal palace garden. It is treated in general works, of which the most useful is still Sylvia Crowe, Sheila Haywood, Susan Jellicoe, and Gordon Patterson, *The Gardens of Mughul India* (London, 1972), although it should be consulted with caution. Within the context of this paper, I can only attempt a brief assessment of the development of the Mughal palace garden; I plan to deal with it in greater detail in my further work on the palaces of Shah Jahan.

[6] For the problem of the Mughal *chār bāgh*, see Ebba Koch, 'The Mughal Waterfront Garden', this volume, with further literature.

[7] The primordial Agra *chār bāgh* mentioned by Babur and the Hasht Bihisht were one and the same garden. See Zayn Khān, *Tabaqāt-i Bāburī*, trans. S.H. Askari, annot. B.P. Ambastha (Delhi, 1982), p. 157. Cf Abu'l Fażl, *Akbar nāma*, Persian text eds. Āghā Aḥmad 'Alī and 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1873–86), 1, p. 105; trans. H. Beveridge, 3 vols. (1902–39; 2nd rpt. Delhi, 1979), 1, p. 258; Muḥammad Amīn or Amīnā-yi Qazvīnī, *Bādshāh nāma*, British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections (henceforth abbreviated to BL), Persian ms. Or. 173, fol. 26a (Persian pagination); Muḥammad Ṣaliḥ Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ or Shāh Jahān nāma*, rev. Persian text ed. Waḥid Qurayshī, based on the Calcutta edn. of 1912–46 by Ghulam Yazdānī, 2nd edn., 3 vols. (Lahore, 1967–72), 1, p. 19. The location of the garden can be derived from a map of Agra in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, cat. no. 26, which probably dates from the early 18th century and is thus the earliest map of Agra so far known. Its *devanāgari* inscriptions designate the two gardens adjoining the Mahtab Bagh to the west as 'Chahar Bagh Padshahi' and 'Second Chahar Bagh Padshahi' (our Fig. 8.1/15 and 16); see also n. 13 below.

[8] Babur tells us that 'in an empty space inside the fort, which was between Ibrahim's residence and the ramparts, I ordered a large chambered-well (*wain*) to be made'. We learn that this well was actually a whole building complex consisting of a large three-storied stepwell, a smaller well, 'fitted with a wheel by means of which water is carried along the ramparts to the high-garden' (*bāghcha-i bālā*), a stone building (?), and a mosque. See Żahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *Bābur nāma*, trans. A.S. Beveridge (1921; rpt. New Delhi, 1970), pp. 532–3. See also the very useful new trilingual edition and trans. by Wheeler M. Thackston Jr., published in 1993 by the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University, 3 vols., 3, pp. 644–5. None of these constructions is preserved. From Babur's description, it is not quite clear whether he founded the garden (*bāghcha*) as is assumed by Asher (*Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 22), or whether he developed an already existing garden left by the Lodis. Zayn Khan (*Tabaqāt-i Bāburī*, pp. 161–3) seems to confound this well with the one built in the Hasht Bihisht garden. It could, however, also be an error in the manuscript copy.

[9] *'Wa dar darūn-i ān balda qaṣrī mabnī bar haft ṭabaqa pardākhta āyad. Wa dar aṭrāf-i ān bāghāt u basātīn badā'i' ā'īn irtifā' yābad'*; Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwāndamīr, *Qānūn-i Humāyūnī*, Persian text, ed. M. Hidāyat Ḥusayn (Calcutta, 1940), p. 84; trans. Baini Prashad (Calcutta, 1940), p. 60. See also James L. Wescoat Jr., 'Gardens of Invention and Exile: The Precarious Context of Mughal Garden Design during the Reign of Humayun (1530–56)', *Journal of Garden History*, 10, 1 (1990), pp. 106–16, in particular p. 109. That the fortress palace contained gardens, at least after Humayun retook it from the Surs in 1555, can be conjectured from a remark of the Jesuit Father Monserrate who described the Mughal empire in the early 1580s. Monserrate says that Humayun fell to his death from the roof of his palace hall into a garden (*hortus*). See Father Anthony Monserrate S.J., *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius, or The First Jesuit Mission to Akbar*, Latin text ed. Rev. H. Hosten, S.J., *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society Bengal*, 3/9 (1914), p. 561; Eng. trans. J.S. Hoyland and annot. S.N. Banerjee, *Commentary of Father Monserrate* (London, 1922), p. 34.

Surs as an island in the Jamna (1545–54), and, after Humayun's reign until the construction of Shahjahanabad (1639–48), the Mughals used it as their residence whenever they came to Delhi (Figs. 6.2, 8.17).[10] We do not know whether it had gardens.

In an urban context, attention to the development of gardens appears to have been directed primarily to areas outside the fortress-palaces. The riverfront garden scheme of Agra seems to have been adopted to a certain extent in the new residential quarters of the Mughals at Lahore, and, in Akbar's time (r. 1556–1605), also at Delhi.[11]

More importance, however, was given to the development of Mughal Agra as a riverbank city, because in 1558 Akbar had moved the imperial headquarters from Delhi to Agra and it had again become the main capital of the Mughal empire.[12] From contemporary descriptions it is evident that Akbar's Agra already looked very much like it does in the early eighteenth century map in the Jaipur City Palace Museum (Fig. 8.1).[13] The Mughal city consisted of bands of gardens lining both banks of the river Jamna. Akbar's fort, construction beginning in 1564, was positioned in this urban scheme like a garden (Fig. 8.1/42).[14] But there is still no mention of gardens inside the Mughal palace. Akbar's historian Qandahari, who tells us most about Akbar's building projects, mentions no gardens in his description of the new Agra fort, but remarks on its excellent architectural features of red stone and the paved surface of its grounds,[15] which the architectural evidence bears out. The two complexes of the Agra palace that date from Akbar's time, the *zanāna* courtyards named Akbari Mahal[16] and, rather misleadingly, Jahangiri Mahal, are built not around gardens but around paved courtyards. The riverside courtyard of the Jahangiri Mahal, however, contains a few elements of water architecture (Fig. 8.2).[17] In praising the fortress palace of Agra, Qandahari resorts only once to a paradise-garden metaphor;[18] he otherwise uses architectural imagery and describes the fort as a large city (*mīṣr-i jāmi‘*) and a bazaar of elegance and beauty.[19]

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[10] See Ebba Koch, ‘Shah Jahan's Visits to Delhi Prior to 1648: New Evidence of Ritual Movement in Urban Mughal India’, *Mughal Architecture: Pomp and Ceremonies—Environmental Design*, 1991, nos. 1–2, pp. 18–29; and, for the discussion of the topic in a wider context: *idem*, ‘The Delhi of the Mughals prior to Shahjahanabad as Reflected in the Patterns of Imperial Visits’, this volume.

[11] For this and the following, see Koch, ‘Mughal Waterfront Garden’, this volume.

[12] Abu'l Fażl, *Akbar nāma*, vol. 2, Persian text, pp. 76–7; trans., pp. 117–18. For the further development of the riverfront garden scheme beginning at the end of the year 1560, see ibid., Persian text, pp. 122–3, trans., pp. 187–8.

[13] Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, no. 126. The map, on cloth measuring 294 × 272 cm inscribed in *devanāgarī* is so far the best document available on Mughal Agra. It was first published by Chandramani Singh, ‘Early 18th-Century Painted City Maps on Cloth’, in *Facets of Indian Art*, eds. R. Skelton *et al.* (London, 1986), pp. 185–92, figs. 7, 8; and, with a colour illustration, by Susan Gole, *Indian Maps and Plans: From the Earliest Times to the Advent of European Surveys* (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 200–1. I am grateful to the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum for the permission to photograph and publish the map and to Dr. B.M. Jawalia, Keeper of Manuscripts for assisting me in its reading.

[14] Useful general information on the Agra fort is in M. Ashraf Husain, *An Historical Guide to the Agra Fort Based on Contemporary Records* (Delhi, 1937). For a more recent brief assessment and a plan based on new measurements, see Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development (1526–1858)* (Munich, 1991), pp. 53–5.

[15] Muḥammad ‘Ārif Qandahārī, *Tā'rīkh-i Akbarī*, Persian text eds. S. Mu‘īn al-Dīn Nadwī, Ażhar ‘Alī Dihlawī, and Imtiyāz ‘Alī ‘Arshī (Rampur, 1382/1962), pp. 144–9; trans. in *Fatehpur-Sikri: A Sourcebook*, eds. Michael Brand and G.D. Lowry (Cambridge, MA, 1985), pp. 290–5; cf. the somewhat loose translation by Tasneem Ahmad, *Tā'rīkh-i Akbarī: An Annotated Translation with Introduction* (Delhi, 1993), pp. 180–4.

[16] R. Froude Tucker, ‘The Akbari Mahall in Agra Fort’, in *Archeological Survey of India, Annual Report* (henceforth cited as *ASIAR*), 1907–8, pp. 8–22; for the paved courtyard, see p. 12.

[17] A *ḥawż* (pool) with a lobed in-and-out pattern is sunk in the centre of the U-shaped paved courtyard; it is linked by a narrow channel to a miniature pool, also lobed but in the shape of a bowl, in front of the arched niche of the northern wing of the courtyard. The plan referred to in note 14 is much reduced, but the pool and the channel can be made out below no. 4. See also William G. Klingelhofer, ‘The Jahangiri Mahal of the Agra Fort: Expression and Experience in Early Mughal Architecture’, *Muqarnas*, 5 (1988), pp. 153–69, figs. 3, 14, 19; he does not, however, discuss these features. Below this ‘garden court’ is a *tah khāna* (underground room) with another pool.

[18] ‘A fort of red stone was built on the bank of the Jamna, which like the palaces of abundant joy and the palaces of sublime paradise, obtained the order of status ‘Gardens beneath which river flow’; Qandahārī, *Tā'rīkh-i Akbarī*, Persian text, p. 145–6; trans. Brand and Lowry. *Sourcebook*, p. 292. The translation of Tasneem Ahmad (p. 181) gives only a shortened version.

[19] Qandahārī, Persian text, p. 147; trans. in Brand and Lowry, *Sourcebook*, p. 293. Similarly Monserrate (*Commentarius*, Latin text, pp. 561–2, trans. p. 34) compared the Agra Fort to a great city which contained, in addition to the palace buildings, also ‘the mansions of

Qandahari describes the architectural qualities of the palace of Fatehpur Sikri in similar terms.[20] Though in this case he does compare it favourably to paradise, it is not to paradise as a garden; rather, the imagery he uses is architectural.[21] Clearly, the palace was not even metaphorically conceived as a garden. This emphasis on construction determines the actual shape of the palace at Fatehpur Sikri. Most of its courtyards are, or were, paved, including those which obviously served recreational purposes, such as the courtyard of the Anup Tala'o.[22] The two gardens in the palace compound which date—at least in their basic design—from the Mughal period, are so much integrated into the palace architecture that they have received almost no attention in the literature on Mughal gardens, despite their significance as the first preserved Mughal palace gardens.[23] The first of them is an oblong *chār bāgh*, measuring about 65m × 30.6m; it lies immediately behind and to the west of the emperor's pavilion in the Diwan-i 'Amm (court of public audiences). In its present form the garden is divided by three intersecting *khiyābān*s (paved walkways) into six *chaman*s (plots) of unequal size which in turn are surrounded by a paved walkway (Figs. 8.3, 4).[24]

The second preserved palace garden at Fatehpur Sikri is a *zanāna* garden, called Mariam's Garden by Smith. It is tucked away in the female quarters to the north of Jodh Ba'i's Palace, the main *zanāna* building (Figs. 8.5, 6).[25] The plan consists of two terraced levels (*martaba*); the upper one measuring about 27 × 28.4m, the lower one about 37 × 19m. Smith described the upper level of the garden in the early 1890s as 'contrary to our notion of a garden this was stone paved throughout.'[26] Through the middle of the garden runs a narrow water channel along which are placed two *chhatrī*s (pillared kiosks). A covered cistern (*ḥawż*) (Mariam's Bath) in the southeast corner provides the water supply for the channels. The two palace gardens represent two major Mughal garden types—the *chār bāgh* and the terraced garden—in a highly architecturalized form.

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his [Akbar's] nobles, the magazines, the treasury, the arsenal, the stable of the cavalry, and the shops and huts of drug-sellers, barbers, and all manner of common workmen.' He does not mention any gardens.

[20] He mentions no palace gardens but says that *basātīn* and *bāghāt* were to be constructed at the periphery and centre of the city; see Persian text. p. 150; trans. Brand and Lowry, *Sourcebook*, p. 35. Monserrate (*Commentarius*, Latin text, pp. 560–1, trans., pp. 30–1) does not refer to any gardens in his description of Fatehpur Sikri, mentioning only the artificial lake at its north (now dried up) as the main recreational area.

[21] For Qandahārī the vaults of the palace of Fatehpur Sikri surpass the *'īwān-i hasht jannat* (palace [hall] of the eight paradises)' and on account of its upper stories it appears like paradise 'on the brink of the precipice'. Qandahārī, Persian text, pp. 151–2; trans. in Brand and Lowry, *Sourcebook*, pp. 36–7, Qandahārī compares the palace also with the Ka'ba where Muhammad took up residence, text, p. 153; trans. p. 38.

[22] For plans and illustration, see Attilio Petruccioli, *Fathpur Sikri: la città del sole e delle acque* (Rome, 1988), pp. 126–33.

[23] For brief references to the gardens, see the seminal work on Fatehpur Sikri by Edmund W. Smith, *The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri*, 4 vols. (1894–8; rpt. Delhi, 1985), 1, pp. 28–9, pl. ci; 3, p. 45; S.A.A Rizvi and Vincent J.A. Flynn, *Fathpur Sikri* (Bombay, 1975), pp. 41, 57. Scholars have perhaps refrained from discussing these gardens because it is not quite certain to what extent their present shape is the result of restorations by the Archaeological Survey of India which may have overemphasized the plantation components (see nn. 24, 26 below). Several areas of the palace such as the courts to the north and to the west of the Panch Mahal indicated on Smith's plan A in vol. 3 as a 'quadrangle' have been planted since then.

[24] I have assumed in my analysis and in the newly prepared plan published here for the first time as Fig. 8.3 that the restoration of the garden conformed largely to its original design. It is, however, possible that, as in the *zanāna* garden discussed below, more of its area was originally paved. Smith refers to the garden as belonging to 'the house of the Turkish Sultana'. The names under which the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri are generally known are largely derived, not from historical evidence, but from local traditions credulously introduced into the literature by Smith (*Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri*). He refers to 'the Turkish Sultana's Garden' briefly in vol 3, on p. 45, without describing it. His plan on plate A indicates the area of the garden but none of its internal organization. It is possible that not much of the organization of the garden was visible by Smith's time. Muhammad Ashraf Husain, *A Guide to Fatehpur Sikri* (Delhi, 1937), p. 21, refers to it as 'an open space which once formed a garden.' Since all the plans of Fatehpur Sikri published subsequently were derived from Smith, they do not feature details of the garden either. See, for instance, Rizvi and Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri*, plan opposite p. 23, where the garden is inscribed as Daulat Khana Garden (palace garden); cf. p. 41. The drawings of Attilio Petruccioli in *Fathpur Sikri*, which are based on new measurements, show the inner organization of the garden only on some of the plans of the palace (pp. 60, 128, 142) with several of its extant features omitted. He does not discuss the gardens.

[25] Smith, *Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri*, 1, pp. 28–9; pl. ci. (photograph), vol. 3, pl. B (plan). Rizvi and Flynn (*Fathpur Sikri*, p. 57, plan opposite p. 45) describe it as a 'zenana garden'. In these publications the garden features only on overall plans of larger areas of the palace; see also Petruccioli, plans on pp. 126, 128, 129, 142. Our Fig. 8.5 presents the first detailed plan of the garden.

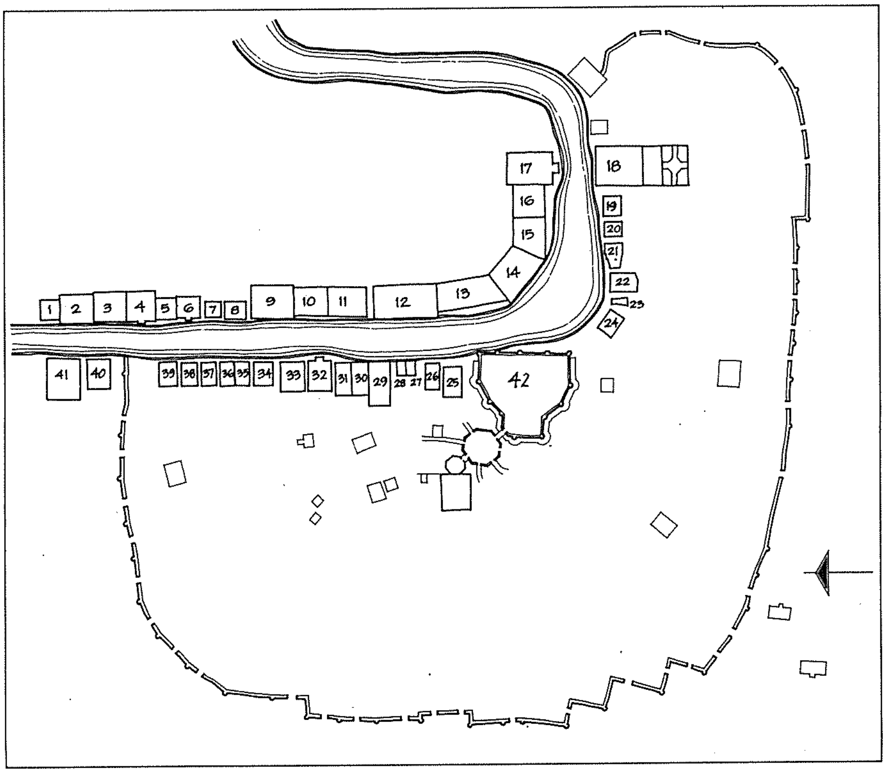
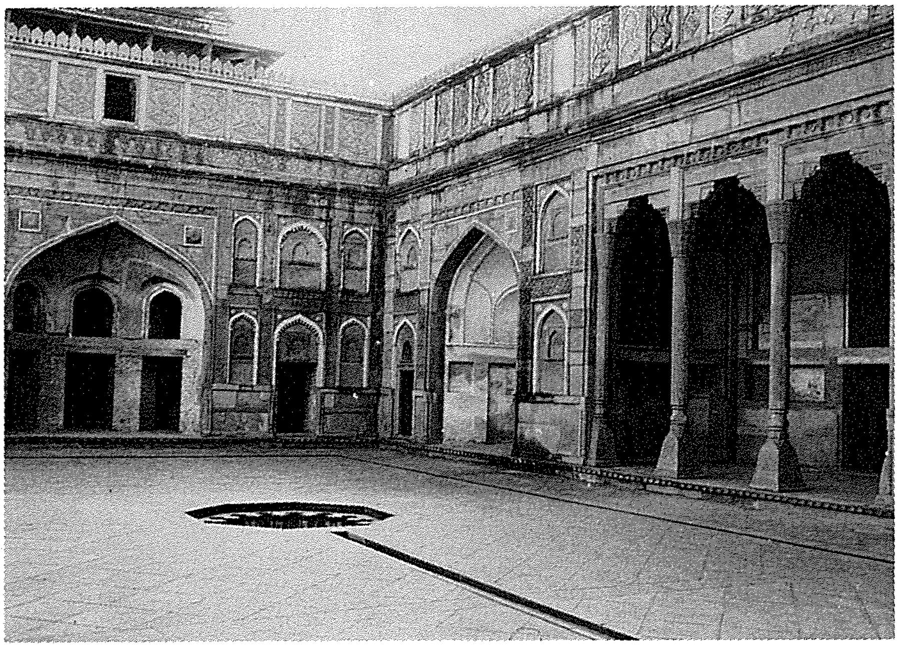


Fig. 8.1 Line drawing of a map of Agra, see Figs. 7.2 and 7.3. 3. Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan), 4. Zahara Bagh (Bagh-i Jahanara), 9. Tomb of I'timad al-Dawla, 15. Second Chahar Bagh Padshahi, 16. Chahar Bagh Padshahi (Bagh-i Hasht Bihisht?), 17. Mahtab Bagh, 18. Taj Mahal, 42. Red Fort.

Fig. 8.2 Jahangiri Mahal, Agra Fort, 1564–1570s. East (riverside) court with ornamental pool and water channel leading to the northern arched niche.



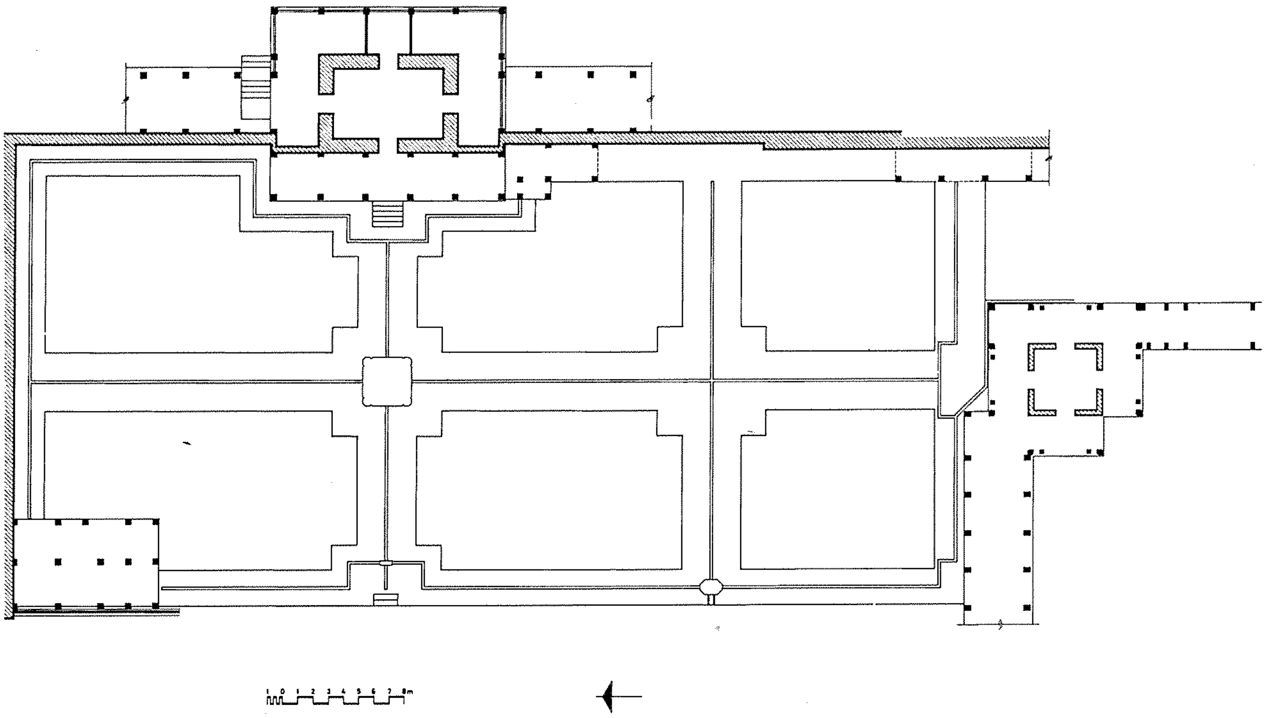
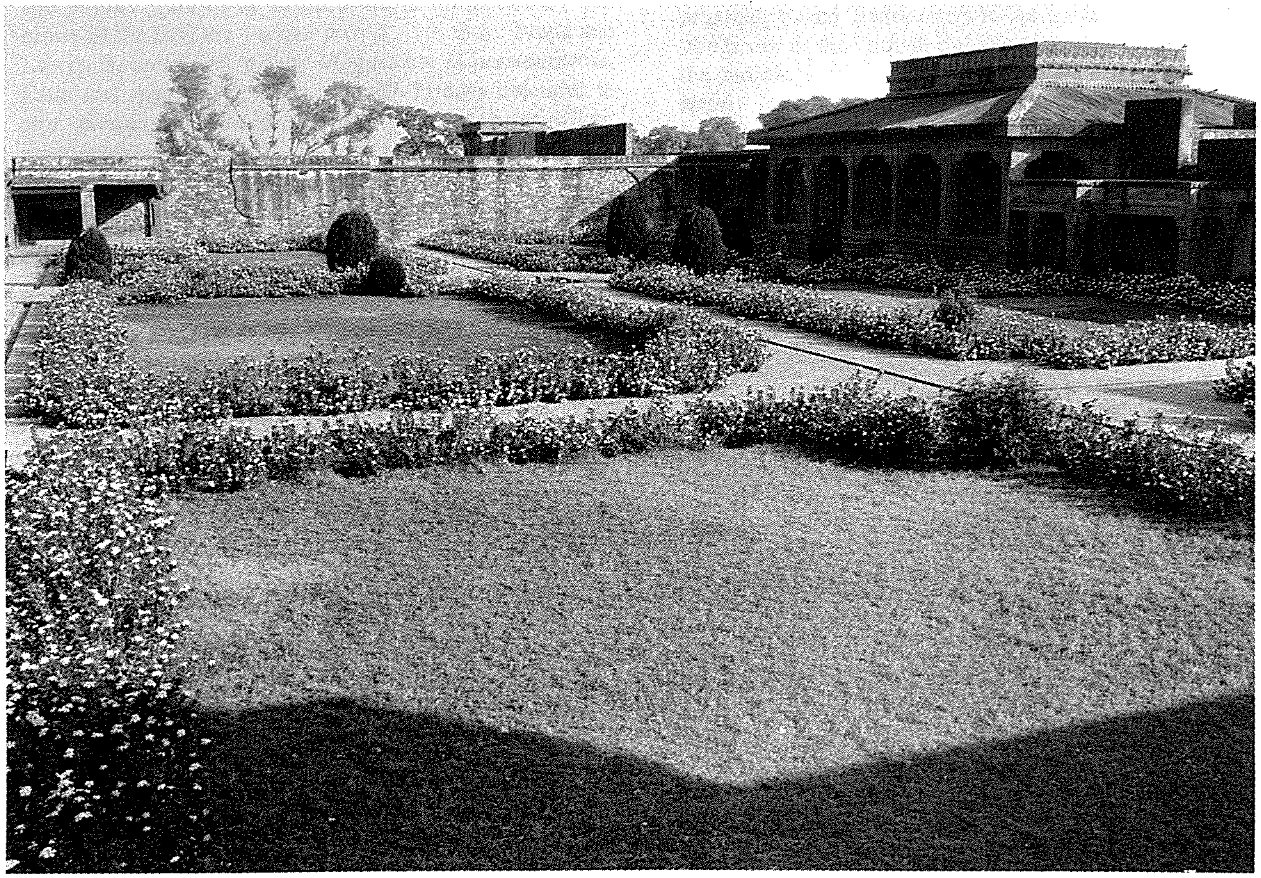


Fig. 8.3 Plan of the *chār bāgh* west of the Diwan-i ‘Amm pavilion, Fatehpur Sikri, c. 1571–85.

Fig. 8.4 *Chār bāgh* west of the Diwan-i ‘Amm pavilion seen from southwest, Fatehpur Sikri, c. 1571–85.



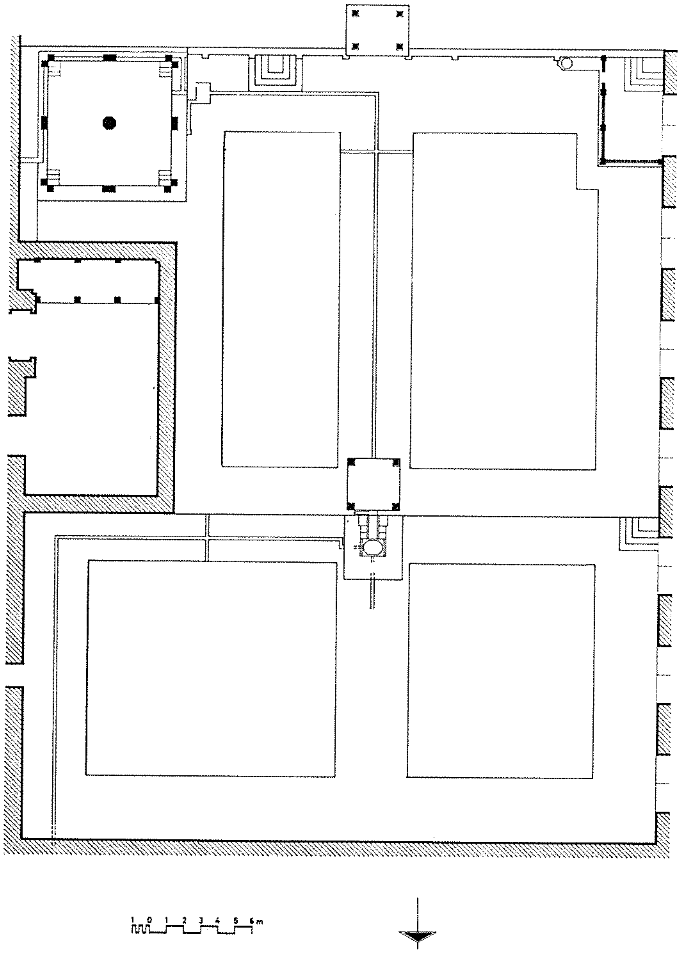
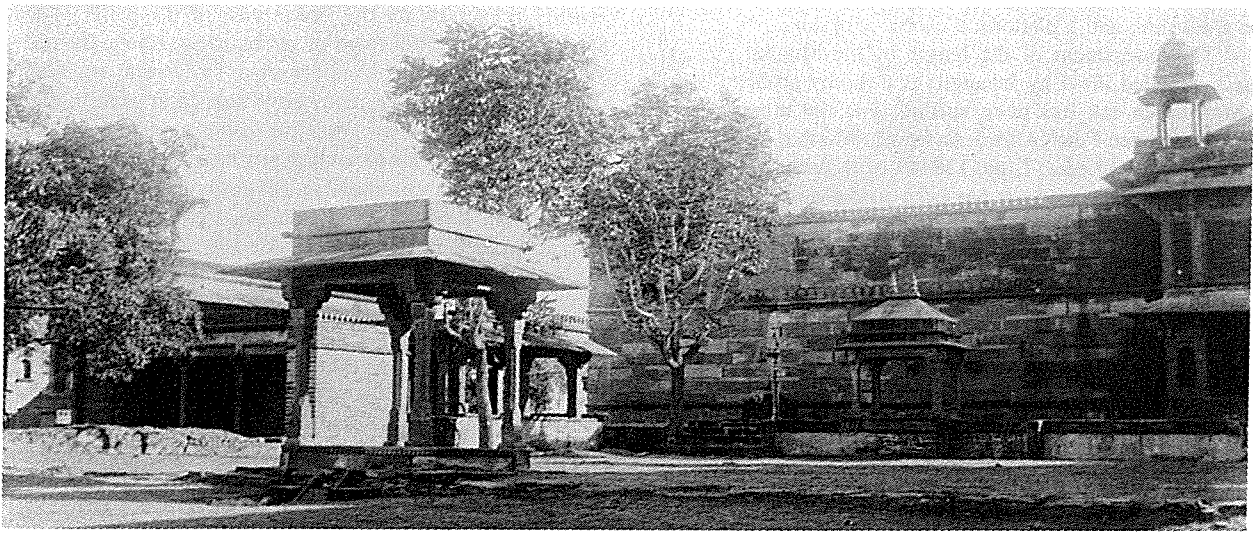


Fig. 8.5 Plan of the terraced *zanāna* garden north of Jodh Ba'i's palace, Fatehpur Sikri.

Fig. 8.6 Terraced *zanāna* garden north of Jodh Ba'i's palace, Fatehpur Sikri, c. 1571–85. Seen from northwest in c. 1907 before excavation of lower terrace level. British Library, London.



In Jahangir's time (r. 1605–27), palace gardens were still not a prominent type in Mughal garden architecture. The only palace garden which the emperor himself mentions in his autobiography is the one laid out by his father Akbar in the citadel of the Hari Parbat at Srinagar. Jahangir refers to it as *bāghcha-i dawlat khāna* (small garden of the palace).[27] As a memorial to his father, Jahangir took care to renovate the garden when he came to Srinagar in the spring of 1620.[28] He also connected it to his own patronage by renaming it Nur Afza (Light-increaser).[29] Jahangir's additions to the garden were executed by Mu‘tamid Khan and consisted of a *ṣuffa-i ‘ālī* (high terrace?),[30] 32 *dir‘a*[31] square with three divisions (*qiṭ‘a*). He also had the garden building (s?) (*‘imārāt*) decorated with figural paintings, a practice typical of all of his palaces; the building was subsequently called *khāna-i taṣwīrī* (picture gallery).[32]

Scholars have assumed that the Bagh-i Nur Afza and its buildings did not survive,[33] but there is evidence, so far ignored, to suggest that the garden was situated in the topmost enclosure of the citadel, in the southwestern part of which a ruined pavilion still stands with traces of a painted wall decoration that date clearly from Jahangir's time (Fig. 8.7).[34] It could be the building described by the emperor as part of his restoration scheme. Jahangir also mentions cherry trees in the garden and says that to his great delight in the spring of 1620 four of them bore fruit. ‘Although they sent them by runners from Kabul as well, yet to pick them oneself from one's home garden gave additional sweetness.’[35]

The Nur Afza garden seems to have acquired dynastic significance for the Mughals, for it was also a favourite of Jahangir's successor Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58). His historians describe it thus:

> [The first] of all the imperial gardens (*busātīn-i bādshāhī*) [in Kashmir] is the garden (*bāgh*) of the exalted *dawlat khāna* which is known as Nūr Afzā. And with regard to the increase of its fruit bearing, it is without equal. In the reign of Haẓrat Jannat Makānī [Jahangir] there were only a few cherry trees in Kashmir [meaning those in the Nur Afza?]. In this period of expanding prosperity [i.e. the reign of Shah Jahan], when growth and increase have come again into the world, they are plentiful.[36]

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[26] Smith, *Architecture of Fathpur Sikri*, 1, p. 28.

[27] Jahāngīr, *Tūzuk* (now called the *Jahāngīr nāma*), Persian text. ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (Aligarh, 1864), p. 299; trans. Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge, 2 vols. in one (1909–14; rpt. Delhi, 1968), 2, p. 145.

[28] *Tūzuk*, Persian text, p. 302; trans., 2, pp. 150–1. Cf. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 124.

[29] It was a common practice of Jahangir and his favourite wife Nur Jahan to name or rename gardens, palaces, or caravanserais constructed or reconstructed by them with compound names containing the element ‘Nur’ (light) of their *laqabs*, Nur al-Din and Nur Jahan: see *Tūzuk*, trans., 1, p. 269 ff; 2, pp. 75–6, 151 ff, 192, 226.

[30] It is not quite clear what Jahangir meant by *ṣuffa;* it is not a term used by Shah Jahan's historians and poets, who are our prime source for Mughal architectural terminology. According to Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber (*The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan* [Princeton N.J., 1988], pp. 73–4, 470), it refers in the Timurid context to an *īwān* (arched niche), or platform. On this point, see also Koch, ‘Delhi of the Mughals’, this volume, n. 62. In Shahjahani architectural terminology, a garden terrace would be a *martaba* and a platform a *chabūtra* or *kursī*.

[31] The assessment of the length of the Mughal *gaz* or *zirā‘*, (spelled *dir‘a* by Jahangir) is a thorny problem over which much ink has been spilled. For the most recent assessment, see Peter Alford Andrews, ‘Misaha: 2. Muslim India’ in *EI*, 2nd edn., 7, pp. 138–40, with further literature. One of the reasons why it has been so difficult to come to definite conclusions seems to be that modern scholars base their efforts at reconstruction on the assumption that the *gaz* was used with great precision, whereas in fact craftsmen appear to have been more generous. The two *gaz* lengths most commonly used in the imperial architecture of the Mughals were 83.36 cm or 32.82 inches, and, in the period of Shah Jahan, 81–82 cm, ideally 81.28 cm, or 32 inches. The platform in the garden was thus probably either ca. 26.67 m or 26 m square; see also n. 66 below.

[32] *Tūzuk*, Persian text, pp. 302, 308, trans. 2, pp. 150–1, 161–2.

[33] See, e.g., Attilio Petruccioli, ‘Gardens and Religious Topography in Kashmir’, *Mughal Architecture: Pomp and Ceremonies—Environmental Design*, 1991, no. 1, pp. 66, 73, n. 4; he publishes a plan (undated? 18th century?) of Srinagar in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, cat. no. 120, which includes a free view of the Hari Parbat and its buildings.

[34] The traces of painted floral motifs and scrolls are mainly preserved on the lower part of the walls of the interior of the central room of the building. Above the dado remain a few wall niches arranged in several registers. Those in the register just above the dado zone have a shouldered arched profile; the upper registers include niches with multi-lobed arched profiles. This form of wall decoration was common in Jahangir's time. Before I discovered the traces of the paintings in March 1986 I had also assumed that Jahangir's garden and its building did not survive. See Ebba Koch, ‘Jahangir and the Angels’, this volume, n. 63.

[35] *Tūzuk*, Persian text, pp. 306–7; trans. 2, p. 159.

[36] My translation of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Bādshāh nāma*, Persian text, eds. Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmad and ‘Abd al-Raḥīm (Calcutta, 1866–72) [henceforth quoted as Lāhawrī], vols. 1, 2, p. 26 (the last sentence reflects the imperial propaganda discussed at the end of this article). The other historians of Shah Jahan's reign make similar statements:

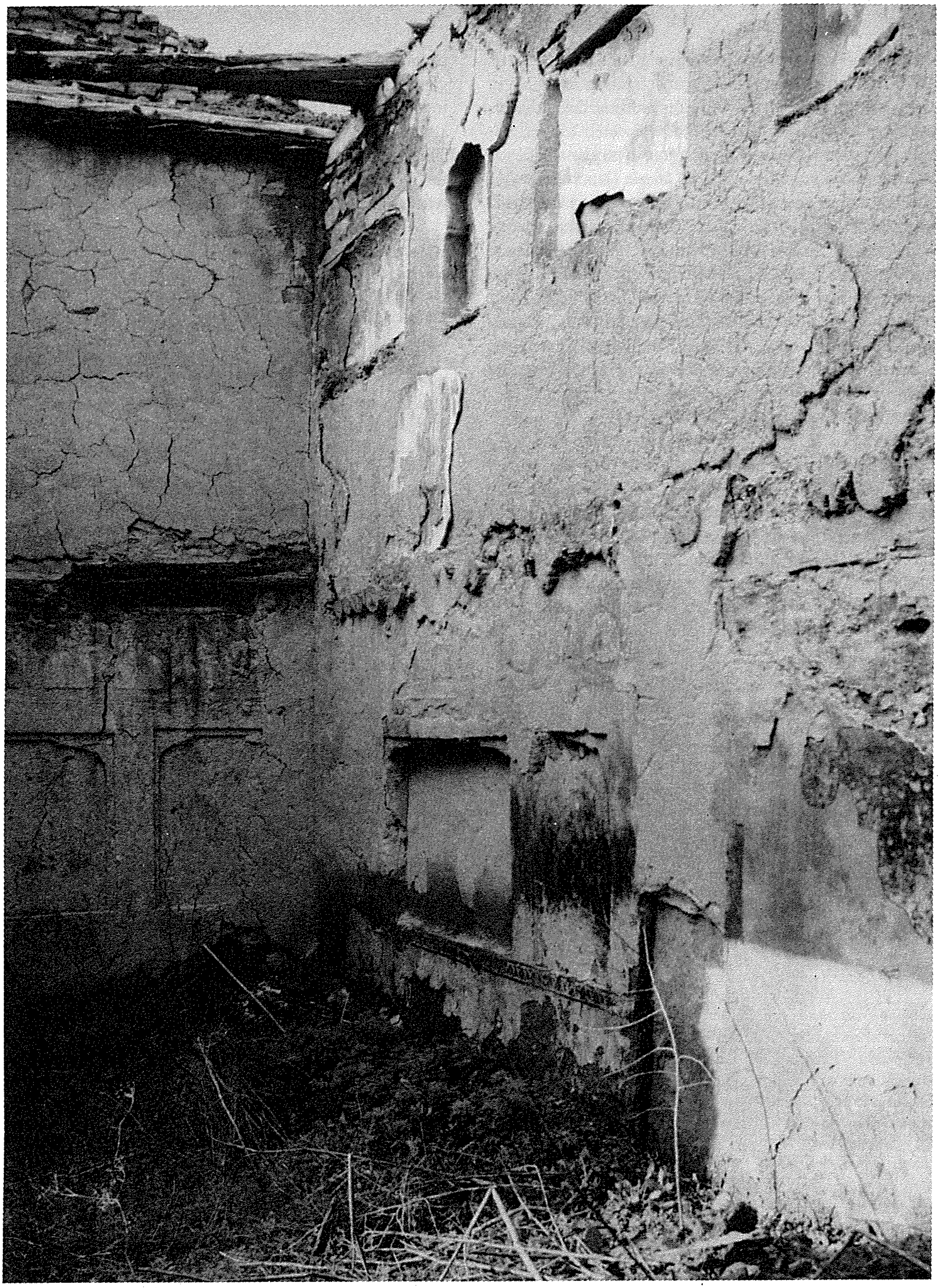

Fig. 8.7 Ruined Jahangiri pavilion in the garden of the topmost enclosure of the Hari Parbat, Srinagar.

When Shah Jahan arrived at Srinagar in April 1640 he was disappointed because storms and heavy rains had destroyed the blossoms of all the almond trees in the valley which he had expected to see; he was, however, compensated by an iris plant (*bōta-i sūsanī*) in the *baghcha-i dawlat khana* (Nur Afza). On it Shah Jahan counted 212 flowers, opened and still in bud.[37]

Nothing more is known about the gardens developed by Jahangir in palaces. Other gardens mentioned in a palace context were situated below and outside them. One of these, called Bahr Ara (Ocean adorner) had two terraces right below the *jharōka-i darshan* (imperial viewing window)[38] of the *dawlat khāna* of the Hari Parbat on the shores of (or in?) the Dal Lake at Srinagar.[39] The English merchant William Finch, who saw the Lahore fort in 1611, mentions a garden between the fort and the river, below one of the pavilions on its northern facade; he means here perhaps the *bangla* (small pavilion with a curved roof) in the courtyard which is today called Jahangir's Quadrangle (Figs. 8.11, 12, 13).[40] The palace at the Agra Fort (Fig. 8.1/42) also had a garden on the river front below the Jharoka-i Darshan in which in 1616 Jahangir had put up life-size marble statues of the Rana of Mewar and his son Karan.[41] This must be the same garden Finch had described a few years earlier (1610–11) as a 'curious garden' from where Jahangir boarded the boat that took him to

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Another garden is the Nūr Afzā of the exalted *dāwlat khāna* which on account of the purity of its view and its beautiful appearance has hardly an equal on the face of the earth . . . This object of the bountiful sight [of the emperor] received earlier and greater attention by the Lord of the seven regions, than all the other aims of his generosity.

My translation of Jalāl al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Pādshāh nāma*, BL, Persian ms. Or. 1676, fol. 94a; see also Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, 2, p. 30.

[37] Lāhawrī, 2, pp. 191–2. The previous day Shah Jahan had feasted his eyes on a red rosebush (*bōta-i gul-i surkh*) in the Farah Bakhsh garden of the Shalimar gardens on which there were counted no less than 4500 flowers and buds! Cf. 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān Nāma*, trans. A.R. Fuller, rev. and eds. W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai (New Delhi, 1990), p. 268.

[38] For the Mughal adoption of the Indian practice of *jharōka-i darshan*, see Catherine B. Asher, 'Sub-Imperial Palaces: Power and Authority in Mughal India'; and Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces'; both in Gülru Necipoğlu, ed., *Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces*, special issue of *Ars Orientalis*, 23 (1993), in particular pp. 282–3, 314–16.

[39] Lāhawrī, vol. 1, 2, pp. 26–7.

[40] It is difficult to bring Finch's description of the Lahore fort in line with the existing buildings, because the alterations made afterwards by Jahangir himself, by Shah Jahan, and by later builders have changed its architecture since Finch saw it. It is, however, quite possible that he is referring to Jahangir's Quadrangle when he speaks of 'another moholl [female palace], . . . contrived into sixteen several great lodgings [in the courtyard wings?] . . . In the midst stands a goodly gallery for the King to sit in [not preserved; was this Jahangir's Khwabgah replaced with that built by Shah Jahan in the middle of the riverfront, as discussed below?] . . . Before this gallery [towards the river?] is a faire paved court, with stone gratings and windows alongst the waters side; at the end [what might refer to the eastern part of the waterfront] a fair marble jounter, convexed over-head, looking over the river; beneath it a garden of pleasure'; 'William Finch 1608–11', in *Early Travels in India: 1583–1619*, ed. William Foster (1921; rpt. New Delhi, 1985), p. 164. Finch's 'jounter' seems to be a corruption of *chhatrī* (small kiosk) (see ibid., p. 158, n. 2); 'convexed over-head' refers to domes; what he means here is perhaps a *bangla*, a distinct type of Mughal imperial pavilion with the characteristic curved roof derived from a vernacular Bengali form. In Mughal architectural terminology the term *bangla* is applied to the roof or vault with the characteristic shape, as well as to a pavilion with a *bangla* roof. The role these *bangla* pavilions played in the context of palace gardens is discussed below. See also Ebba Koch, 'The Baluster Column', this volume, p. 45. If Finch's use of the term 'jounter' did indeed refer to a *bangla* pavilion, it would mean that the *bangla* of Jahangir's Quadrangle dates from Jahangir's reign and that thus it appears earlier in permanent form in the Mughal palace than is generally believed. So far it had been assumed that the *bangla* pavilion was used in tent form in Jahangiri palaces and that it was replaced in Shah Jahan's reign by its stone version. For the tent form, see the miniature of Jahangir in the *jharoka* in the collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, reproduced by Necipoğlu, 'Framing the Gaze', p. 339, Fig. 23. See also our Fig. 0.1 Ilay Cooper ('Sikhs, Saints and Shadows of Angels: Some Mughal Murals in Buildings along the North Wall of Lahore Fort', *South Asian Studies*, 9 (1993), pp. 20–8) has also suggested that (at least the main body of) the *bangla* pavilion (informed by the local guides, he calls it Sedari) of Jahangir's Quadrangle should be dated to Jahangir's time, on account of its wall paintings which—typically in Jahangiri palace decoration—copy Christian subjects.

[41] *Tūzuk* (Persian text, pp. 162–3) refers to the garden as *bāgh pā'yin-i jharōka-i darshan*; cf. trans. 1, p. 332. By putting up statues there—a rather striking gesture for a Muslim ruler—Jahangir celebrated his triumph over the Rana of Mewar whose stone image was in permanent attendance before the emperor below the Jharoka-i Darshan, for all to see. It seems that Jahangir was inspired here by Akbar who, according to Monserrate (*Commentary*, text, p. 562, trans. p. 35), had put up at a gate of the Agra Fort life-size statues of vanquished Rajput chiefs on elephants.

another garden on the opposite side of the river.[42] This seems to indicate that the garden serving the great urban fortress palace was still outside its walls on the riverfront and that the emphasis was still on riverfront gardens. None of these gardens is preserved.

At Agra, however, two gardens from Jahangir's time survive that were founded by imperial women. They are the Ram Bagh, built—or rebuilt—by Jahangir's wife Nur Jahan as Bagh-i Nur Afshan in 1621,[43] and the Zahara Bagh (Bagh-i Jahanara), laid out by Mumtaz Mahal in the late 1620s and remodelled later by her daughter Jahanara (Figs. 8.1, 3, 4, Fig. 7.6).[44] Both gardens conform to a scheme which eventually became typical of the riverfront garden of Agra and which—and this is important in our context—was to be very influential in the future development of the Mughal palace gardens. In this garden plan the main buildings were not placed in the centre of the garden as in the classical Mughal *chār bāgh*, but were arranged on terraces lining the riverbank. The riverfront buildings were framed by the corner towers of the enclosure wall of the garden. On the landward side of the terrace was a *chār bāgh*. This shift towards the riverfront provided the main garden pavilions with the climatic advantages of running water and a carefully composed front to those who saw it from a boat or across the river. From inside, the buildings presented an equally satisfying backdrop for the garden.[45]

In Shah Jahan's reign the waterfront garden was given its canonical form as a perfectly symmetrical composition and became the main garden pattern of the period. The actual form of the component parts could, however, be changed without disturbing the organization. At Agra, the pattern was used not only for residential gardens, but also, in a monumental version, in the funerary garden of the Taj Mahal.[46] It is in this particular form that the garden now makes its entry into the palace. The Taj complex and the fort were placed in the overall scheme of the riverbank city-like gardens (Fig. 8.1/18 and 42); consequently they adopted the pre-dominant garden form of this urban scheme.

The garden type appears in a perfectly symmetrical form in the so-called Anguri Bagh, the only garden within the imperial palace complex of the Agra fort. It was rebuilt 'in a new manner' (*naw ā'īn*)[47] as the main *zanāna* complex by Shah Jahan in the early 1630s and is reported as having been completed in January 1637 (Figs. 8.8, 9).[48] As in the Taj garden, a group of three buildings today known as the Khass Mahal stands on the riverside terrace. The Khwabgah, or sleeping pavilion of the emperor, in the centre is flanked on the left (when seen from the interior) or northern side by a pavilion with a curved roof, the

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[42] 'From this court is his privy passage into a curious garden, and to his bargé, by which he often passeth the river to an other garden opposite' (Finch in *Early Travels*, p. 185). The garden 'at the foot of the Jharoka-i Darshan (*chaman pāy-i jharōka-i darshan*)' is still mentioned by Shah Jahan's historian Lāhawrī in 1637 (vol. 1, 2, pp. 238–9).

[43] Ebba Koch, 'Notes on the Painted and Sculptured Decoration of Nur Jahan's Pavilions in the Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan) at Agra', in *Facets of Indian Art*, eds. R. Skelton *et al.* (London, 1986), pp. 51–65; a detailed plan of the terrace with the buildings is on p. 52.

[44] Ebba Koch, 'The Zahara Bagh (Bagh-i Jahanara) at Agra', *Environmental Design*, 1986, no. 2, pp. 30–7; for a sketch plan, see p. 36. In the seventeenth-century Mughal context, to bequeath a large formal garden to one's children was an imperial prerogative, exceptionally extended only to a member of the imperial family and the nobility. The Muslim nobles in particular were subjected to significant limits in their rights to own heritable property, bequeath property to their heirs, or endow *awqaf*. Gardens generally reverted to the crown unless their owners had converted them into tomb gardens.

[45] I come back here in this context to some points. I discussed in 'The Mughal Waterfront Garden', this volume, which includes several examples of plans.

[46] Koch, 'Waterfront Garden', includes a detailed discussion of how the waterfront formula was employed for the planning of the entire Taj complex.

[47] That means for a palace garden; Kanbō, *Bahār-i sukhan*, BL, Persian ms., Or. 178, fol. 256a.

[48] Lāhawrī, vol. 1, 2, pp. 240–1, trans. Nur Bakhsh, 'The Agra Fort and Its Buildings', pp. 180–1. For the situation of the garden within the palace context, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, Fig. 36/5. I examined the area of the Anguri Bagh thoroughly, but without excavating there is no way to ascertain whether 'the new manner' of the Anguri Bagh was indeed new or followed an already existing layout from an earlier construction phase of the Agra Fort. The Akbari Mahal, an earlier *zanāna* complex (see n. 16 above), had anticipated the waterfront scheme to a certain extent in the form of a courtyard building with a deeper wing on the river side. Similarly, the courtyard of the so-called Machchhi Bhawan has a deeper wing on the river side; we do not know if there was a garden before Shah Jahan reconstructed it. In Shah Jahan's time the Machchhi Bhawan was referred to as the *ṣaḥn* (court) of the Dawlat Khana-i Khass (hall of private audiences) and then it certainly had no garden, as many, such as Crowe *et al.* claim (*The Gardens of Mughal India*, pp. 162–4). The emperor would view his hunting animals such as his hounds, hawks, and cheetahs in this court, and watch his horses working out; see Lāhawrī, vol. 1, I, p. 149, trans. Nur Bakhsh, 'The Agra Fort and Its Buildings', in *ASIAR*, 1903–4, p. 191.

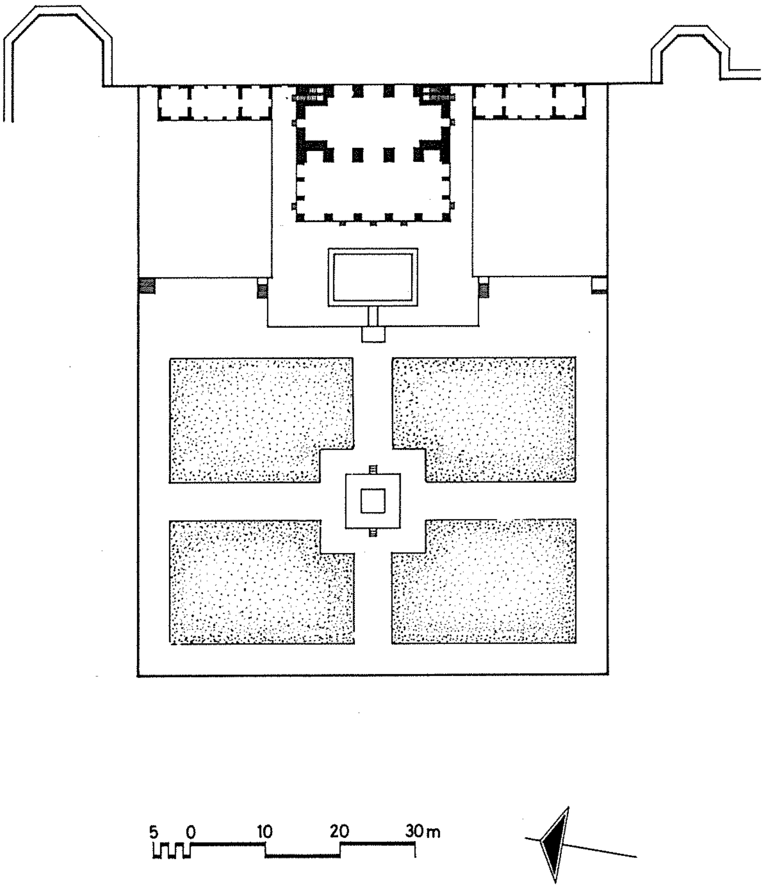
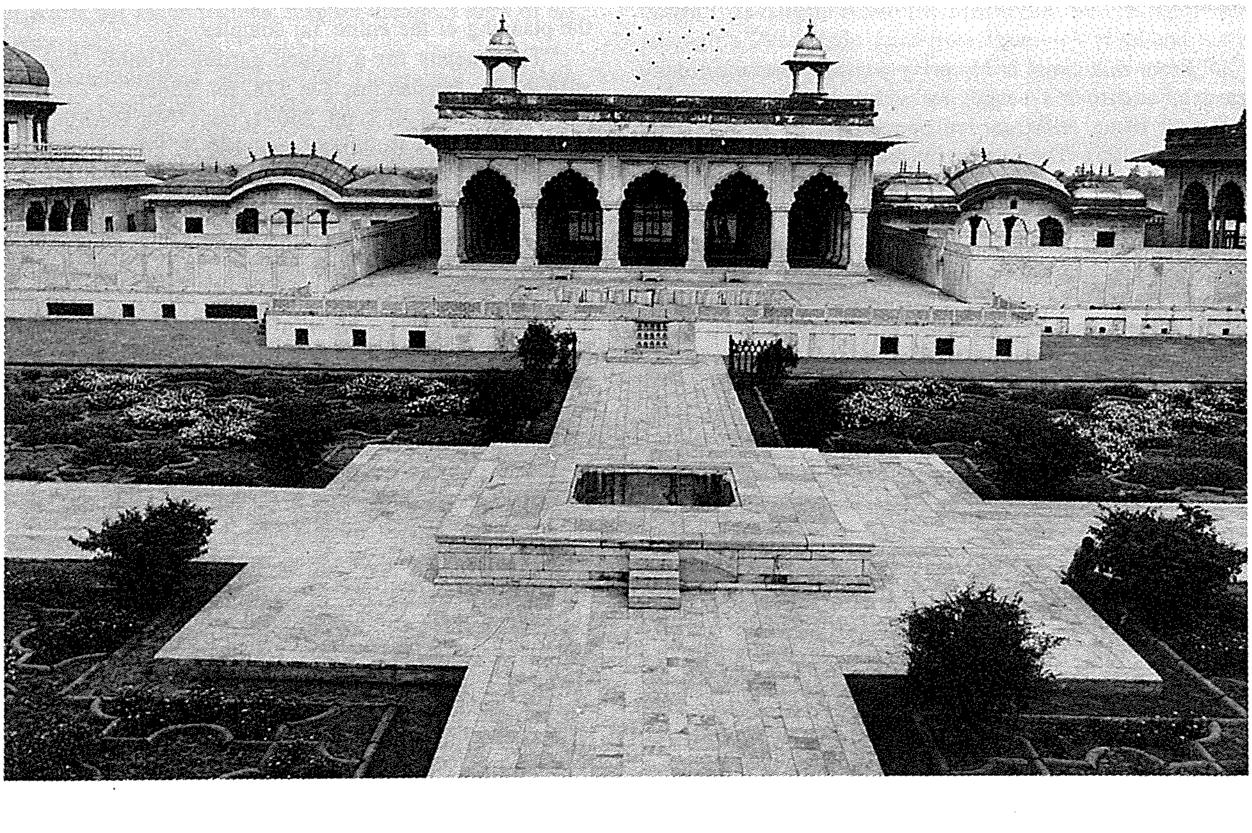


Fig. 8.8 Plan of the Anguri Bagh and Khass Mahal, Agra Fort, cf. Fig. 7.10.

Fig. 8.9 Anguri Bagh and Khass Mahal, Agra Fort, see Fig. 7.11.



Bangla-i Darshan, where the emperor appeared at sunrise before his subjects. On the right (southern) side is its mirror image, the *bangla* of his daughter Jahanara called Begam Sahib, who had become the first lady at court after the death of her mother Mumtaz Mahal. The Bangla-i Jahanara had no ceremonial function and seems to have been put up solely to balance the composition, to conform to *qarīna* (two equal features arranged symmetrically on both sides of a central axis), the architectural ideal of the period. The group of buildings on the terrace is combined with a lower *chār bāgh*, oblong in shape (64.1 × 53.6m), with a marble pool where its pathways cross.

We find a similar concept in Jahangir's Quadrangle in the Lahore Fort. It too is a *zanāna* courtyard enclosed by residential wings dating, as all evidence suggests, from Jahangir's time (Figs. 8.10–13).[49] The Mughal sources tell us nothing about the garden; it could have been added to the court in Shah Jahan's reign because no palace garden is mentioned there in Jahangir's time and we know that Shah Jahan reconstructed the Khwabgah in the centre of the terrace in 1634.[50] The *bangla* to the east of the Khwabgah certainly dates from Jahangir's reign,[51] and—as evident from nineteenth-century drawings and paintings—had its mirror image on the other (western) side of the Khwabgah; this was perhaps added for the sake of *qarīna* when Shah Jahan had the Khwabgah reconstructed.[52] All in all, the Lahore complex shows an organization similar to the Anguri Bagh at Agra, but it has different proportions. The garden courtyard is bigger (*c.* 118 × 78m) and its present terrace is only *c.* 17.5m deep.[53] Both the Anguri Bagh and the garden in Jahangir's Quadrangle were *zanāna* gardens: the one in Agra boasted in the Bangla-i Darshan one of the most important ceremonial buildings of the palace; the ceremonial function of the *bangla*s in the Lahore fort is not so clear (compare Figs. 8.8, 9 with Figs. 8.12, 13).

The garden in Jahangir's Quadrangle is not the only garden in the Lahore Fort; in the courtyard to its west is a garden which conforms to the same pattern, but we do not know when it was built (Fig. 8.10). Perhaps it dates from the time of the construction of the marble hall, the so-called Diwan-i Khass on its riverfront terrace. This was added to the Lahore Fort in 1645, during the reign of Shah Jahan.[54] The complex of the Shah Burj (Shish Mahal), which occupies the northwest corner of the fort and was completed under Shah Jahan in 1631–32 as one of his earliest additions to the Lahore palace,[55] shows the same scheme in an entirely architecturalized version (Fig. 8.10).[56] As indicated by its name, it is used here

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[49] See also the discussion in n. 40 above.

[50] Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, 2, pp. 6–7. For trans. see Nur Bakhsh, 'Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and Its Buildings', *ASIAR*, 1902–3, pp. 223–4, where the date is calculated inexactly to 1633. Kanbō does not say where the Khwabgah was situated, but since Jahangir's Quadrangle is conceptually identical to the Anguri Bagh, which was built around the same time, it is safe to assume that the building in the centre of its terrace was the Khwabgah, built anew by Shah Jahan. It was altered in later times, but preserves some of its original Shahjahani interior decoration. Our reading is supported by the fact that the building is also identified as 'Khwabgah' or 'Big Khwabgah' on nineteenth-century representations of the Lahore Fort (Figs. 8.10, 11), for which see also n. 53 below. For a new overall plan of the fort, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, Fig. 93.

[51] See n. 40 above.

[52] For further illustrations, see F.S. Aijazuddin, *Lahore: Illustrated Views of the 19th Century* (Ahmedabad, 1991), pl. on p. 25, pls. 13, 15.

[53] The plantings in the garden today differ from those in its representation on the nineteenth-century plan kept in the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, Lahore Fort, reproduced on our Fig. 8.10 on which the planted beds (*chamans*) are confined to the four that form a square around the central tank. The plan is dated 1894, but is based on an older drawing showing the fort buildings in the time of Ranjit Singh. The 1894 plan was published by Major Henry Hardy Cole, *Preservation of National Monuments. India: Buildings in the Punjab* (Sarai at Nur Mahal, plan of Lahore Fort, Shalimar Bagh) (1884); its Persian and Urdu inscriptions inform us about the use of the palace in the time of the Sikhs (1767–1846). For the British reconstruction of the garden, see the report of H. Hargreaves in *ASIAR*, 1925–6, p. 18, pls. iiic and d. The planting of Jahangir's Quadrangle today extends also into the fields on both sides of the central *chār bāgh* so that the planted area now conforms to the oblong shape of the courtyard (compare our Figs. 8.10 and 13); the outline of the square *chār bāgh* is indicated by the *khiyābān* surrounding the *chaman*s around the central pool. The *chār bāgh* in a rectangular court perhaps represents the attempt of 1634 to enrich the already existing residential courtyard of Jahangir's time (see n. 40 above) with a garden.

[54] Lāhawrī, 2, p. 414. Cf. Nur Bakhsh, 'Lahore Fort', p. 224, where the date is inexactly calculated to 1644. On the 1894 plan the building is inscribed as Khwabgah, indicating its use in the Sikh period.

[55] Lāhawrī, 1, 1, p. 223; Nur Bakhsh, 'Lahore Fort', pp. 221–3; for a plan, see pl. xxxiii. The 1894 plan designates the complex as *'Samman (=Muthamman) Burj'*, which means 'octagonal tower', a reference to its northern wing projecting as a half-octagon from the outer fort wall.

[56] For a detailed new plan of the Shah Burj, see James L. Wescoat, 'L'acqua nei gardini islamici: religione,

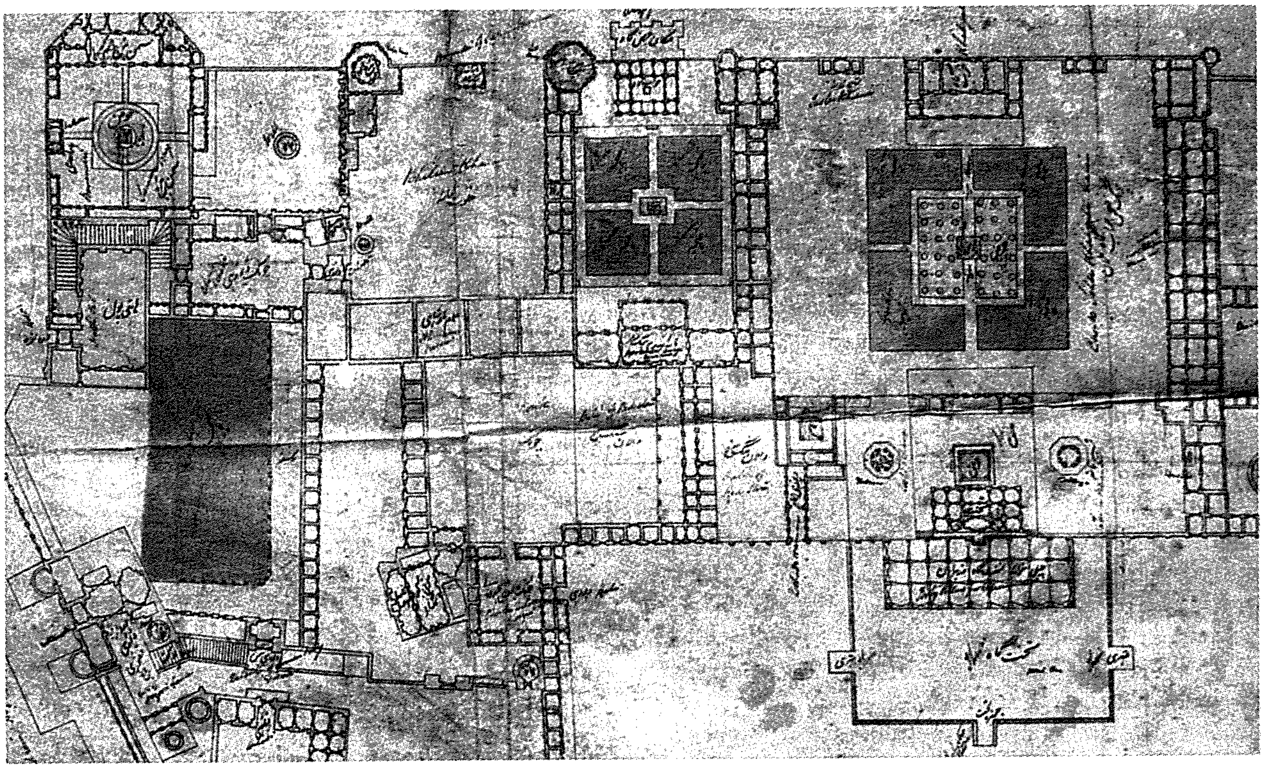


Fig. 8.10 Map of the Lahore Fort, dated 1894. Detail showing from left to right along the river front the Shah Burj (Samman Burj, Shish Mahal), two paved courtyards, the garden of the Diwan-i Khass, and Jahangir's Quadrangle. Lahore, Lahore Fort.

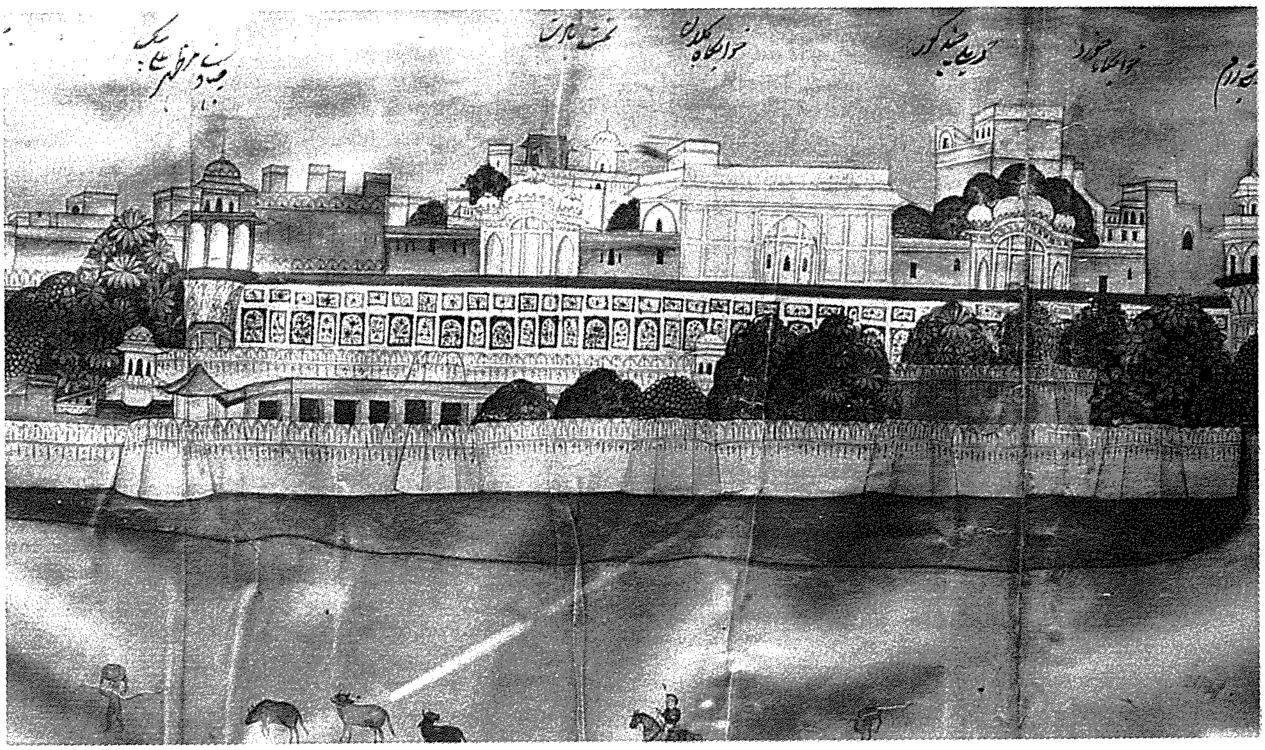


Fig. 8.11 Riverfront view of the Lahore Fort. Detail of the eastern part with Shah Jahan's Khwabgah flanked on both sides by *bangla* pavilions. 19th century. Lahore Museum, Lahore.

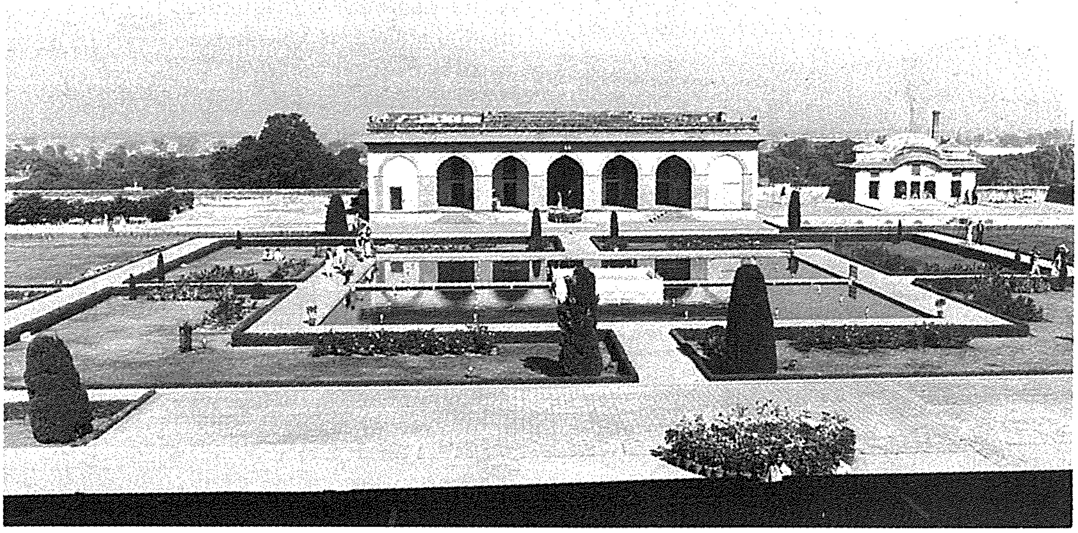
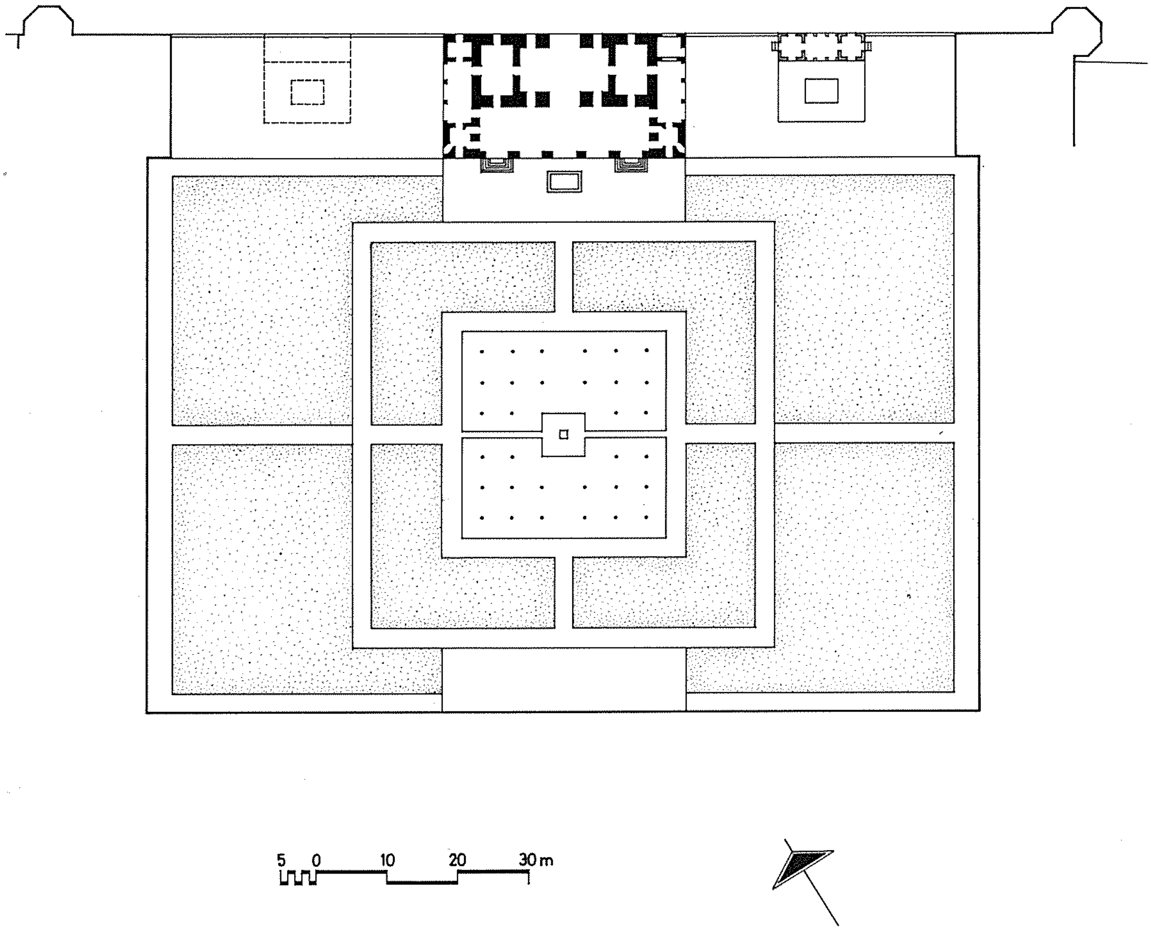


Fig. 8.12 Lahore Fort, Jahangir's Quadrangle with Shah-Jahan's Khwabgah, constructed in 1634 on its riverfront terrace with a *bangla* pavilion on the right. Both altered.

Fig. 8.13 Plan of Jahangir's Quadrangle, Lahore Fort.



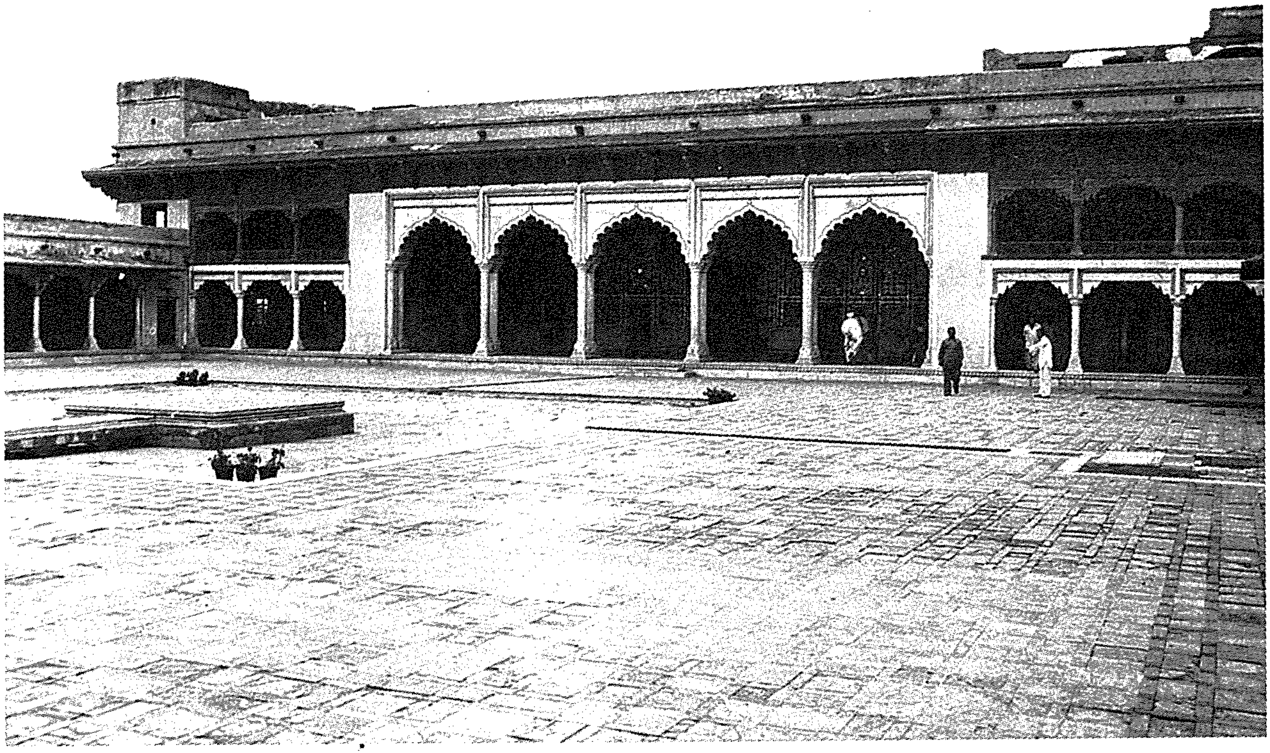
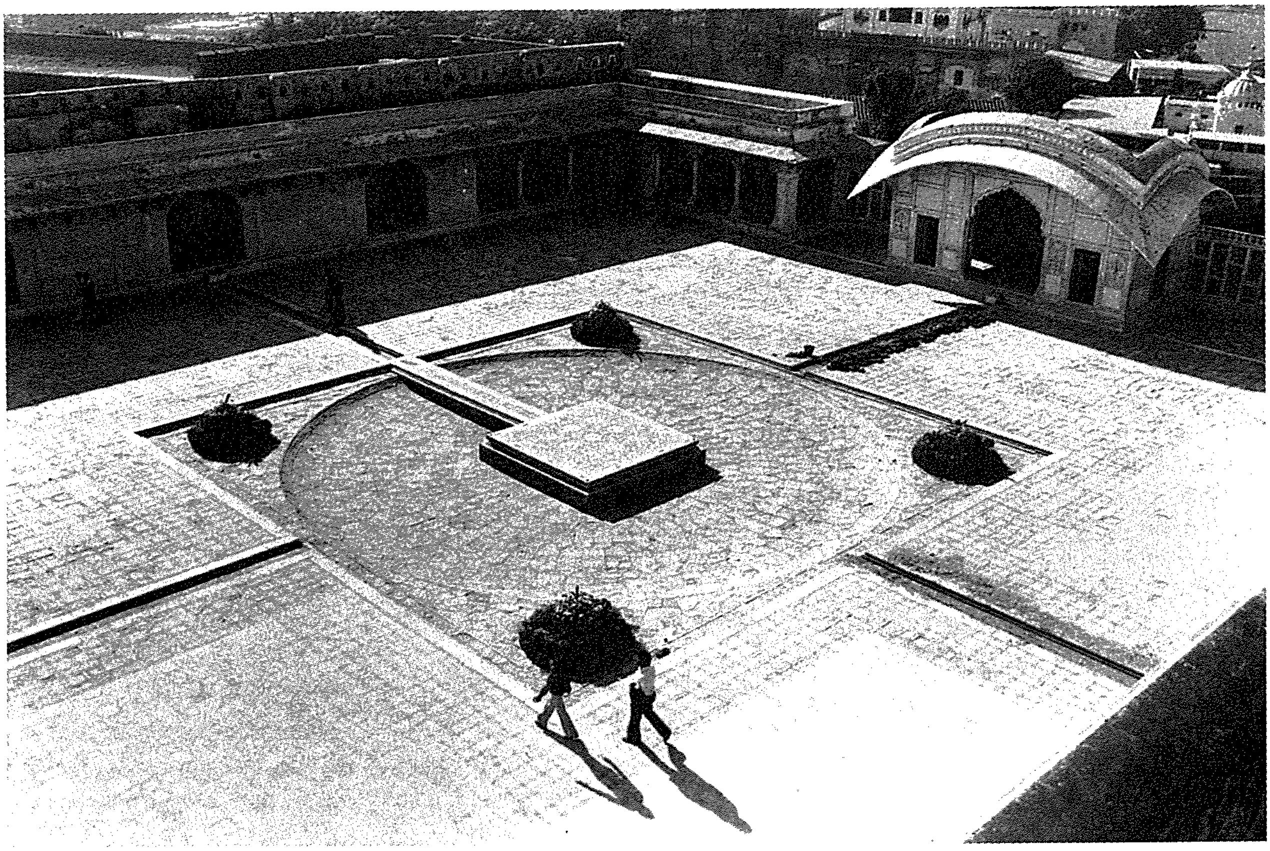


Fig. 8.14 Courtyard front of the riverside wing of the Shah Burj (Shish Mahal), Lahore Fort, completed 1631–32.

Fig. 8.15 Courtyard of the Shah Burj, Lahore Fort, seen from the roof of the riverfront building.



for a building type with an exclusively imperial connotation. The Shah Burj (Royal Tower) was used for the private council meetings that were part of the daily routine of the emperor. It was accessible only to the imperial princes, the vizier, and a few important courtiers who had the emperor's special confidence.[57] The group of three freestanding terrace buildings is here compressed into a massive polygonal block (Fig. 8.14). The tripartite configuration is, however, quoted on the courtyard facade where the higher central hall and the ground floor verandahs of the flanking wings are highlighted with a white marble veneer. The *chār bāgh* element is represented by the marble courtyard which is divided into four parts by water channels (Fig. 8.15). The design successfully combines the paved *zanāna* courtyards of Akbar's time with the riverfront garden pattern. The garden clearly had begun to make its impact on the palace.

The ideas found in Lahore and Agra reached their apotheosis of form and meaning in the fortress palace of Shah Jahan's new city of Shahjahanabad, built in the area of Delhi between 1639 and 1648.[58] Now the whole palace was conceived as a garden, and the sources inform us in detail about it. The plan of the fortress palace, today called the Red Fort, is based on giant *muthamman baghdādī*,[59] which here takes the form of a rectangle with chamfered corners. The pavilions and halls for the emperor and the *zanāna* stand on terraces (*kursī*) threaded along a canal that runs along the river bank (Figs. 8.16, 17, 18). 'In front of each Iram-like[60] pavilion (*nashīman*),' says Kanbo, 'is a garden (*bāghcha*[61]) of perfect freshness and pleasantness, so that this [whole] paradisical ground [i.e. the palace] from one end to the other because of its lush vegetation has outshone [lit. drawn a veil over] the green sky, and its sight is presented to the eyes of the beholder as the highest paradise.'[62] In the organization of each individual complex, we clearly recognize the formula of the waterfront garden which in the palace of Shahjahanabad was used as modular unit for the planning of the whole riverfront. Moreover, the garden as a basic planning component for the Mughal riverfront city was here claimed by the palace.[63]

The waterfront of the palace thus appears like an individualized section of the banks of the river in Agra (compare Fig. 8.1 with Fig. 8.16). The main canal of the palace of Shahjahanabad, the Nahr-i Bihisht, flowed 'like the water of life'[64] through the band formed by the riverfront terraces and enthreaded all riverfront buildings. Its branches served the individual gardens. At the same time, the riverfront terrace provided the terrace component (*kursī*) for each garden unit (*bāghcha*). The historians of Shah Jahan[65] name four riverfront gardens (Fig. 8.16). The Bagh-i Hayat Bakhsh was the northernmost (250 *gaz* [including its terrace which was 26 *gaz* wide[66]]

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rapprezentazione e realità', *Il Giardino islamico: architettura, natura, paesaggio*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Milan, 1994), p. 122.

[57] Lāhawrī, vol. 1, 1, pp. 150–1, 153; trans. Nur Bakhsh, 'Agra Fort', pp. 191–3; cf. Koch, 'Baluster Column', p. 57.

[58] Reliable general information on the Red Fort of Delhi based on contemporary texts is provided by Gordon Sanderson, *A Guide to the Buildings and Gardens, Delhi Fort* (1914; rpt. Delhi, 1937). For recent treatments, see Peter Andrews, 'Mahall', *EI*, 2nd edn., 5, pp. 1219–20; Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, pp. 109–13, with a new plan showing its present state; and Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, pp. 192–200.

[59] The *muthamman baghdādī* ('Baghdadian octagon') was a favourite Mughal plan in the shape of a square or rectangle with corners chamfered to form an irregular octagon. Its attraction seems to have been that it could be read both as an octagon and as a square. See Ebba Koch, *'Muthamman'*, *EI*, 2nd edn., 7, pp. 795–6.

[60] The reference is to the legendary Iram at Aden built by King Shaddad ibn 'Ad as a terrestrial paradise. See W. Montgomery Watt, 'Iram', *EI*, 2nd edn., 3, p. 1270; John Renard, *Islam and the Heroic Image: Themes in Literature and the Visual Arts* (Columbia, S.C., 1993), pp. 167–8. It was favourite of Persian authors for eulogistic comparisons.

[61] Literally 'small garden'. The term is here obviously used for a garden as a component of the waterfront-garden formula.

[62] Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, 3, p. 26; a typical example of Kanbo's laboured style; he is, however, an indispensable source for the historian in search of meaning.

[63] For a detailed discussion, see Koch, 'Waterfront Garden'.

[64] Kanbo *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, 3, p. 26.

[65] The best description is provided by the official historian of Shah Jahan's later reign, Muḥammad Wārith, *Bādshāh nāma*, BL, Persian ms., Add. 6556, fols. 386a ff. I have used the unpublished transcript prepared by S.M. Yunus Jaffery (pp. 36 ff.). Dr. Jaffery's transcript served also as the basis for the forthcoming edition of the *Bādshāh nāma* of Wārith by Wayne Begley and Z.A. Desai. Kanbō's description (*'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, 3, pp. 22–36) contains less factual information and more panegyric, helpful for establishing contemporary interpretations.

[66] For the length of the Shahjahani *gaz* used for architecture, see n. 31 above. In the Shahjahani texts the term *gaz* is used interchangeably with *ẓirā'*; for simplicity's sake I have used the term *gaz* throughout. Wārith and Kanbō both say that the garden was 250 × 225 *gaz*; since the actual measurement of the garden is 182.85 × 183.11 m, which according to Mughal standards of accuracy in built architecture equals 225 × 225 *gaz* (182.88 × 182.88 m, when the *gaz* is taken to be 81.28 cm), it becomes clear that the longer measurement of the texts is the east-west measurement and that it is meant to include the depth of the terrace. This should, in fact, give us a figure of 251 *gaz* since the terrace is 26 *gaz* (21.13 m) deep.

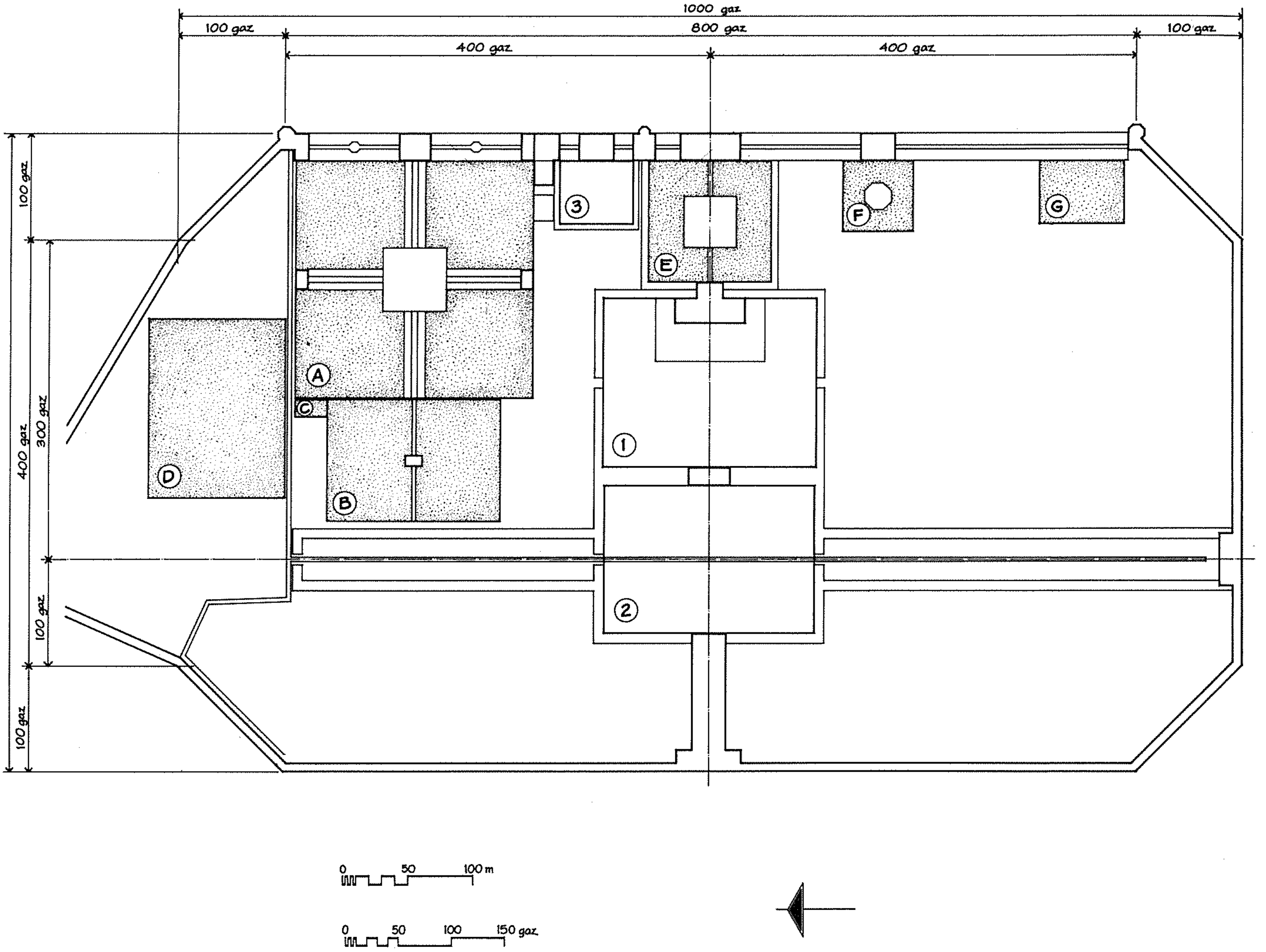


Fig. 8.16 Plan of the Red Fort of Delhi, completed 1648, showing gardens described in contemporary texts.

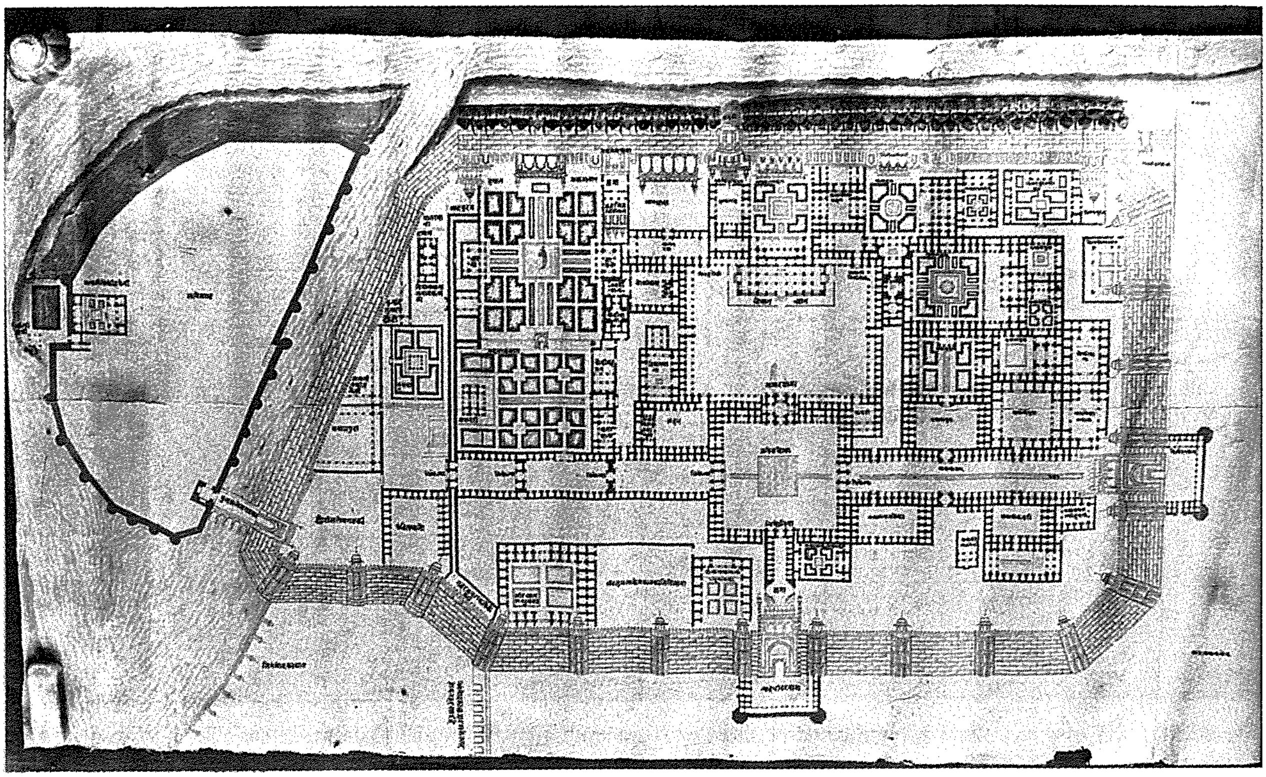
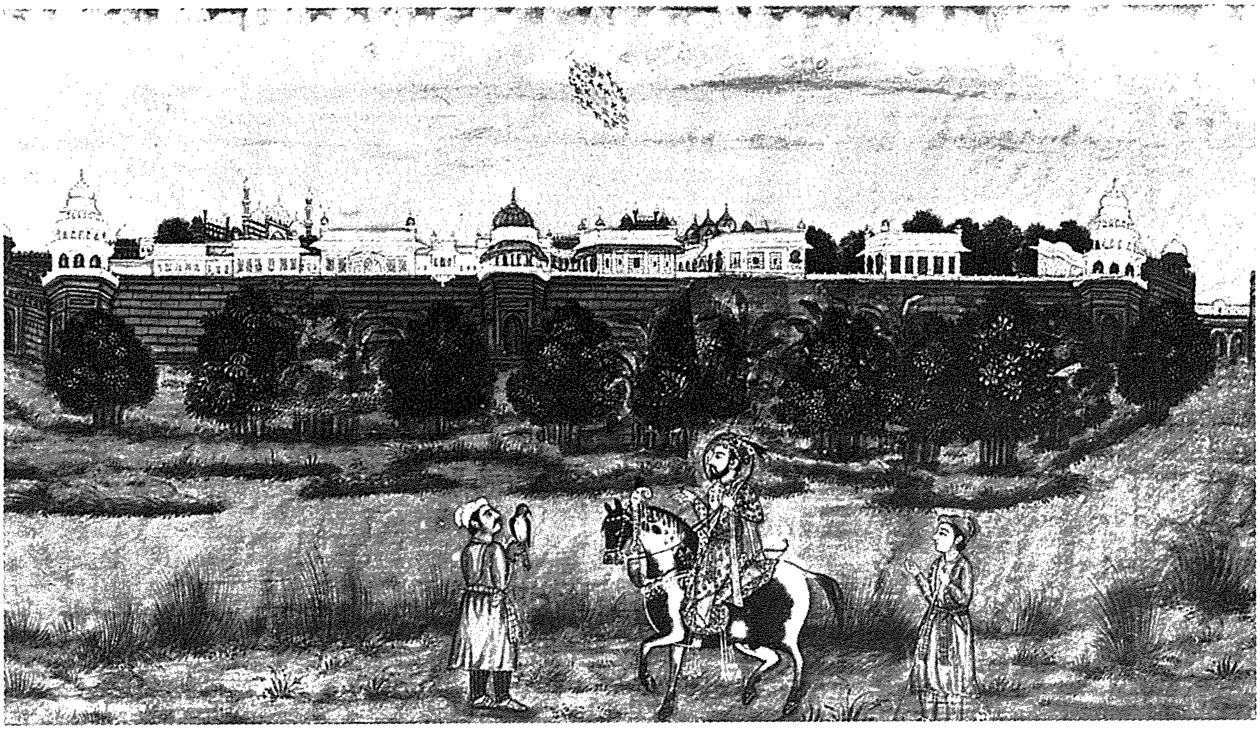


Fig. 8.17 Plan inscribed in *Devanāgarī* script of the Red Fort of Delhi and Salimgarh. 18th century. Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur.

Fig. 8.18 Riverfront view of the Red Fort of Delhi, with Shah Jahan on horseback in the foreground, illustration from a 19th-century copy of M. Ṣāliḥ Kanbō. *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, British Library, London.



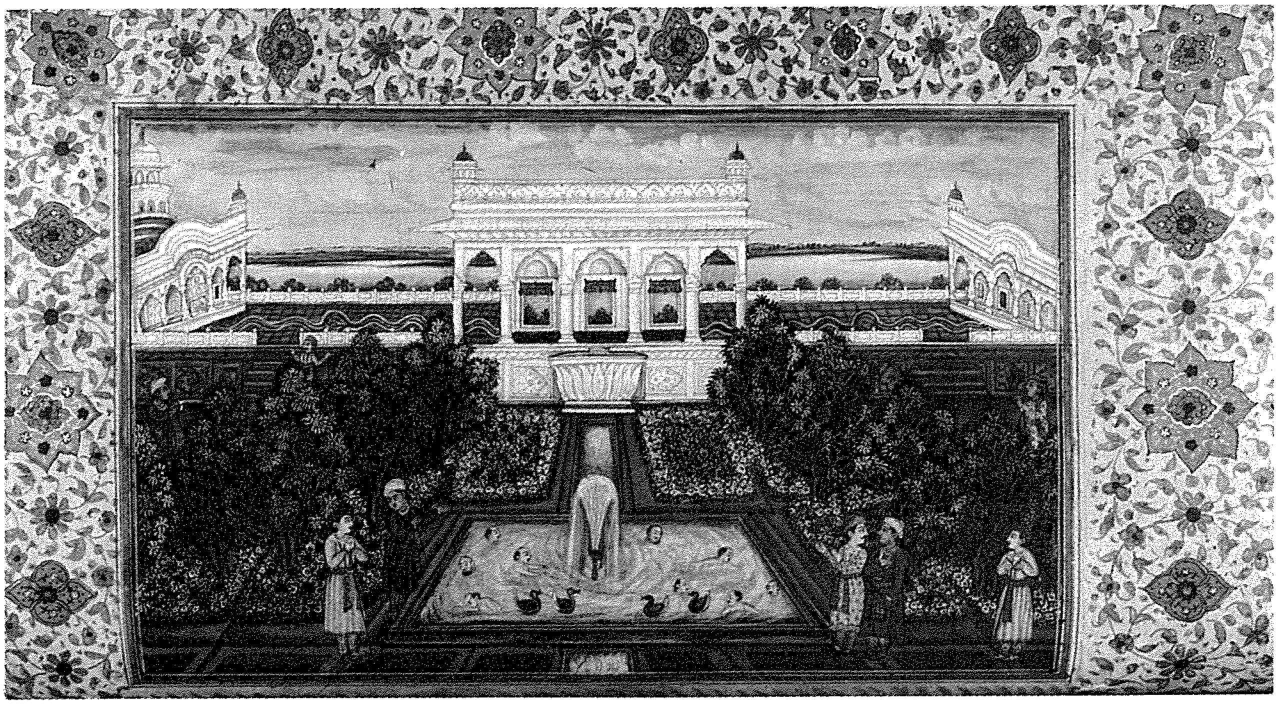


Fig. 8.19 View of the Hayat Bakhsh, illustration from a 19th-century copy of M. Ṣāliḥ Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*. British Library, London.

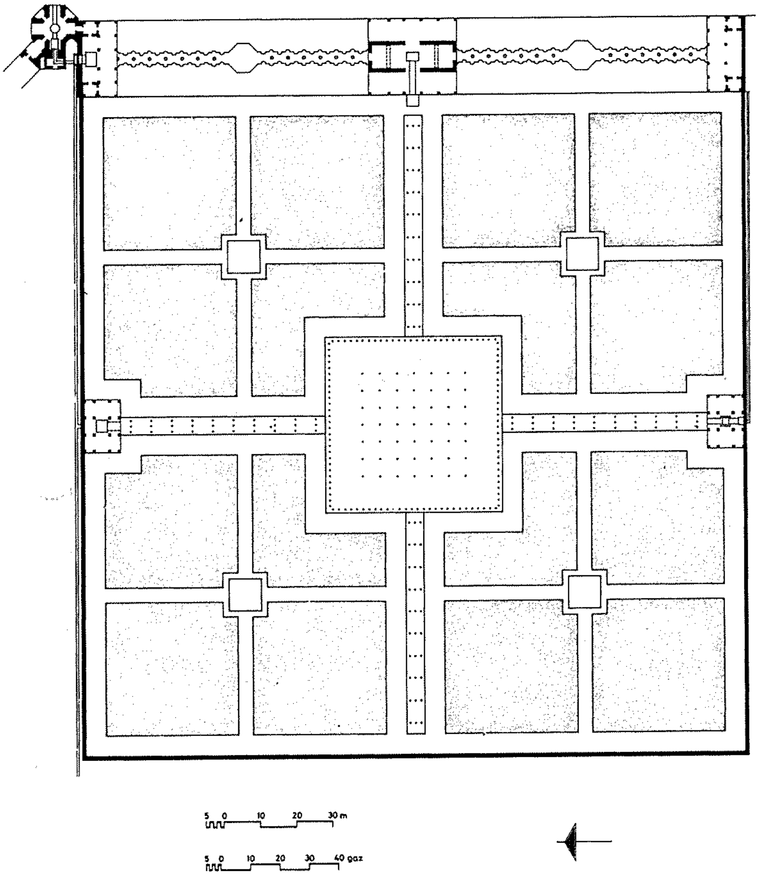


Fig. 8.20 Reconstructed plan of the Bagh-i-Hayat Bakhsh, Red Fort, Delhi.

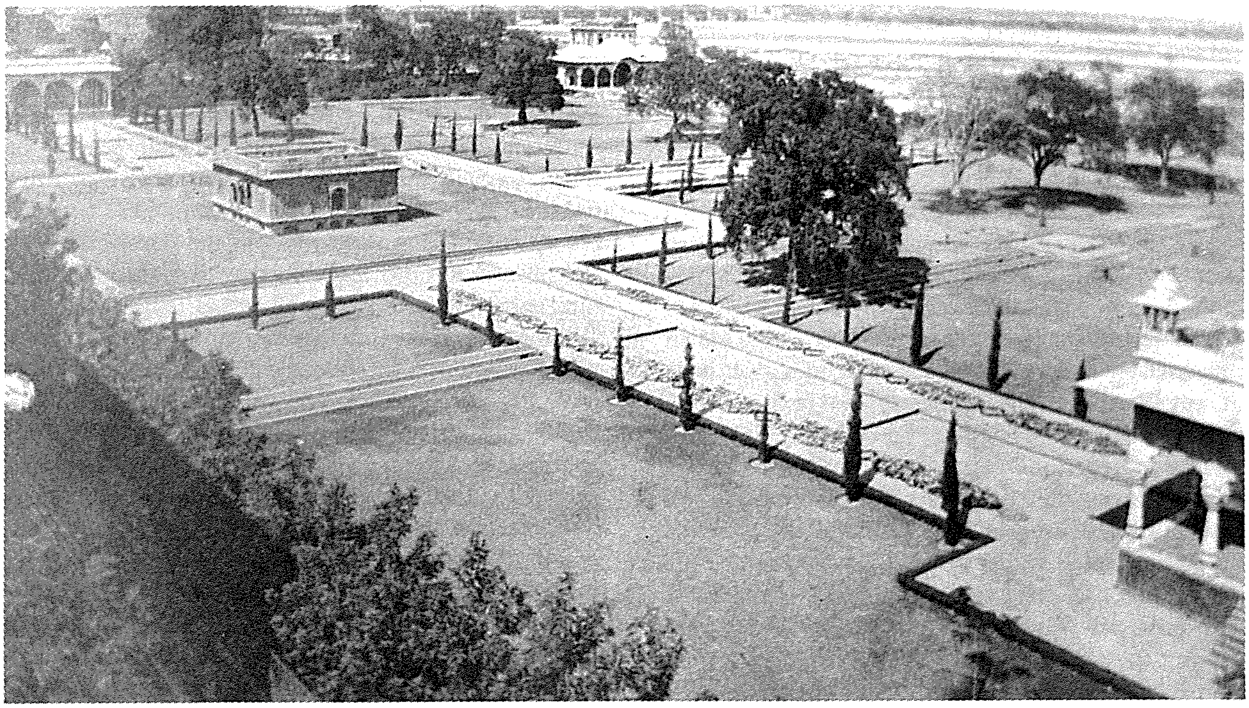
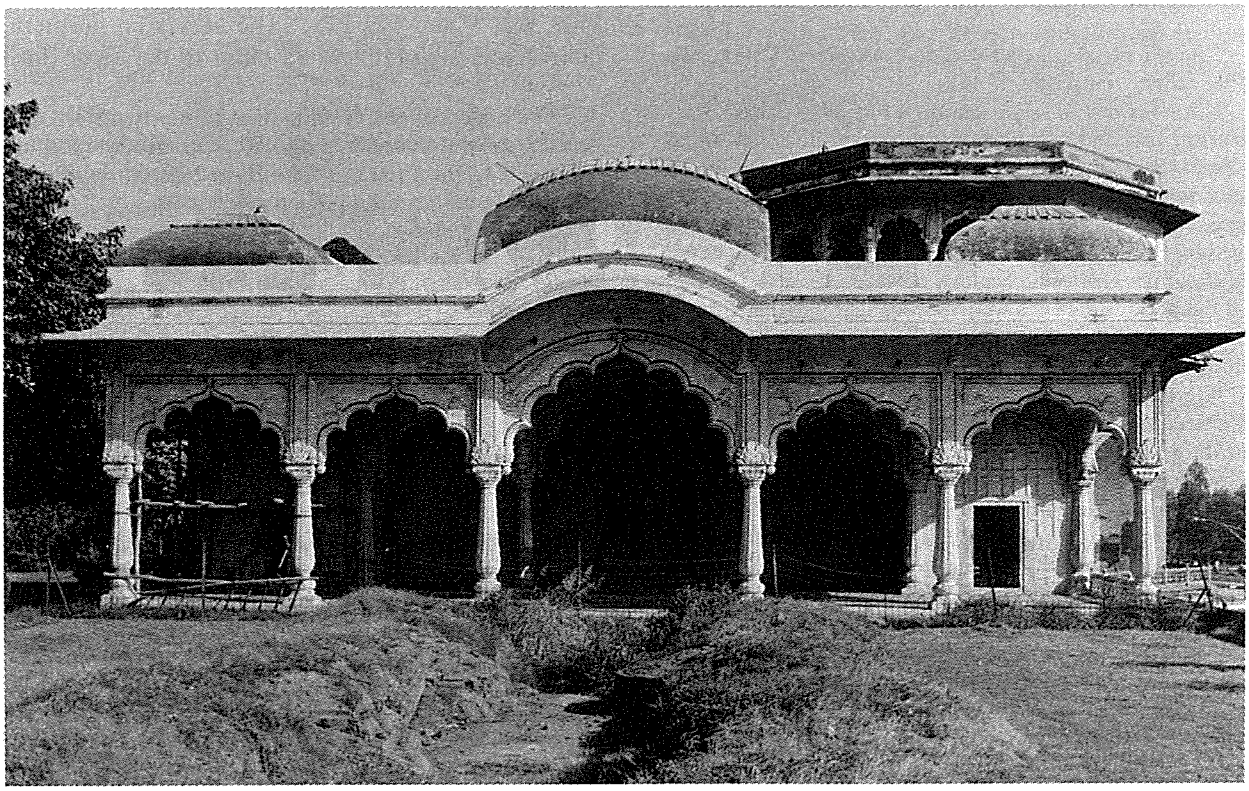


Fig. 8.21 View of the Hayat Bakhsh, Red Fort, Delhi, from the barracks to its southwest, taken in 1918–19 after its restoration. British Library, London.

Fig. 8.22 Northern *bangla* of the Hayat Bakhsh, next to the Shah Burj, Delhi, Red Fort, from south, completed in 1648.



× 225 *gaz* (Fig. 8.16/A); in the centre was the Imtyaz or Rang Mahal, the main *zanāna* building, with its garden described as *bāghcha* (117 × 115 *gaz*) (Fig. 8.16/E); then came the pavilion of Jahanara (*nashīman-i Begam Ṣāḥib*) with its *bāghcha* (67 × 67 *gaz*) which had an octagonal *ḥawż* in its centre (Fig. 8.16/F), and at the southern end of the river front 'was the *bāghcha* between the *nashīman-i Begam Ṣāḥib* and the southern tower (*burj*)' which measured 80 × 60 *gaz* (Fig. 8.16/G). Further, we learn about 'another garden (*bāgh*) full of fruit trees'[67] immediately to the west of the Hayat Bakhsh (later called Mahtabi garden, though it does not appear under this name in the texts) which measured 164 × 115 *gaz* (Fig. 8.16/B). It had a building of red stone called Lal Mahal in its centre which tells us that the centrally planned garden continued to be used in the interior of the palace.[68] There was a small garden (*bāgh*) (30 × 16 *gaz*) to its north (Fig. 8.16/C) and another garden (*bustān*) called Bagh-i Angur (Grape Garden) (170 × 130 *gaz*) covering the area to the north of this garden group (Fig. 8.16/D). Thus the gardens considered worth mentioning in the official description of the palace covered a great part of its area; according to the earliest preserved maps dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were several more gardens, in particular in the *zanāna* quarters, which Shah Jahan's historians do not mention (Fig. 8.17).[69]

The largest and most outstanding of the palace gardens was the Bagh-i Hayat Bakhsh which occupies the northeast corner of the palace complex (Fig. 8.21). At 250 × 225 *gaz* it was of unpreceded size for a Mughal palace garden and represented a great innovation, not in its form but in how its formal aspects were used to express the symbolic position of the garden in the palace. The garden is not fully preserved but the missing elements can be reconstructed (Fig. 8.20)[70] from the descriptions of Warith and Kanbo,[71] combined with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century plans and views (Figs. 8.17, 18, 19).[72] As mentioned earlier, the garden consisted of a waterfront terrrace (26 *gaz* deep) and a vast square *chār bāgh* (225 × 225 *gaz*) with a large *ḥawż* in its centre and water courses through its four principal intersecting *khiyābān*s. Today, only the two eastern garden quadrants survive. Originally, there were three buildings on the terrace, a larger structure in the middle flanked by pavilions with *bangla* roofs. The garden was modelled on the *zanāna* gardens of Agra and Lahore (compare Fig. 8.20 with Figs. 8.8 and 13). Of the characteristic tripartite riverfront group only one structure remains today, namely the northern *bangla* built adjoining the Shah Burj (Figs. 8.19, 20).[73] The structure and its lost companion piece are not readily recognizable as the characteristic *bangla* component of the group because they are planned on a larger scale and arranged differently than their forerunners at Agra and Lahore, with their longer sides towards the central pavilion and their shorter sides towards the river (compare Figs. 8.19, 20 with Figs. 8.8, 9 and 12, 13).[74] The surviving northern *bangla* was also brought so close to the Shah Burj that it is no longer a free-standing pavilion but actually acts as a vestibule for the tower. Like everyone else, I earlier assumed it to be the 'hall of the Shah Burj' (Fig. 8.22).[75] But even in its new context, the *bangla* pavilion retains the characteristic configuration of an open hall with a curved roof, flanked by two *hujras* (small closed rooms) to which was added a portico with large baluster columns and another *bangla* vault inside (represented on the facade by a curved-up cornice). That means that the pavilion has two parallel *bangla* vaults inside. The roof group on the outside preserves the main elements of the original *bangla* pavilion, that is, the single upturned oblong roof, flanked by two pyramidal roofs with curved profiles (compare Fig. 8.22 with Figs. 8.9 and 12); these roof elements are in this case, however, more loosely grouped.

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[67] *'Bāghī digar . . . ba ashjār-i athmār'* (Wārith, fol. 389a, Jaffery transcript, p. 45).

[68] *'Dar wasaṭ-i īn bāgh 'imāratī-st az sang-i surkh . . .'* (Wārith, fol. 389a, Jaffery transcript, p. 45). The India Office Library map (see n. 69 below) and the plan of the Delhi fort in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, 137 × 64 cm (cat. no. 122) (our Fig. 8.17) which is dated by Gole (*Indian Maps and Plans*, p. 176) to about the middle of the eighteenth century, however, show this garden laid out according to the waterfront-garden formula with the building on its terrace to the north of a four-part garden. The garden was perhaps reconstructed at a later date.

[69] On my plan reproduced as Fig. 8.16, I have only indicated the gardens mentioned by Shah Jahan's historians. The large India Office Library map of Delhi (BL, India Office Records X, 1659) shows many more gardens; so does the plan in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur (cat. no. 122) (Fig. 8.17). The India Office map has now been fully (and attractively) published in *Shahjahanabad—Old Delhi: Tradition and Colonial Change*, eds. Eckhart Ehlers and Thomas Krafft, *Erkundliches Wissen* 111 (Stuttgart, 1993). The map also served as a base for the drawings of Attilio Petruccioli published with A. Terranova in 'Modelli culturali nell' impianto e nelle trasformazioni di Old Delhi', *Storia della città*, 31–2 (1984), pp. 123–44.

[70] For a plan of the present state of the Red Fort, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, Fig. 127. I am now working on a detailed reconstruction of the Bagh-i Hayat Bakhsh of which I present here the preliminary results.

[71] See n. 65 above.

[72] See also nn. 68, 69. The view of the Hayat Bakhsh garden in a 19th-century manuscript copy of Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, BL, Persian ms. Or. 2157, fol. 732a (our Fig. 8.19) has been wrongly identified by N. Titley as the Diwan-i Khass, the hall of private audiences of the Shahjahanabad palace (*Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts: Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India and Turkey in the British Library and the British Museum*), cat. no. 282, 13, p. 128.

[73] Gordon Sanderson, 'The Shah Burj, Delhi Fort', *ASIAR*, 1909–10, pp. 25–32, describes the pavilion and its restoration which included a reconstruction of the central *ābshār* (waterfall). He interprets the pavilion as being part of the Shah Burj.

[74] The artists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who depicted the riverfront were uneasy with this shift of axis: they showed the longer side of the northern *bangla* next to the Shah Burj with its characteristic curved roof turned at an awkward angle towards the riverfront (Figs. 8.18, 19).

The layout of the Hayat Bakhsh thus represents a more elaborate and much larger version of the Anguri Bagh of Agra and of Jahangir's Quadrangle at Lahore. The Agra group of terrace buildings, the Khass Mahal, contained not only the Khwabgah but also one of the most highly charged symbolic forms of Shah-Jahani architecture, namely the Bangla-i Darshan, the pavilion on the façade of the palace where the emperor showed himself to the general public (Fig. 8.9). In the Hayat Bakhsh garden, however, the pavilion in the centre of the terrace had no particular function, and neither of the flanking *banglas* served the emperor as *jharōka-i darshan* (the Jharoka-i Darshan was moved to the half-*burj* projecting from the east front of the Khwabgah to the south of the Diwan-i Khass, the hall of private audiences; Fig. 8.18). By amalgamating the northern *bangla* with the Shah Burj (which earlier at Agra had been at some distance from it), however, the terrace group, and with it the whole garden, was associated with a building type exclusively imperial in connotation. This means that, while the design of the Anguri Bagh of Agra and of Jahangir's Quadrangle of Lahore was borrowed for the Hayat Bakhsh, it was separated from its *zanāna* context. The principal garden of the palace was transferred into a more official area and distinguished as an imperial site.

To keep the configuration of imperial buildings *khwābgāh* flanked by *banglas* for the *kursī* of the Hayat Bakhsh, while delegating the functions of these buildings to other, less conspicuous structures, was not the only way to emphasize the importance of the garden in the palace and relate it in a special way to the emperor. Another was the use of baluster columns, or as the Mughals called them, *sarw-andām sutūn* (cypress-bodied columns), in its pavilions. Like the *bangla*, these columnar forms had thus far been reserved for the palatial architecture of the highest ceremonial order, namely the marble *jharōkas* and baldachins in which the emperor appeared before his subjects.[76] The two *banglas* of the Hayat Bakhsh boasted grand arcades of splendid 'cypress-shaped' baluster columns decorated with naturalistic plant elements carved in marble (Fig. 8.22). This naturalism was characteristic of the new organic imperial vocabulary of Shah Jahan. Baluster columns with plant decoration and bangla vaults also appear in the two other remaining garden pavilions (today called Sawan and Bhadon) at the ends of the north-south *khiyābān* of the garden (Figs. 8.21, 23).

Banglas and baluster columns, architectural forms of the highest hierarchical and symbolical order—thus far used exclusively to frame the emperor's appearance (Figs. 3.4, 5, 6, 7, 8)—were now used in the emperor's palace garden as well. Moreover, the imperial forms of *banglas* and baluster columns were amalgamated in the pavilions of the garden, a fusion that occurs in the palace only once more, significantly in the emperor's throne *jharōka* in the Dawlat Khana-i Khass-u-'Amm (Diwan-i 'Amm or Hall of Public Audiences, Figs. 3.7, 4.1).[77] The attachment of the garden to the Shah Burj and the exclusive use of the imperial vocabulary and its new meaningful fusions demonstrated that the palace garden had become the Great Moghul's own immediate expression.

In addition to columns 'shaped like cypresses', each garden building had its own water channels and sunken *ḥawż*, and its walls and ceilings were decorated with flowers and plants rendered in the most sophisticated techniques that Mughal architectural decoration of the time had to offer. They were inlaid in hard stones (*pietre dure* or *parchīn kārī*),[78] carved in marble relief, gilded and painted. Similar flower and plant decorations were actually applied, (in a wider context) to all buildings of the palace (Fig. 8.24). Shah

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[75] Koch, 'Baluster Column', this volume, pp. 40, 57, was followed here by Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 196. The no-longer-extant southern *bangla* was aligned to the imperial *ḥammām* on the opposite side of the central building.

[76] I am here developing thoughts first expressed in 'The Baluster Column', this volume, where I also define the term and the shape of the column.

[77] Ebba Koch, 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus', this volume.

[78] For the introduction of the Italian *pietre dure* technique into Mughal court art and its creative adaptation as *parchīn karī*, see Koch, 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus', this volume, in particular n. 32; and *idem*, 'Pietre Dure and Other Artistic Contacts between the Court of the Mughals and That of the Medici', *A Mirror of Princes: The Mughals and the Medici*, ed. D. Jones (Bombay, 1987), pp. 29–56.

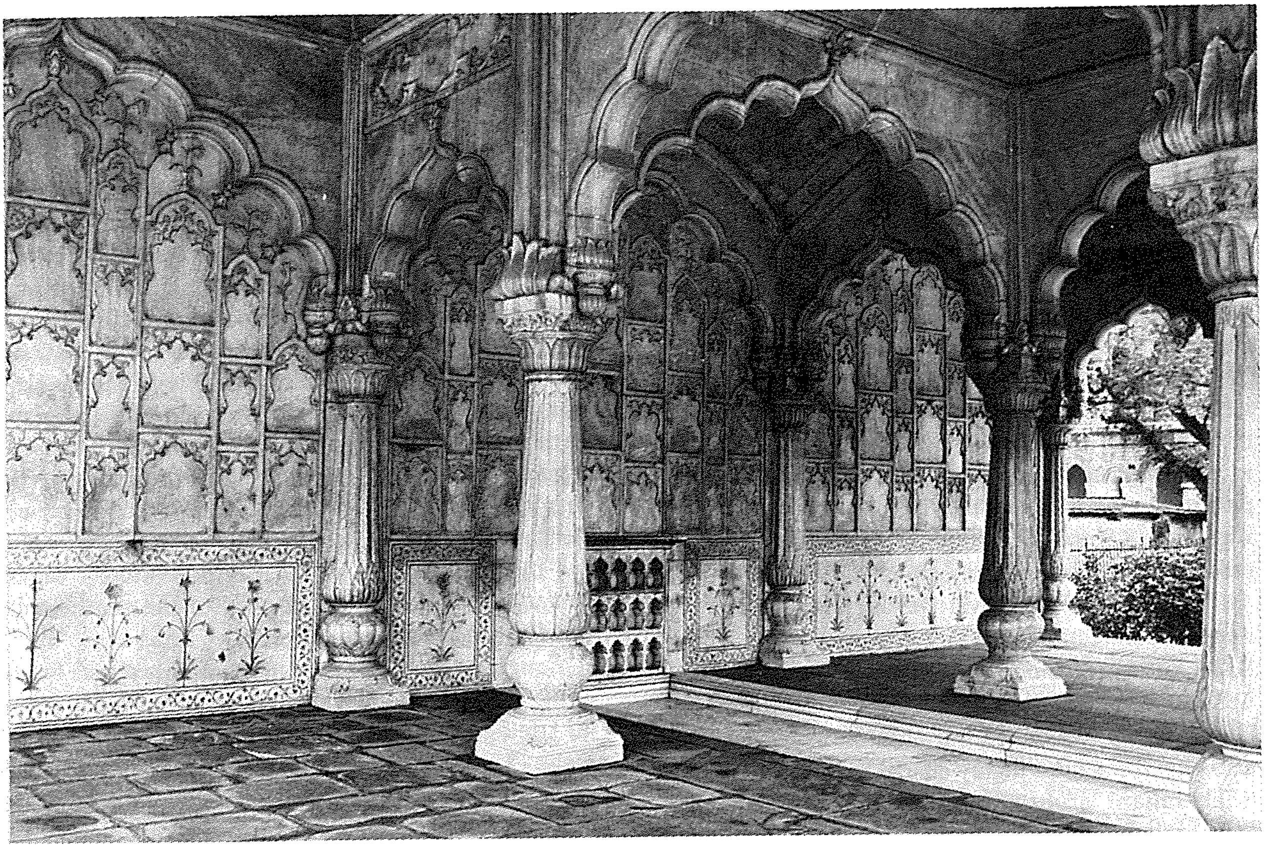
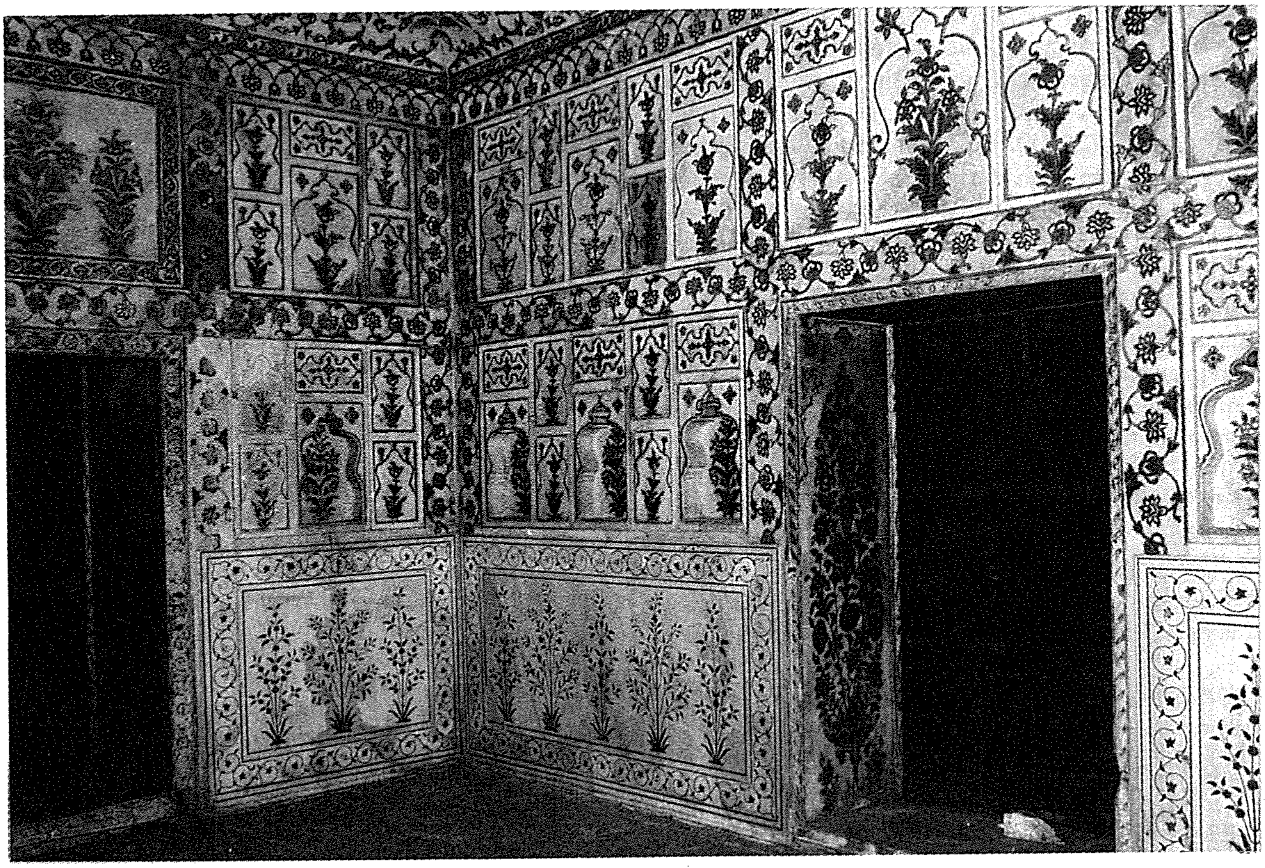


Fig. 8.23 Garden pavilion called Bhadon at the southern end of the north–south walkway of the Bagh-i Hayat Bakhsh, Delhi, Red Fort, cf. Fig. 3.3.

Fig. 8.24 Floral decorations in the interior of the Khwabgah, Red Fort, Delhi, completed in 1648.



Jahan's chroniclers Kanbo and Warith never tire of drawing attention to them.[79] The greatest praise, however, is showered on the floral decoration of a building in the Hayat Bakhsh, the now lost pavilion in the centre of the riverfront terrace:

> And on the surface of the ceilings and the lower walls of this paradise-like building the painters (*muṣawwirān*) and [other] artists (*naqqāshān*) . . . have created . . . different kinds of odiferous plants and flowers and various kinds of designs and pictures so colourful and pleasing that . . . the artisan Spring (*ṣan'aṭgar-i bahār*)[80] itself is pierced by the thorns [of envy].[81]

These pictures turned the walls into 'virtual flower gardens' (*dar u dīwār-ash az taṣwīr gulzār*), so that one could sit (with one's back towards the garden) and look inside to the best garden view, namely that of its artificial blooms.[82]

In short, the buildings of the palace, in particular those of the Hayat Bakhsh, were conceived as artificial gardens with plant-like columns, water channels, *ḥawż*s, and flowerbeds on their walls. The main inscription of the palace tells us that 'the Hayat Bakhsh is to the buildings what the soul is to the body';[83] thus, we realize that the main function of the palace garden, apart from its recreational value, was a symbolic one. The Hayat Bakhsh as a metaphor of the entire palace epitomized its concept as a garden. The whole arrangement—and this is obvious from Amir Khusraw's celebrated verses[84] as well as from all the other panegyrics written by Shah Jahan's poets and writers after the palace was completed—was to turn the palace into paradise, not merely one of well-ordered nature like Babur's gardens, or an architectural one, like Akbar's palaces, but into a new garden paradise that was to surpass all imaginable models. Shah Jahan's palace was a terrestrial image of Jannat under which rivers are running,[85] even surpassing its Qur'anic prototype.[86] As a new Iram and as a new Khwarnaq, it also eclipsed the fabled palaces of Muslim mythology.[87] Shah Jahan's paradisical palace, symbolized by the Hayat Bakhsh, with its intermingling of real plants and naturalistic, artfully rendered vegetation also threw all natural gardens into the shade; even Spring had to confess that it could not achieve anything like it.[88] The new three-dimensional naturalism of the organic plant forms gave the concept of the garden the highest level of reality, and marble and precious stones gave it permanency.[89] Style itself had become meaning.[90]

We have finally come to the last question we set out to answer, namely whether this consistent realization of the palace as a paradisical garden had any political meaning. The Hayat Bakhsh garden, representing the essence of the palace, was related by all conceivable means to the emperor, including a connection to the Shah Burj pavilion and its exclusive imperial vocabulary; the eternal spring that reigned in the Hayat Bakhsh was also associated with the emperor. The court poets and writers tell us that Shah Jahan was the 'spring of the flower garden of justice and generosity',[91] the renewer, the *mujaddid* under whose just rule 'Hindustan has gradually become the rose garden of the earth and his reign which is the cradle of prosperity has become the spring season of the age in which the days and nights are young.'[92] Considering all this, one can only conclude that Shah Jahan's ever-blooming palace gardens had a definite political significance: they were intended as an image of his reign and empire, as garden paradises of the ideal king whose good government—so it was claimed—had brought about a new golden age of unending spring. Not only could the emperor say of his palace, but every subject *should* say of the kingdom, 'If there is a paradise on earth, it is this.'[93]

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[79] This represents the culmination of a trend in Shahjahani architectural decoration which was also conceived as an orthodox reaction against the figural taste of Shah Jahan's father Jahangir. On this point, see Koch, 'Jahangir and the Angels', this volume, p. 37.

[80] That is, Spring is an inferior artisan, when compared to the painters and artists of the emperor.

[81] Wārith, fol. 388b, Jaffery, transcript, p. 43.

[82] Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, p. 31. Kanbō quotes here, without acknowledgement, from Kalim's eulogy on the building in the garden of Jahanara at Agra, see Koch, 'The Zahara Bagh', p. 34. See also 'The Baluster Column', p. 56.

[83] *'Bāgh-i Hayāt Bakhsh ka dar manāzil chūn ruḥ dar badan ast,'* The inscription is found on the southern and northern arches of the Khwabgah: for its full translation, see Sanderson, *A Guide to the Buildings and Gardens*, pp. 36–7. The inscription is also quoted by Wārith, fol. 390a, Jaffery transcript p. 47.

[84] See n. 4 above.

[85] See Kanbō, *'Amali-i Ṣāliḥ*, 3, p. 29 *et passim*.

[86] Kanbō, *'Amali-i Ṣāliḥ*, 3, p. 28.

[87] See Kanbō, *'Amali-i Ṣāliḥ*, 3, p. 28; Wārith, fol. 389a, Jaffery, transcript, p. 44. For a discussion of Iram and Khwarnaq in Islamic literary tradition, see Renard, *Islam and the Heroic Image*, pp. 174–5.

[88] See Wārith, n. 81 above.

[89] This means until the end of the second millennium. The halls of the Shah Burj are now visited every day by thousands of uneducated and unsupervised tourists who disfigure the marble by writings on it with felt pens and similar indelible utensils.

[90] Cf. Koch 'Baluster Column', p. 56.

[91] *'Bahār-i gulistān-i 'adl u karam'*. Hājī Muḥammad Jān Qudsī, *Zafar nāma-i Shāh Jahān*, BL, Persian ms., Ethé 1552, fol. 129a.

[92] Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, 3, p. 24. On this point, see also Annemarie Schimmel, 'The Celestial Garden in Islam', *The Islamic Garden, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture*, 4, eds. Elisabeth B. Mac Dougall and R.E. Ettinghausen (Washington, D.C., 1976), p. 20.

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[93] On the architectural level this imperial propaganda was realized to an astonishing degree. The use of plant vocabulary as a symbol of rulership, at first a prerogative only of the Mughal emperor, was later adopted by the regional courts of the successor states of the Mughal Empire and eventually became the most widely used idiom in all types of Indian architecture (Koch, 'Baluster Column', this volume, p. 60; and *idem*, *Mughal Architecture*, pp. 132–3).

9

Diwan-i 'Amm and Chihil Sutun: The Audience Halls of Shah Jahan*

After Shah Jahan, the fifth ruler of the Mughal dynasty was enthroned on 8 Jumada al-Thani 1037 (14 February 1628), he issued an order that halls for his public audiences should be constructed in all the great fortified palaces of the capitals of the Mughal empire, in particular at Agra, Lahore, and, according to some sources, at Burhanpur.[1] These halls were first built in wood (Fig. 9.1)[2] to replace a smaller tent hall

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Author's note: This essay has resulted from a project initiated in 1976 to survey the entire palace architecture of Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58). I wish to thank the Archaeological Survey of India, the Indian Army, and the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, for permission to carry out this survey, and the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, Austria, the Jubiläumsfonds der oesterreichischen Nationalbank, and the Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung, Austria, for their support of the project.

[1] All historians of Shah Jahan report the construction of the new halls in similar words. See 'Abd al-Ḥamid Lāhōrī, *Bādshāh nāma*, Persian text eds. Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmad and 'Abd al-Raḥīm (Calcutta, 1866–72) (henceforth Lāhōrī), vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 221–3; trans. Nūr Bakhsh, 'Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and Its Buildings', *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* (henceforth *ASIAR*) 1902–3, pp. 220–1; Muḥammad Amīn or Amīnā-yi Qazvīnī, *Bādshāh nāma*, Persian ms., British Library (henceforth BL), Or. 173 (henceforth Qazvīnī), fol. 162^a, unpubl. typed transcript S.M. Yunus Jaffery, (1988), pp. 242–3; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ or Shāh Jahān nāma*, rev. Persian text ed. Waḥid Qurayshī, based on Calcutta edn. (1912–46) by Ghulam Yazdānī, 2nd edn. 3 vols. (Lahore, 1967–72) (henceforth Kanbō), 1, pp. 258–60. (Kanbō, p. 258, says that such halls were put up 'in most of the great cities of the provinces of the empire wherever a palace [*dawlat sarā'ī*] has been built); 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān Nāma*, trans. A.R Fuller, rev. and eds. Wayne E. Begley and Ziyaud-Din A. Desai (New Delhi, 1990) (henceforth 'Ināyat Khān), pp. 25–6. That a hall was also put up at Burhanpur is mentioned by Muḥammad Ṣadīq Khān, *Tawārīkh-i Shāhjahānī*, Persian ms., BL. Or. 174, fol. 9(11)^a; and by Muḥammad Hāshim Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Persian text ed. Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmad (Calcutta, 1869–1925), vol. 1, p. 404. All authors quote a *rubā'ī* composed upon the completion of the Agra hall by Shah Jahan's court poet Abū Ṭālib Kalīm Kāshānī who compares the green columns of the hypostyle wooden construction to a garden full of cypresses:

> This new edifice, which is under the same shadow as the Divine Throne (*'arsh*) [= is its neighbour in the highest stage of heaven],
> Loftiness is a mere word with regard to the position of its plinth.
> It is a garden whose every green pillar is a cypress;
> And the repose of high and low (*khāṣṣ-o-'āmm*) is under its shadow.

[2] This means that the texts describing the construction of the halls of Agra, Lahore, and Burhanpur cited in note 1 refer to this first wooden version and not to the extant bigger stone replacement. This is made clear by Lāhōrī (vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 235–6), who describes the replacement of the wooden hall of Agra by the stone hall. The dimensions given by the authors mentioned above refer thus to the wooden hall of Agra. It was 70 *gaz bādshāhī* by 22 *gaz* which corresponds to 56.89 m. × 17.88 m., because the *gaz*

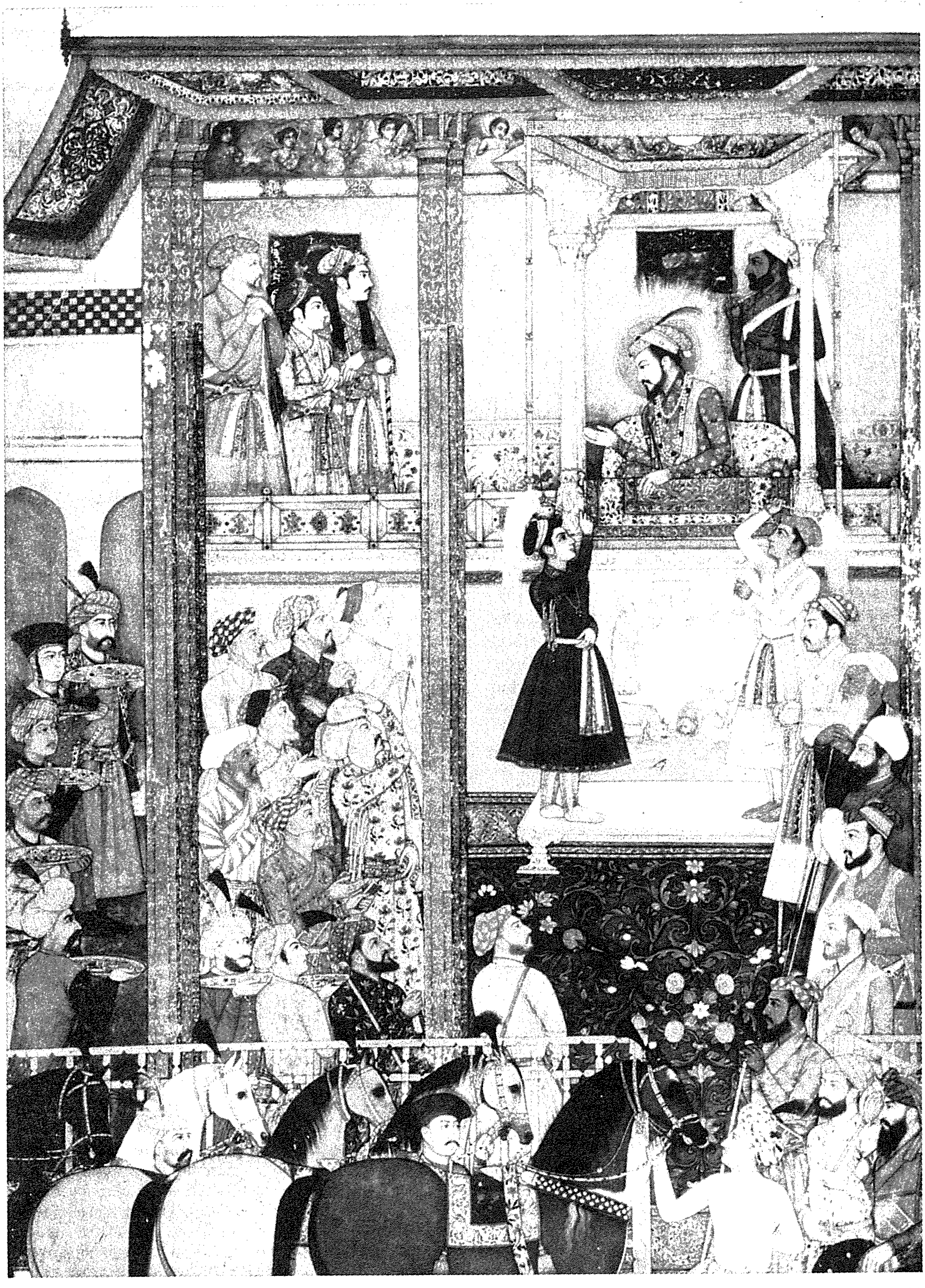

Fig. 9.1 Attributed to Payag, Shah Jahan Receiving a Persian Delegation. C. 1640. Bodleian Library, Oxford, see Fig. 4.64.

that had been used for the purpose up to then.[3] Before January 1637, the wooden halls (*īwān-i chūbīn*) were in turn replaced by larger permanent versions, constructed 'of red sandstone made white with marble plaster' (Figs. 9.2, 3).[4] Between 1639 and 1648 a corresponding stone hall was built in the emperor's new palace at Shahjahanabad (Delhi)[5] (Fig. 9.4).

All of these halls—and this applies also to their wooden precursors—are described by Shah Jahan's historians and poets as *īwān-i dawlat khāna-i khāṣṣ-*

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employed in Shah Jahan's architecture had a length of 81.28 m. or 32 inches. The wooden construction was raised on forty pillars and, having been constructed by 'architects like magicians (*mi'mārān jādū āthār*) and carpenters like Azar (*najjārān-i Āzar kār*) [Azar was Abraham's father, an idol-maker, Lāhōrī, vol.1, pt.1, p. 221] in forty days', it was completed on 5 August 1628. Kanbō gives a date corresponding to 28 August which seems to be an error. From the descriptions we can make out that the ceiling of the wooden Agra hall had various painted designs of flowers and plants and that its pillars were green, reminding the poet Kalim of cypresses (see the *rubā'ī* quoted in n.1 above). I have identified the Agra hall and its wooden counterpart of Lahore on several illustrations of the *History of Shah Jahan*, where they are depicted with green pillars partly painted red in the upper section, all covered with fine gold ornament; the red can appear on the capitals or brackets, as in 'Shah Jahan honouring the religious orthodoxy at a banquet celebration of the Prophet's birthday (Milad), in the Hall of Public Audience at the Agra Fort on 16th September 1633', Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., nos. 42.17 and 18; colour illus. in Stuart Cary Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting* (London, 1978), pls. 31–2; or the upper part of the shaft may be painted red, as in 'Shah Jahan receiving the Persian noble 'Ali Mardan Khan in the Hall of Public Audience of the Lahore Fort in 1638', attributed to Payag, Oxford, Bodleian Library (Album Ouseley, Add. 173) and our Fig. 9.1; and in 'Shah Jahan receiving Prince Aurangzeb in the Hall of Public Audience of the Agra Fort, on his return from the Deccan for his wedding in 1637', by Payag, *Windsor Padshāh nāma*, fol. 214^{b}. Another variant is that of a red oblong impost block set above the capitals, 'Shah Jahan receiving Prince Aurangzeb in the Hall of Public Audience of the Lahore Fort in 1640', by Murad, *Windsor Padshāh nāma*, 217^{b}; all three paintings are illustrated in 'Ināyat Khān, pls. 5, 23, 6. For the Windsor *Padshāh nāma* paintings see also Milo C. Beach, Ebba Koch, and Wheeler Thackston, *King of the World: The Padshahnama: An Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library, Windsor Castle* (London: Azimuth Editions and Washington, D.C.: Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1997) cat. nos. 43, 44; cf. our Fig. 5.4. That most of these audience scenes are shown to take place in wooden halls at a time when they had already been replaced by stone halls is a further instance to indicate that depictions of architecture in Shahjahani painting do not always keep up with the latest development in the actual constructions; see Ebba Koch, 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus', n. 143 this volume.

[3] The tent put up in front of the *jharōka-i khāṣṣ-o-'āmm* is described by Lāhōrī (vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 146) as *īwānī az parcha* enclosed on three sides by a wooden railing (*chūbīn maḥjar*) 50 *gaz* (40.64 m.) long and 15 *gaz* (12.19 m.) wide, with three entrances (*darwāza*). It appears on illustrations of *darbār* scenes taking place before or soon after the accession of Shah Jahan. See, *inter alia*, Balchand, Windsor *Padshāh nāma*, fol. 43^{b}, illustrated in colour by Jeremiah P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India* (London, 1982), pl. 32; or 'Shah Jahan receiving his three eldest sons and Asaf Khan after his accession in 1628', by Bichitr, Windsor *Padshāh nāma*, fol. 50^{b}, illustrated in Peter A. Andrews, 'The Generous Heart or the Mass of Clouds: The Court Tents of Shah Jahan', *Muqarnas*, 4 (1987), pp. 149–65, fig. 5. See also Beach, Koch and Thackston, *King of the World*, cat. nos. 5, 10–11, and our Fig. 5.5. Andrews discusses the tent arrangement put up in front of the *jharōkas* on the evidence of painting only (see in particular p. 155); he does not seem to be aware of its description by Lāhōrī cited above. The tent hall put up in front of the *jharōka* in the palace was the functional counterpart of the one used in the imperial camp. According to François Bernier, in his *Travels in the Mogul Empire: A.D. 1656–1668*, trans. Archibald Constable [1891; rpt. New Delhi, 1972], pp. 359 ff.) who gives a good description of Aurangzeb's camp in 1665, the programme of the tents corresponded closely to the functional differentiation of palace buildings as it had received its final form under Shah Jahan. For the translation of temporary palatial structures into more durable materials in earlier Islamic periods, see Gülru Necipoğlu, 'An Outline of Shifting Paradigms in the Palatial Architecture of the Pre-Modern Islamic World', in *Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces*, ed. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Ars Orientalis*, 23 (1993), p. 8; for a more general discussion of the relation of tents and palaces as expressions of a peripathetic lifestyle of rulers, see most recently Bernard O'Kane, 'From Tents to Pavilions: Royal Mobility and Persian Palace Design', ibid., pp. 245–64. I thank Gülru Necipoğlu for making this publication available to me while it was still in press.

[4] '*Az sang-i surkh ki ān ra ba- sarūj i marmar safīd sākhta*', Lāhōrī, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 235–6; trans. Nur Bakhsh, 'The Agra Fort and Its Buildings', *ASIAR*, 1903–4, p. 176. The British observers of the nineteenth century were already struck by the extent to which the permanent halls were indebted to forms of ephemeral architecture. For William H. White 'On the Repairs at Agra Fort', *The Architect*, 11 (January 18, 1974), pp. 17–18 the audience halls of the Mughals were huge tents in stone.

[5] Kanbō, vol. 3 (1972), pp. 33; trans. Gordon Sanderson, 'Shah Jahan's Fort, Delhi', *ASIAR*, 1911–12, p. 16. Sanderson's translation is apparently based on a faulty manuscript because it contains some misreadings. Cf. Muḥammad Wārith, *Bādshāh nāma*, Persian ms., BL. Add. 6556 (henceforth quoted as Wārith), fol. 390^{b}; unpublished transcript Jaffery (1983), p. 50.

o-'āmm, or Hall of Public Audiences,[6] and *īwān-i chihil sutūn*, or Forty-Pillared Hall. The Chihil Sutun or Iwan-i Dawlat Khana-i Khass-o-'Amm, today called Diwan-i 'Amm, represents a new type in the palatial building programme of the Mughals[7] because, as the sources tell us, under the predecessors of Shah Jahan, most of those who took part in the audience had to stand unprotected from sun and rain in front of the emperor's viewing window or *jharōka* (Figs. 9.1, 5) in the open courtyard (*ṣaḥn-i khāṣṣ-o-'āmm*) (a on Fig. 9.6) where the audience was held. The emperor, we are told, ordered the construction of the halls out of concern for his nobles. In addition, the halls made it easier to maintain the proper hierarchy and etiquette of an audience, aspects of special interest to Shah Jahan. Under his rule, Mughal court life had become subject to a strict ceremonial, centering on the emperor. The emperor's daily routine was established down to the most minute detail, and an equally regulated architectural setting determined by uniformity and symmetry corresponded to these rigid ceremonial functions. During this daily routine, the emperor moved within the palace from one place of audience to the other in what Oleg Grabar in a comparable context has termed a 'ceremonial order of progressive remoteness'.[8]

The ceremonial movement of Shah Jahan had its morning and afternoon cycles.[9] Since the emperor's autocratic rule required confirmation through regular public appearances, special emphasis was placed on his public audiences, which came in two forms. The most public form was that of the *jharōka-i darshan*, the viewing window on the outer wall of the palace. Here, the emperor would appear every day at sunrise to comply with the ancient requirement of Persian and Indian kingship to be accessible—at least visually—to all of his subjects.[10] From the *jharōka-i darshan* he proceeded to the most public form of audience within the palace, which was held in the *jharōka-i khāṣṣ-o-'āmm* in the courtyard (*ṣaḥn*) of the *khāṣṣ-o-'āmm* (a on Fig. 9.6). The appearance in the *jharōka-i darshan* took place only once, in the morning; the appearance in the *jharōka-i-khāṣṣ-o-'āmm* was repeated in the afternoon.[11] The public audience or *bār-i 'āmm* was also a state council, and its attendance was obligatory for every Mughal officeholder at the residence, whether *amir* or *manṣabdār*. The nobles and their retinues had to stand positioned according to their rank in front of the *jharōka-i-khāṣṣ-o-'āmm* (Figs. 9.1, 5)[12] from where the emperor dealt with administration of the imperial household and the empire (which was treated like its extension) and other affairs of state.

The new audience halls were put up in front of the wall with the *jharōka* and were only accessible to holders of a certain rank, namely those *khāṣṣ-ān* who

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[6] I have kept to the traditional translation of this term; in the Mughal context it actually means 'state hall (*īwān-i dawlat khāna*) for the grandees of the empire (*khāṣṣ*) and the wider public (*'āmm*)', or 'state hall for high and low'. 'Iwan' is used in the Mughal Persian of Shah Jahan's period to describe pillared construction of any dimension and plan; see Ebba Koch, 'The Lost Colonnade of Shah Jahan's Bath in the Red Fort of Agra', this volume, n. 4.

[7] Shah Jahan's historians repeatedly draw attention to the fact that the halls were 'one of the innovations and inventions' (*az mabda'āt wa mustaḥdathāt*) of Shah Jahan. See Qazvīnī, fol. 137ᵇ, Jaffery transcript, p. 206; cf. Lāhōrī, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 454.

[8] Oleg Grabar, 'Palaces, Citadels and Fortifications', in *Architecture of the Islamic World*, ed. George Michell (London, 1978), p. 72.

[9] See in particular Lāhōrī, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 144–54, trans. Nūr Bakhsh (n. 1 above), pp. 188–93; Qazvīnī, fols. 136ᵇ–142ᵃ, transcript Jaffery, pp. 204–12 ff.; Kanbō, 1, pp. 201–10; cf. Muhammad Azhar Anṣari, *Social Life of the Mughal Emperors, 1526–1707* (Allahabad and New Delhi, 1974), pp. 104–5; Mubarak Ali, *The Court of the Great Mughuls Based on Persian Sources* (Lahore, 1986), pp. 41–5. See also Stephen P. Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India 1639–1739* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 90–7.

[10] Lāhōrī (vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 144–5; trans. Nūr Bakhsh, n. 1 above, p. 188) tells us that this form of audience was introduced by Akbar. The Indian tradition put great emphasis on *darshan*, the viewing of the ruler like an image in a shrine from whose viewing blessing would arise. For *darshan* as a ritual specific to the Mughal court, see Catherine B. Asher, 'Sub-Imperial Palaces: Power and Authority in Mughal India', and Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces', both in *Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces*, in particular pp. 278–9, 310–14.

[11] This practice was suggested by Babur who advised his son Humayun in a letter written in November 1528 to 'summon thy younger brother and the begs twice daily to thy presence, not leaving their coming to choice; be the business what it may, take counsel and settle every word and act in agreement with those well wishers'. Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *Bābur nāma*, trans. A.S. Beveridge (1921; rpt. New Delhi, 1970), p. 627.

[12] Nobody was allowed to talk or move unless requested by the emperor to do so. The person dealt with by the emperor would step forward in the centre of the hall and (after 1637) upon receiving a favour would make four obeisances (*chahār taslīms*); see n. 96 below. See also Chandar Bhān Brahman, *Chahār Chaman*, Persian ms. bound in BL. Add. 16 863, fols. 20ᵃ–22ᵇ. Since the function in the Diwan-i'Amm could take up to 4 or 5 *gharī* (one *gharī* = 24 minutes), that is up to two hours, it was quite trying experience, in particular for aged courtiers. They were, however, allowed to lean on ceremonial staffs; see Fig. 9.1.

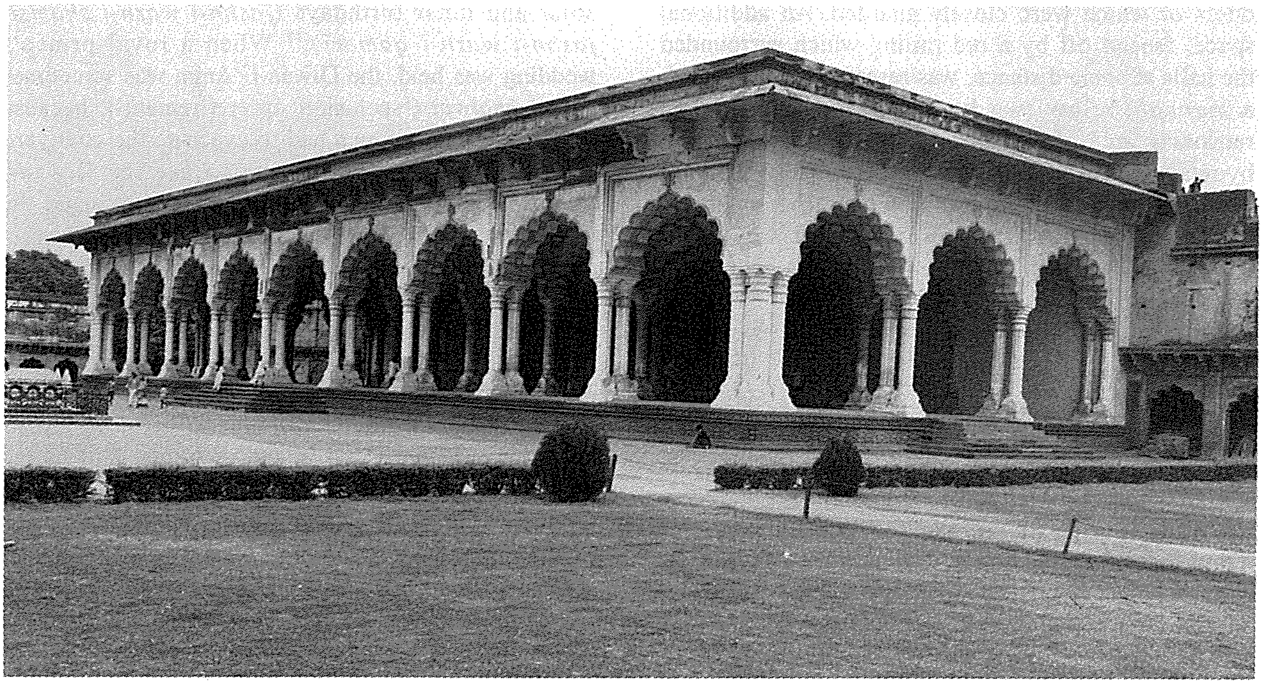
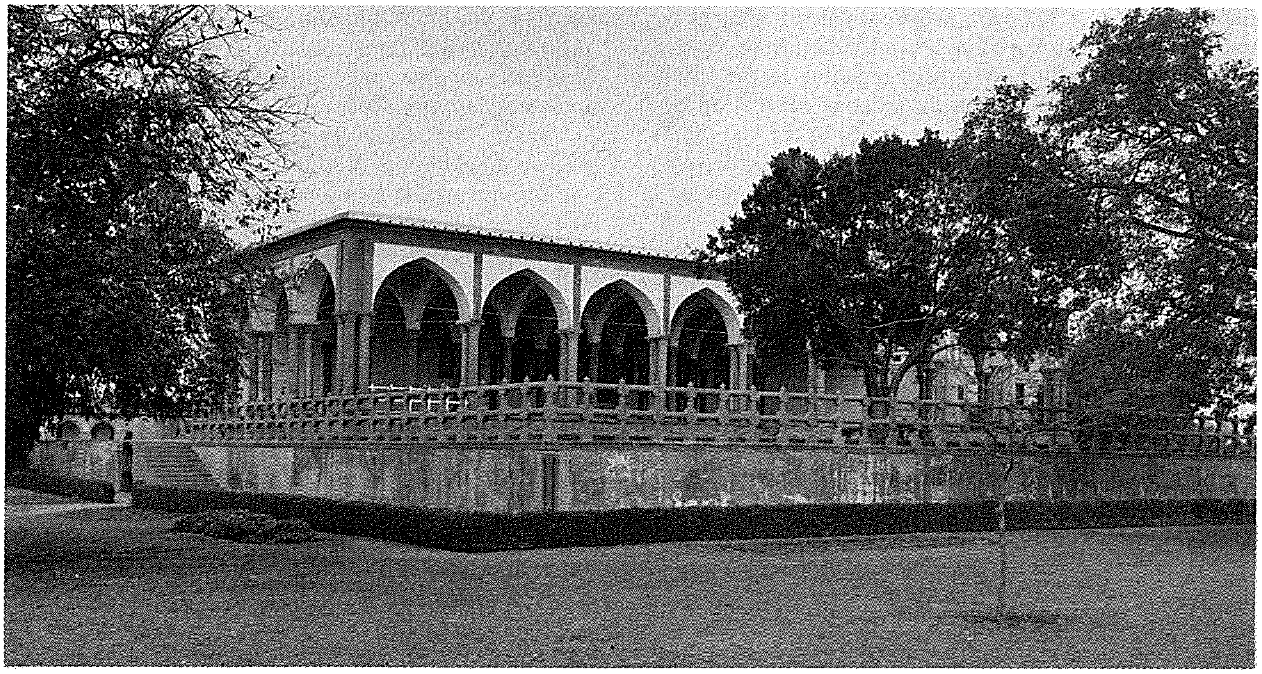


Fig. 9.2 Diwan-i 'Amm, Agra Fort, completed 1637.

Fig. 9.3 Diwan-i 'Amm, Lahore Fort, after 1628, with later alterations.



had a *manṣab* above two hundred. The halls were open on three sides and to ensure restricted access, they were enclosed by a silver railing,[13] the three doors of which were closely guarded. An additional space, fenced off by a red railing which surrounded the halls at some distance, was reserved for those with a *manṣab* below two hundred (Fig. 9.3).[14] The remaining area of the *ṣaḥn-i khāṣṣ-o-'āmm* was used by retainers and others without rank (a–b on Fig. 9.6).

In addition to being the administrative centre of the Mughal empire, the Diwan-i 'Amm provided a stage for the great court festivals,[15] in particular Nawruz (the Persian New Year) and *julūs* (the accession anniversary).[16] It was also the setting for such state ceremonies as weighing the emperor on his solar and lunar birthdays (*jashn-i wazn-i shamsī, jashn-i wazn-ī qamarī*).[17] When a royal prince's wedding was held, the Diwan-i 'Amm was sometimes called *khalwat* ('seclusion' or 'retirement'), because on those occasions men had to evacuate the courtyard to allow the imperial women to use the Diwan-i 'Amm as an exhibition hall where they arranged the dowry and the wedding presents for display during a public audience by the emperor to the court.[18] The audience hall also played a part in the celebration of religious festivals such as the 'Id.[19] The emperor feasted scholars and pious persons with a banquet there on the Milad (the Prophet's birthday).[20] During the whole month of Ramadan, fast-breaking meals (*iftār*) would be given in the audience hall to the

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[13] '. . . a railing [*maḥjar*] . . . which the people of Hind [ūstān] call *katahrā'*, see Qazvīnī, fol. 137^{b}, transcript Jaffery p. 206; cf. Kanbō, 1, p. 203.

[14] Lāhōrī, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 222, discusses this division in his description of the construction of the wooden Chihil Sutuns; Qazvīnī, fols. 137^{b} ff., transcript Jaffery, pp. 206 ff. and Kanbō (1, pp. 203–4) refer to it in the description of the daily routine of the emperor. Kanbō gives the dimensions of the red railing with 50 *gaz* by 15 *gaz*, the same as that of the railing of the tent which preceded the wooden halls as described by Lāhōrī, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 146 (see n. 3 above); perhaps he confuses them. According to all authors the space enclosed by the red railing was covered with awnings (*sāyabān*) of precious textiles. Like the wooden halls the red wooden railings were replaced by a permanent stone construction, but only the one of the Lahore fort survives to some extent: the present sandstone railing (73.70 m. × 32.60 m.) was reconstructed in the early twentieth century on the basis of available evidence. At the same time, a marble railing corresponding to the inner silver railing was fitted into the existing sockets of the columns of the westernmost front arcade of the hall (both railings are visible on Fig. 9.3); see Gordon Sanderson, 'The Diwan-i 'Amm, Lahore Fort', *ASIAR*, 1909–10; pp. 36–7, figs. 2, 3, pl. 10, a and b. This division of the *dīwān khāna-i khāṣṣ-o-'āmm* into three areas by means of railings existed already in Jahangir's time; in 1613 he introduced silver casings for the inner rails, the outer remained red; see *Tūzuk*, Persian text ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (Aligarh, 1864), p. 118; trans. Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge, 2 vols. in one (1909–14; rpt. New Delhi, 1968), 1, p. 242; The Shahjahani arrangement of the railings conformed thus to that of Jahangir. In the Delhi hall, the last of the series, there was an additional gold railing around the *jharōka*; Blake (*Shahjahanabad*, pp. 91–2, fig. 1) assumes that it was on the floor level of the hall; the texts, however, are not quite clear on this point, it could also have been fitted on the raised platform of the *jharōka*. Blake is certainly not correct about the position of the silver railing (delineating the area for those above a *manṣab* of two hundred) which he places within the audience hall.

[15] For descriptions of these court ceremonies and festivals based on contemporary texts, see in particular Ansari, *Social Life*, pp. 110–24; Mubarak Ali, *Court of Great Mughuls*, pp. 29, 46–56; these works should, however, be used with some caution with regard to details. They also tend to overlook the changes taking place in the ceremonies over the years.

[16] During the first ten years of Shah Jahan's reign the anniversary of the accession (*julūs*) was celebrated at the same time as Nawruz, the first day of the Persian solar year when the sun enters the zodiacal sign of Aries in March. On this occasion the courtyard of *khāṣṣ-o'āmm* was sumptuously decorated with tents, rugs, thrones, precious textiles from various regions and countries, and European paintings on cloth (*parda-hā-yi farangī*); see Peter Andrews, 'Court Tents', in particular pp. 151, 156–7; Ansari, *Social Life*, pp. 114–18; Mubarak Ali, *Court of Great Mughuls*, pp. 48–51.

[17] Ansari, *Social Life*, pp. 118–20; Mubarak Ali, *Court of Great Mughuls*, pp. 51–3.

[18] This less well-known use of the hall has been noted by Ansari, p. 87. It is reported for the weddings of Dara Shukoh and Shah Shuja' in February–March 1633; see Lāhōrī, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 454–6, 462–3. At Shah Shuja''s wedding, also the *ḥinā-bandān* (*bastan-i ḥinā*) ceremony (which for Dara Shukoh had been held at the Diwan-i Khass, p. 456) was conducted in the Diwan-i 'Amm hall (pp. 461 f.). Cf. Kanbō, 1, pp. 437–9, 449; 'Ināyat Khān, pp. 91, 93.

[19] A particularly grand celebration took place in the Diwan-i 'Amm in March 1635 when Nawruz, 'Id al-Fitr, and the inauguration of Shah Jahan's new gem-studded throne (*takht-i muraṣṣa'*, later known as the Peacock Throne) fell together; Lāhōrī, vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 77 ff.; 'Ināyat Khān, pp. 147–8. See also Ansari, *Social Life*, pp. 121–3; Mubarak Ali, *Court of Great Mughuls*, p. 47.

[20] See for instance, 'Ināyat Khān, p. 118; Ansari, *Social Life*, pp. 123–4; Mubarak Ali, *Court of Great Mughuls*, p. 48. A splendid depiction of this type of ceremonial banquet which took place on 16 September 1633 in the Diwan-i 'Amm of the Agra fort can be found on two corresponding miniatures in the Freer Gallery, Washington, D.C., nos. 42, 17 and 18. For references to illustrations, see n. 2 above.

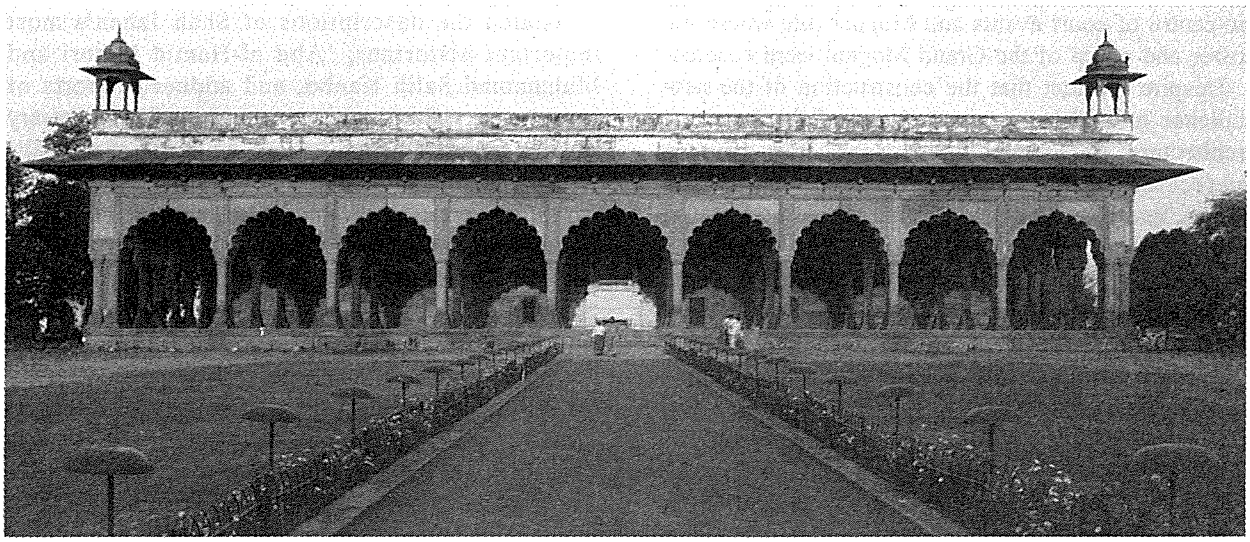
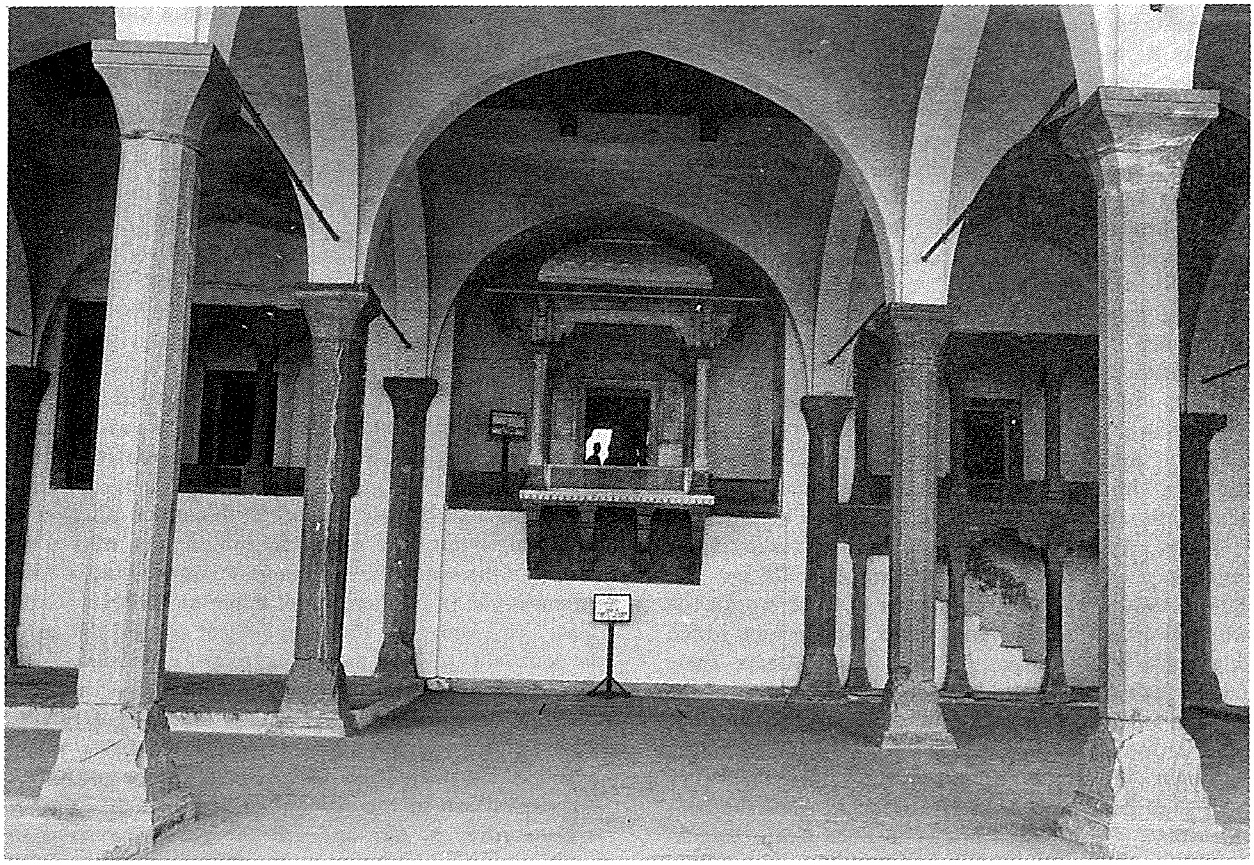


Fig. 9.4 Diwan-i 'Amm, Delhi Fort, completed 1648.

Fig. 9.5 *Jharōka* of the Diwan-i 'Amm, Lahore Fort, second half of sixteenth or first quarter of seventeenth century, with later alterations.



deserving poor at imperial expense.[21] The emperor also used it to receive foreign dignitaries and delegations (Fig. 9.1).[22] All in all, the Diwan-i 'Amm the centre of court events and Mughal rule where the power and pomp of the Grand Moghul were enacted.

Despite the fact that the construction of the new audience halls thus represented one of the strongest architectural statements of Shah Jahan, they have so far received little attention from architectural historians, and the scholarship relies almost entirely on textual sources[23] or on archaelogical data.[24] With the exception of Gordon Sanderson, who published a plan of the Lahore hall and tried to interpret certain of its features through textual research,[25] few attempts have been made to integrate the information contained in literary and visual sources with what can be derived from the architecture itself.[26] The reason given by the court historians for the construction of the Diwan-i 'Amms, namely to protect the emperor's *khāṣṣ-ān* from the vicissitudes of the weather, has also been taken at face value. By considering additional sources, I shall attempt to determine whether there was not more to the building of these halls than that, and, if so, how it was expressed in the form the halls were given.[27]

The main work done so far on the halls by scholars like Nur Bakhsh,[28] Muhammad Ashraf Husain,[29] and Gordon Sanderson[30] is based on textual evidence. All translated the descriptions of Shah Jahan's most important historians, 'Abd al-Hamid Lahori and Muhammad Salih Kanbo, and adduced reports of contemporary European eye witnesses. These literary sources tell us what the various functions of the halls were[31] and something about their form, but not what would interest the modern architectural historian, namely why a hypostyle audience hall was introduced in the palace architecture of the Mughals. Aside from panegyric comparisons and poems written when a hall was completed, the sources have nothing to say about their architectural programme. This should not surprise us because direct statements about the meaning of architecture, indeed of works of arts altogether, are not a special theme of Mughal writing. Art works of the Mughal period were not directly interpreted by contemporaries, and their meaning must now be sought by indirect paths. Contemporary interpretations are usually embedded in a more or less enciphered form in the courtly panegyric. The greatest problem here is to recognize which themes and concepts were merely literary conventions and which had an actual bearing on a work of art.

Shah Jahan's court historians, by designing the halls as Chihil Sutun, provide us with a clue for how they were perceived. Chihil Sutun is in the Mughal context a new notion.[32] In Persia the term was used in

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[21] 'Ināyat Khān, pp. 499, 530.

[22] The ceremonies of the Diwan-i 'Amm were also accessible to western observers at the Mughal court and thus featured prominently in their reports; see, e.g., François Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 260–5; and Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, trans. Valentine Ball, 2nd edn., William Crooke (1925; rpt. New Delhi, 1977), 1, pp. 80–2, 301 ff.

[23] See, in particular, Nūr Bakhsh as quoted in nn. 1 and 4 above.

[24] See, in particular, the *ASIAR* from the first decade of the twentieth century which describe the restoration work done in the area of the Diwan-i 'Amms after they had been evacuated by the military authorities. For more analytical discussions of the formal aspects of the halls, see, e.g., Oscar Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 48–9, 52–3, 59.

[25] 'Diwan-i 'Amm, Lahore Fort', pp. 33–9.

[26] Brief discussions have been provided by Peter Andrews, 'Mahall', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn. (henceforth cited as *EI*^{2}), 6, pp. 1218–20; and by Catherine B. Asher, *New Cambridge History of India*, 1, 4, *Architecture of Mughal India* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 179, 182–3, 194–6; the bibliographies of both works list publications on Shahjahani palace architecture which include also brief treatments of the Diwan-i 'Amms. These authors ignore, however, the first wooden version of the halls and relate all texts indiscriminately to the extant stone constructions. The wooden halls have been noted by Necipoğlu, 'Framing the Gaze', p. 312.

[27] I shall develop here in greater detail some thoughts which have been touched briefly in Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development (1526–1858)* (Munich, 1991), pp. 107–9.

[28] See nn. 1 and 4 above.

[29] Muhammad Ashraf Husain, *An Historical Guide to the Agra Fort* (Delhi, 1937), pp. 34–40.

[30] Sanderson, 'Diwan-i 'Amm, Lahore Fort'; *idem*, 'Shah Jahan's Fort, Delhi'; cf. *idem*, *A Guide to the Buildings and Gardens, Delhi Fort*, 4th edn. (1914; Delhi 1937), pp. 16–26.

[31] Within the range of this essay I cannot deal in greater detail with the extensive and highly informative descriptions which Shah Jahan's authors provide of the court ceremonies and proceedings of the Diwan-i 'Amms.

[32] I know of only one instance of the use of this term in a Mughal context prior to Shah Jahan's reign. It refers to the murder of the son of the Mughal governor of Kabul in 1563 'in a *khargāh* [a pavilion or, according to Andrews, 'Court Tents', n. 3 above, p. 150, a trellis tent or yurt] put up in the courtyard (*ṣaḥn*) of the *dīwān khāna-i chihil sutūn*,' See Abu'l Fażl, *Akbar nāma*, Persian text eds. Āghā Aḥmad 'Alī and 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1873–86), 2, p. 186; trans. Henry Beveridge, 3 vols. (1902–39; rpt. Delhi, 1979), 2, p. 288. The designation 'Chihil Sutun' for the lost Akbari tower-pavilion in the Allahabad Fort (Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, p. 62) and for the (lost) pavilion in

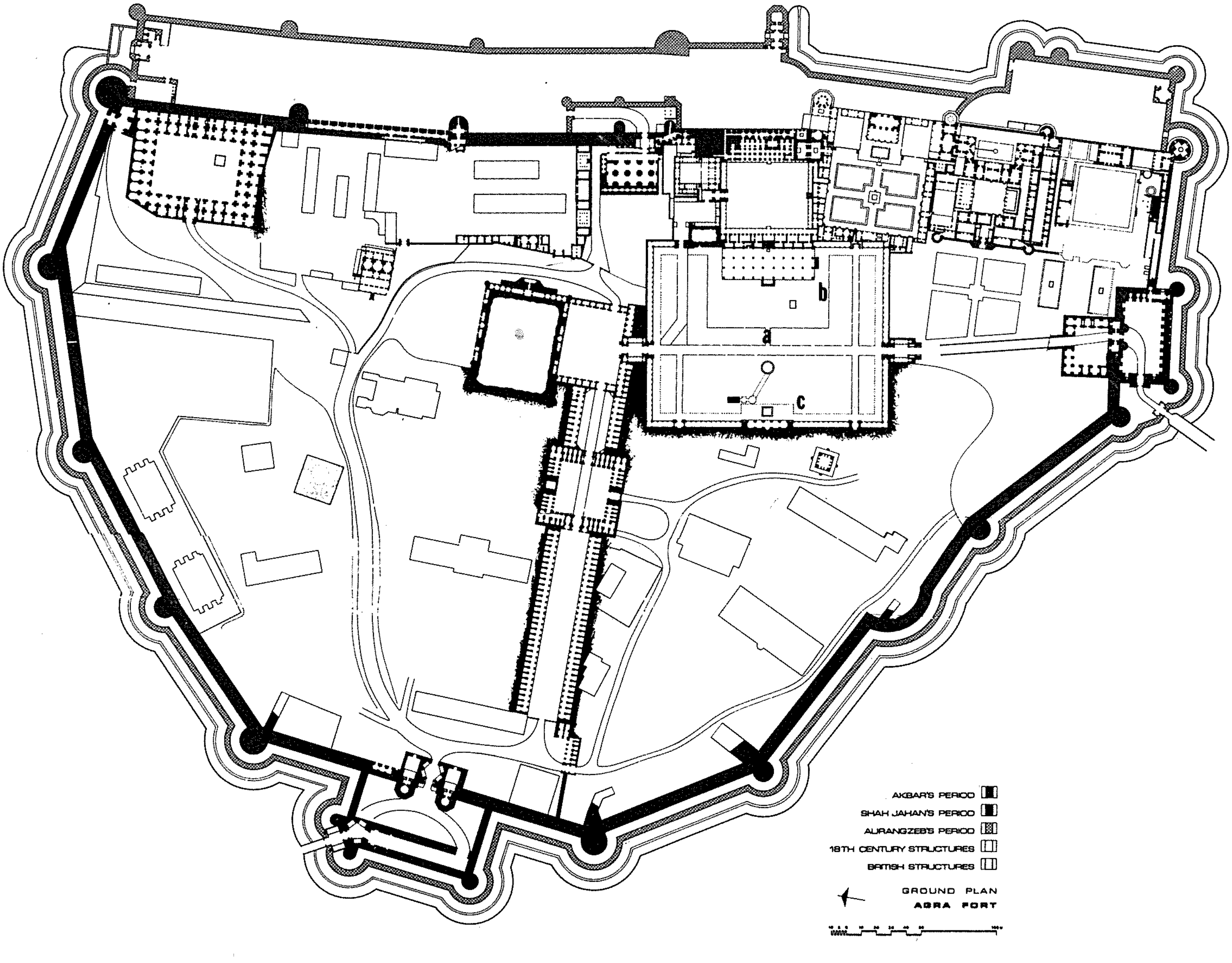

Fig. 9.6 Site plan of the Agra Fort, (a) courtyard of *khāṣṣ-o-ʿāmm;* (b) Diwan-i ʿAmm hall; (c) mosque.

the sense of halls with many, though not necessarily forty, columns.[33] The Safavids who ruled over Persia at the same time as the Mughals used it in this way. The Safavids were the immediate neighbours of the Mughals and considered by them as their greatest rivals, against whom they also wanted to measure themselves on the level of the arts. Persia was thus pivotal to the concept of Mughal rulership. It is well known that their great ancestor Timur had tried to establish himself as a Turco-Mongolian warlord and conqueror in the Persian-Islamic tradition of rulership. His successors, the Timurids, oriented themselves even more strongly towards Persianate culture.[34] Given this orientation of the Mughals towards Persia, one is tempted to relate the sudden appearance of Mughal audience halls, designated with the Persian term *chihil sutūn*, to the hypostyle porticoes or *tālār*s of the reception pavilions of the Safavids, because they are formally and functionally related. In particular, one feels inclined to make this connection because the first version of Shah Jahan's Chihil Sutuns was—like the Safavid *tālār*s—a hypostyle wooden construction open on three sides set before a masonry wall with a seat for the shah in the centre.[35]

The problem, however, is that neither the date nor the origin of the Safavid *tālār*s has yet been established with certainty; what appears to be the earliest example of a *tālār* building in Isfahan, the no longer extant Ayina Khana, seems not to have been built before 1629, which means it postdates the construction of Shah Jahan's first wooden Chihil Sutuns.[36] The immediate namesake and functional equivalent of Shah Jahan's Chihil Sutuns, the reception pavilion in the palace of Isfahan, dates in its present form to 1647 (Fig. 9.7).[37] The shape of the earlier Safavid Chihil Sutuns is uncertain. The pavilion now known as Chihil Sutun, which is all that remains of Shah Tahmasp's palace at Qazvin (1544–54), has a masonary core surrounded by a double-storied pillared gallery.[38] However, it is possible that the building—as the only survivor of the palace complex—inherited its name from a now lost audience building.[39] The Qazvin Chihil Sutun, in turn, was perhaps derived from earlier prototypes in the palace of Shah Tahmasp

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the Jaunpur fort (also from Akbar's period and not from that of the Tughluqs, as claimed by John Burton Page in his article 'Djawnpur', *EI*^{2}, 2, p. 499, pl. 8) seem to have been attached to these buildings at a later date, because they do not feature in contemporary Mughal descriptions.

[33] The use of *chihil* in the sense of 'a large number' is discussed *inter alia* by Luṭfullāh Honafar, 'Ta'rīkh-i binā'-yi pūl-i Allāh Wardī Khān', *Honar va Mardum* 109 (November, 1971), p. 4. An earlier source is Jean Chardin, *Voyages . . . en Perse et autre lieux de l' Orient*, ed. L. Langlès (Paris, 1811), vol. 7, p. 377.

[34] It was Humayun in particular who introduced Persian ideas into the Mughal court. See Necipoğlu, 'Framing the Gaze', pp. 309 ff.

[35] Different was that the Safavid *tālār* was conceived as a porch for the vaulted masonry part of a free-standing pavilion, whereas the Mughal hall was a building by itself, communicating only with the room (s) attached to the emperor's *jharōka* in its back wall.

[36] Communication by Sussan Babaie who has recently completed a Ph.D. dissertation, 'Safavid Palaces at Isfahan: Continuity and Change (1599–1666)', for the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University. We have had several stimulating exchanges of views and information about Safavid and Mughal palace architecture. For an earlier treatment of the Safavid *tālār*s and Chihil Sutun pavilions, see in particular Arthur Upham Pope, 'Islamic Architecture, Safavid Period', in *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (London, 1939), vol. 2, pp. 1191 ff.; more recent discussions can be found in Robert Hillenbrand, 'Safavid Architecture', *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6; *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, eds. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge, 1986), in particular, pp. 782–3, 796–801; and Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Framing the Gaze', pp. 306–7, 312.

[37] See, in addition to the literature cited in n. 36 above, Luṭfullāh Honafar, 'Kākh-i Chihil Sutūn', *Honar va Mardum* 121 (November 1972), pp. 3–31, who quotes an inscription and various other poetic chronograms yielding the date 1057 (1647) (pp. 6–11).

[38] Wolfram Kleiss, 'Der safavidische Pavillon in Qazvin', *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, n. F. 9 (1976), pp. 253–61. The present form of this Chihil Sutun tallies with the reconstruction of Ulugh Beg's Chihil Sutun at Samarqand by Galina A. Pougatchenkova (*Chefs-d'oeuvre d'architecture de l'Asie Centrale XIV*^{e}*–XV*^{e} *siècle*, [Paris, 1981]), pp. 34, 37, fig. 21d. See also n. 41 below.

[39] A brief discussion of the palace of Shah Tahmasp at Qazvin and the problems raised by its Chihil Sutun is provided by Iḥsān Ishrāqī, 'Naqqāsh-hā-yi kākh-i Chihil Sutūn-i Qazvīn va kākh-hā-yi dīgar Ṣafavī az khalāl manẓūma'i 'Abdī Beg Shirāzī', *Honar va Mardum*, 182 (2536/1977), pp. 2–9. I thank Dr. S.M. Yunus Jaffery for drawing my attention to this publication. A French version of the same article is Ehsan Echraghi, 'Description contemporaine des peintures murales disparues des palais de Šāh Ṭahmāsp à Qazvin', *Art et Société dans le Monde Iranien*, ed. C. Adle (Paris, 1980), pp. 117–26. Iḥsān Ishrāqī refers in particular to the contemporary descriptions of the building by 'Abdī Beg Shirāzī. Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tā'rikh 'Ālam Ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, Persian text ed. Īraj Afshār, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1350 sh./1971), 1, p. 115, mentions the building on the occasion of thc reception of an Ottoman embassy at the court of Shah Tahmasp in 1558; the presents the envoys brought were displayed to the royal view 'in front of the *īwān* of high foundations [of high pillars?] of the Chihil Sutun of the blessed palace' (*dar bar-ā-bar īwān-i buland arkān-i chihil sutūn-i dawlat*

at Tabriz (rebuilt in 1539).[40] In addition, we know of Chihil Sutuns from Timurid sources, but their shape is also uncertain. The best documented Timurid Chihil Sutun built by Ulugh Beg in the first half of the fifteenth century at Samarqand had stone columns arranged in two stories.[41]

Among the sites known as Chihil Sutun in the early seventeenth century, however, there is one of particular historical significance which predates all the Chihil Sutuns discussed so far. In connection with audience halls it must have been pivotal for the Iran-inspired concept of rulership of the Mughals. This is Persepolis,[42] the great ritual and representative centre of the Achaemenid empire, the place where the ceremonies of the world-ruling Persian kings were held in multicolumned audience halls (Fig. 9.8).[43] Alexander the Great had destroyed Persepolis, but it had remained a symbolically highly charged place for any ruler who sought to associate himself with the Persian concept of sacred kingship.[44] In Persia, this

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khāna-i mubārak). My attention was drawn to this passage by a translated extract appended by Charles Stewart to his translation of Jawhar Āftābchī, *Tazkirat al-wāq'iāt, or Private Memoirs of the Moghul Emperor Humayun* (1832; rpt. Delhi 1972), p. 124. Sussan Babaie has kindly searched out the corresponding passage in the Persian text.

[40] The palace of Shah Tahmasp at Tabriz is described by Michele Membré who saw it in autumn 1539 (*Relazione di Persia [1542]*, ed. Gianroberto Scarcia [Naples, 1969], pp. 32 ff; Alexander Morton trans. *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia [1539–1542]*: *Michele Membré* [London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1993], pp. 29–30). Membré provides the most detailed information of the court, camp, and palaces of Shah Tahmasp known so far. Membré reports that the palace building where the Shah held his audiences had 'four chambers, one behind the other, with their carpets and ante-chambers (*quatro camere una drio l 'altra, con li sui tapedi e antiporti*), but he does not mention a Chihil Sutun or a *tālār*. If Shah Tahmasp's palace did contain such structures, they might connect with the vernacular architecture of the region. Here at Azerbaijan, the homeland of the Safavids, mosques dating from the first half of the sixteenth century testify to a regional tradition of wooden hypostyle halls made of elements similar to the Safavid *tālārs*. See Parvīz Varajāvand, 'Chihil Sutun-i Masjid-i Mullā Rustam, Marāgheh', *Barassihā-yi Tārikhī* 61 (6) 1340/1961–62, pp. 1–22. Comparable, in particular, are the elements of the post-and-beam construction such as the slender shafts of the supports and their elongated *muqarnas* capitals.

[41] Besides Ulugh Beg's Chihil Sutun we know also of a Chihil Sutun in the Bagh-i Zaghan in the Herat of Sultan Husayn Bayqara (d. 1486); see Terry Allen, *A Catalogue of the Toponyms and Monuments of Timurid Herat* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), p. 214; see also O'Kane, 'From Tents to Pavilions', p. 250, Ulugh Beg's Chihil Sutun, a pavilion in the centre of the Bagh-i Maydan, is mainly known to us through its description by Babur, *Bābur nāma* (n. 11 above), p. 80. Babur emphasizes the stone supports of the construction, thereby implying that it was superior to the vernacular wooden Central Asian loggia, called, at some point, like the Mughal halls, *īwān*. For the latter point, see Koch, 'Lost Colonnade', this volume, n. 4; and Pougatchenkova, *Chefs-d'oeuvre*, p. 37. The early Mughals also used the term *tālār* for wooden constructions; when he was in India in 1528 Babur saw a wood *tālār* built by Rahim Dad in his garden at Gwalior (*Bābur nāma*, p. 610). Babur's companion Zayn Khan (*Ṭabaqāt-i Bāburī*, trans. and intro. S. Hasan Askari, annot. B.P. Ambastha [Delhi, 1982], p. 157), mentions 'coloured and decorated *tālārs*' in Babur's garden at Agra. Since the Central Asian wooden *īwāns* are made of elements similar to the *tālārs* of the Safavids, it is possible that there was a direct influence. In a residential context the Central Asian *īwān* most commonly took the shape of a one-aisle porch, often with an L-shaped plan, which was attached to the masonry part of a building. This juxtaposition, as well as the shape of the supports, relates it closely to the *tālār* buildings of the Safavids; different is that the *tālārs* were much larger multi-pillared constructions, for which in Central Asia—as in Azerbaijan—there is only evidence today in vernacular mosque architecture, such as the Jami‘ Masjid in Khiva, rebuilt in the eighteenth century but preserving wooden columns of its earlier construction dating back to the tenth century. See L. Mankovskaya, *Khiva* (Tashkent, 1982), pp. 47, 237, pls. 109–12. The Central Asian wooden supports certainly influenced Mughal columnar forms, for which see Ebba Koch, 'The Baluster Column', this volume, pp. 45–9.

[42] Persepolis was already called Chihil Minar or Chil Minar by Persian historians of the fourteenth century. See M. Streck and G.C. Miles, 'Istakhr', *EI*^{2}, 4, pp. 220, with further literature. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Persepolis was so widely known under this designation that the leading architect of Austrian Baroque, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, described his engraved view of Persepolis (probably made in 1688) for the first manuscript version of his *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur* (presented to Emperor Charles VI in 1712) in the caption as 'Tschehelminar'; see Georg Kunoth, *Die historische Architektur Fischers von Erlach* (Düsseldorf, 1956), pp. 120–4, pl. 102.

[43] A possible connection between the multi-pillared halls of the Achaemenids and the *tālārs* of the Safavids and Diwan-i ‘Amms of the Mughals has been supposed by past scholarship, but so far there was no attempt to show how such a connection could have been established (see nn. 68 and 89 below).

[44] It seems that this applies also to the Hapsburg rulers of the Holy Roman Empire. According to a letter fragment attributed by Kunoth (*Historische Architektur*, n. 42 above, pp. 120 ff., pl. 101) to Fischer, the latter had planned 'to built the new royal palace at Schönbrunn on a hill in the same way as it is reported of the royal castle at Persepolis or Tschehelminar, so that His Majesty [Charles VI]—like Cyrus overlooking his empire—can see as far as the

had already been true for the Sasanians who, incidentally, came from the region of Istakhr where Persepolis is situated.[45] The tradition was continued by the Muslim rulers of Persia, beginning with the Buyids (tenth century) who sought to establish their royalty particularly with regard to the Abbasid caliphs at Baghdad, the spiritual rulers of Islam.[46] The unbroken associations of Persepolis with the Iranian-Muslim tradition of kingship are evident from Arabic and Persian inscriptions of Muslim princes who visited Persepolis throughout the centuries.[47] The inscriptions of these royal visitors were engraved mainly on the palace of Darius, the Tachara. They have similar contents and at times even copy passages from each other, clearly to emphasize the aspect of continuity related to the place. Their themes reflect on the transitoriness of human achievement, in particular of worldly power and kingship, thoughts which were considered befitting for princes looking up monuments of the past.[48] An example comes from Ibrahim Sultan, the son of Shahrukh, a relative of the Mughals and a highly ambitious Timurid governor of Fars. In the year 1423 he left the following verses on the palace of Darius:

> Do you know any one of the old kings of Persia of
> the time of Faridun, Zahhak or Jam [shid]
> Whose throne and empire did not perish and who
> was not ruined by the hand of destiny?
> Did not the throne of Solomon—peace be upon
> him—from morning to evening fly upon the wind?
> Did you not see that finally it was gone with the
> wind?
> Happy the one who departed, leaving behind
> knowledge and justice!
> Beware! that you bring up the tree of generosity—
> no doubt you will then taste the fruits of fortune.
> Written by Ibrahim Sultan bin Shahrukh in the
> year eight hundred twenty-six.[49]

The verses tell us that in Islamic Iran Persepolis was not associated with its historical founders, the Achaemenids, but with the mythical rulers of Iran as they were popularized by Firdawsi's great epic of kings, the *Shāhnāma*, in particular with Jamshid. In Muslim Persia Persepolis was (and still is) not only known as Chihil Sutun or Chihil Minar but also as Takht-i Jamshid (Throne of Jamshid). The Arab tradition too claimed Persepolis, under the name of nearby Istakhr, by regarding it as a place of Solomon, who, in the Qur'an and in Muslim legends, appears as prophet king and ideal ruler of Islam.[50] The Arab geographers of the Middle Ages from about the tenth century onwards, like Istakhri, Muqaddasi, or Mas‘udi, described Persepolis as *mal‘ab* (playground) and, in particular, as the *masjid* of Solomon.[51] In popular Persian tradition Jamshid and Solomon were amalgamated into one and the same person.[52] Davani,

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borders of Hungary' (my translation from the German transcript of Kunoth). I thank Hellmut Lorenz for answering questions about Fischer and Persepolis.

[45] Sasanian connections to Persepolis as evident from inscriptions of the period of Shahpur II (r. 309–79) are briefly discussed by A. Shapur Shahbazi, *Illustrierte Beschreibung von Persepolis* (Persepolis: Institute of Achaemenid Research Publications, 1977), pp. 49–50. I thank Joachim Deppert for helping me with this reference.

[46] See J. Michael Rogers, *The Spread of Islam* (London, 1976), pp. 10–11; Priscilla P. Soucek, 'The Influence of Persepolis on Islamic Art', *Actes du XXIXe congrès international des orientalistes, Études arabes et islamiques I, Histoire et civilisation* (Paris, 1975), vol. 4, pp. 195–200.

[47] See Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, 'Le Royaume de Salomon: Les Inscriptions persanes de sites achéménides', in *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam*, 1 (1971), pp. 1–41, who uses the body of inscriptions collected by M.T. Mostafavi, *Iqlīm-i Pārs* (Tehran 1343 sh./1965); Cf. Streck and Miles, 'Istakhr', *EI*^{2}, 4, p. 221, with further literature. Inscriptions were not the only means for Muslim princes to associate themselves with Persepolis. 'Adud al-Dawla Buyid (r. 949–82) removed elements of the Tachara to put up in his palace at Shiraz; see Shahbazi, *Illustrierte Beschreibung*, p. 50; for the Safavids, see n. 89 below.

[48] This aspect of princely comportment is discussed in greater detail in 'The Delhi of the Mughals Prior to Shahjahanabad as Reflected in the Patterns of Imperial Visits', this volume pp. 165, 167, 169.

[49] My English translation from Melikian-Chirvani, 'Royaume de Solomon', pp. 24–5.

[50] The associations of Persepolis with Solomon are discussed by Melikian-Chirvani, 'Royaume de Solomon', Soucek, 'Influence of Persepolis', pp. 196–7; *idem*, 'Solomon's Throne/Solomon's Bath: Model or Metaphor', in *Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces*, pp. 108, 112; Streck and Miles, 'Istakhr', pp. 221; with further literature.

[51] Detailed descriptions of Persepolis-Istakhr by the Arab geographers of the medieval period have been collected and translated by Paul Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen* (Leipzig, 1896), vol. 1, pp. 13–6; see, also, Melikian-Chirvani, 'Royaume de Solomon', pp. 8–10; Streck and Miles, 'Istakhr', p. 221.

[52] Georg Salzberger, *Die Salomo-Sage in der semitischen Literatur* (Berlin-Nikolasee, 1907), pp. 2–5, 8, 23 *et passim*; *idem*, *Salomos Tempelbau und Thron in der semitischen Sagenliterature* (Berlin, 1912), p. 57 *et passim*; Ebba Koch; 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus' this volume, p. 116, see also the literature cited in nn. 50 and 51 above. An important analysis of the amalgamation of Qur'anic rulers with the pre-Islamic Persian kings is provided by Heribert Busse, 'Herrschertypen im Koran', *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Ulrich Haarmann

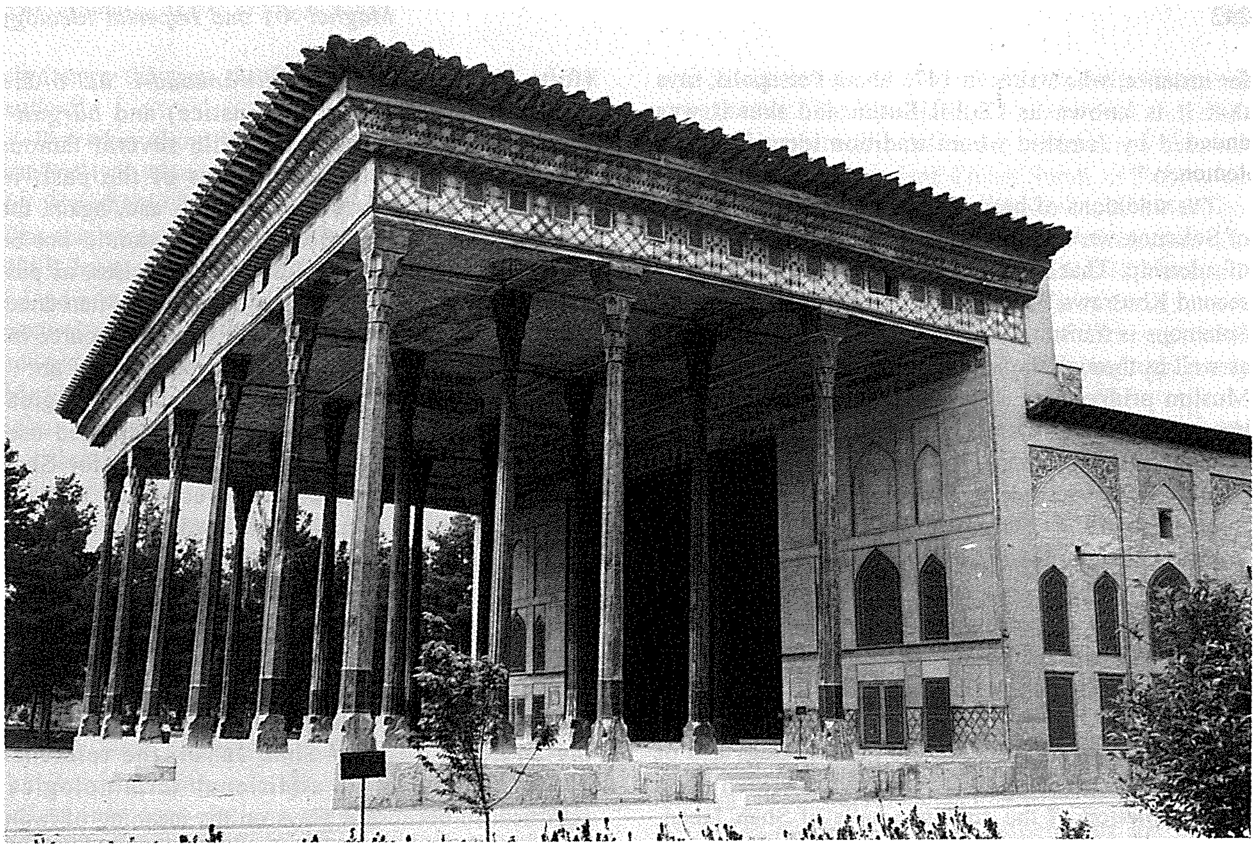
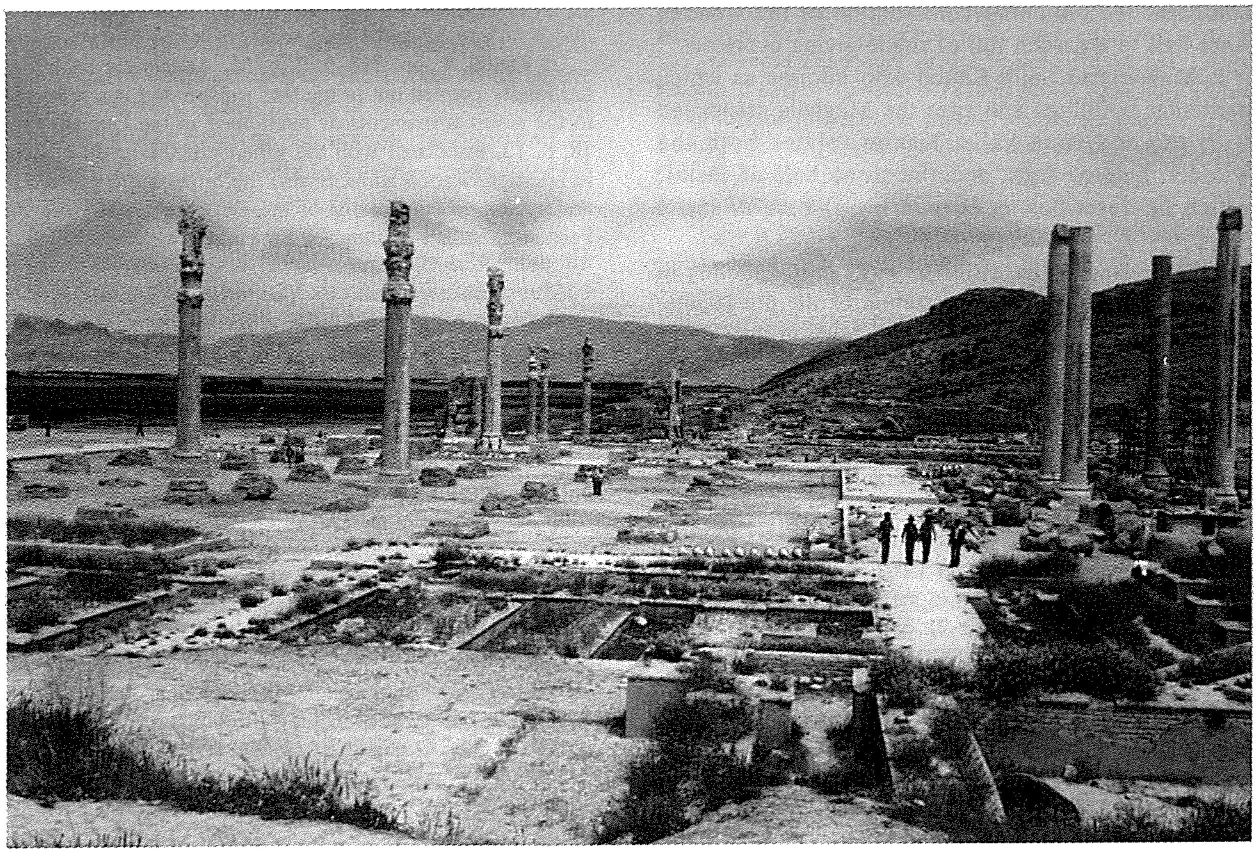


Fig. 9.7 Chihil Sutun, Isfahan, 1647.

Fig. 9.8 Persepolis, Apadana (c. 500–490 BC) and Hall of Hundred Columns (c. 480–460 BC).



for instance, who writes in 1476 about Persepolis, says that it is known as Chihil Sutun and that it was founded by Jamshid whom tradition identifies with Solomon.[53]

The traditions of both the ancient Persian kings and of Solomon were fundamental to the Mughals' concept of rulership. That the Great Mughals liked to appear as second Khusraws,[54] as second Jamshids, and as second Solomons is transmitted through their courtly panegyric as well as through the arts created for them. Like other Muslim princes, too, the Mughals were particularly keen to compare themselves with Solomon. In the context of their palaces, the theme of the Solomonic prophet king became predominant from the time of Jahangir (r. 1605–27) onwards; of particular impact was the imagery relating to the concept of Solomon on his flying throne accompanied by his retinue of birds and winged spirits, angels or *perī*s in human form and *jinn*s in animal form (Figs. 2.4, 18).[55] The Solomonic theme was also used for his son and successor, Shah Jahan.[56]

The themes of Persia and the Persian kings and of Solomon also feature in the panegyric written upon the completion of the audience halls of Shah Jahan. Beside the more general allusions of Lahori who praises the heaven-reaching loftiness of the wooden Agra hall and its stone replacement,[57] and the repeatedly quoted *rubā'ī* of Abu Talib Kalim, who compares the columnar construction of the wooden Agra hall to a garden full of shade-giving cypresses,[58] it is Muhammad Salih Kanbo who informs us which particular buildings and sites the Mughals associated with the audience halls. Kanbo relates both the wooden hall of Agra and the stone hall of Delhi; which he describes as *bārgāh(īwān)-i chihil sutūn* (forty-pillared state hall), *dīwānkada-i 'adl-o-dād* (court house of equity and justice) and *bārgāh-i Sulaymānī* (Solomonic hall) with several famous legendary and historical palaces of the past, in particular with the *īwān-i Nūshīrwān*, and, again, the *bārgāh-i Sulaymān*.[59] Such passages should not be dismissed as superfluous eulogistic exercises, as past translators of historical Mughal texts have often done. Court panegyrics represent an indispensable source for establishing the meaning of a Mughal work of art.

When we look critically at Kanbo's eulogical comparisons which, because of their repeated use, appear to have had a special relevance for Shah Jahan's halls, we immediately recognize that the reference to the *īwān-i Nūshīrwān* belongs to a definite literary tradition alluding to 'the global sovereignty claimed by the Sasanian King of Kings from his fabled palace at Ctesiphon.'[60] In Arabic and Persian literature, the Iwan-i (Khusraw) Nushirwan, also called *Ṭāq-i Kisrā*, was used proverbially to refer to any grand royal building.[61] In the context of the audience halls of Shah Jahan, the reference appears to have an additional terminological significance because it plays on the meaning of *īwān*, a word Shah Jahan's authors did not use for a monumental vaulted hall open at the front, but in the Central Asian sense of a pillared construction,[62]

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and Peter Bachmann (Beirut, 1979), pp. 56–80, in particular p. 79; for the integration of the pre-Islamic Persian kings as role models into Muslim mirrors of princes, see *idem*, 'Fürstenspiegel und Fürstenethik im Islam', *Bustan* 1 (1968), pp. 12–19.

[53] Jalāl al-Dīn Davānī, *'Arż nāma*, Persian text ed. Īraj Afshār, 'Arż-i Sipāh-i Ūzūn Hassan', *Majalla-i Dānishkada-i Adabiyyāt*, 3, 3 (Tehran, 1335 sh./1957), p. 41; discussed and trans. Melikian-Chirvani, 'Royaume de Solomon', pp. 2–3, 26 ff. See also the earlier English translation by V. Minorsky, 'A Civil and Military Review in Fars in 881/1476', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 10, 1 (1940–2), pp. 150–1.

[54] 'Khusraw' is in Mughal Persian used in the sense of (Persian) king'.

[55] See Ebba Koch, 'Jahangir and the Angels,' this volume.

[56] Koch, 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus', pp. 104–29.

[57] Lāhōrī, vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 221–3; vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 235–6.

[58] Quoted in n. 1 above.

[59] '. . . *īn nuskhat-i ṣab'-i shidād wa dīwānkada-i 'adl-o-dād ki rūkash bārgāh-i Sulaymān wa īwān-i Nūshirwān ast* . . .,' Kanbō, 1, pp. 258–9; 3, p. 33. Annemarie Schimmel has kindly pointed out to me that *sab'-shidād* is a reference to the seven firmaments as mentioned in the Qur'an, *sura* 78, p. 12, associated with the spheres of the seven planets. In addition, Kanbō adduces also the *qaṣr-qayṣar* (palace of the Byzantine emperor or of the Ottoman sultan) and the Persian mountain Bisutun for his eulogistic comparisons.

[60] John Renard, *Islam and the Heroic Image: Themes in Literature and the Visual Arts* (Columbia, SC, 1993), p. 169.

[61] 'With regard to this *īwān*, it was constructed at Madā' in [Ctesiphon] by [Khusraw I] Anūsharwān [ruled 531–79] or rather, according to certain sources, by Ābarwīz (Khusraw II Parwīz, r. 591–628). It is one of the extraordinary buildings and one of the most beautiful monuments which the Persian kings have left behind. One refers to it proverbially as to an example of magnificence and stability, Abū Manṣūr 'Abd al-Malik . . . al-Tha'ālibī, *Gharar akhbār mulūk al-fars wa siyarihim, or Histoire des rois des Perses*, my English translation from the French trans. and Arabic ed. H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1900), p. 614, as quoted in 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus', this volume, p. 76, n. 31, where I also discuss the use of this metaphor and its architectural realization in the palace architecture of Shah Jahan.

[62] See nn. 6, 41 above. For the various meanings of the term, see Oleg Grabar, 'Iwan', EI^2, 4, pp. 287–9. Nasser Rabbat 'Mamluk Throne Halls: Qubba or Iwan?', in *Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces*, pp. 201–18, has drawn attention

similar to the way the Persians use the term *chihil sutūn*.[63]

But what about the *bārgāh-i Sulaymān* which is used in two ways, for Shah Jahan's hall itself as well for something which Shah Jahan's hall put to shame? Was this meant as a general reference to Solomon, or did it have a more specific significance? First of all *bārgāh* in Mughal Persian has the precise architectural meaning of audience tent or audience hall;[64] accordingly, Shah Jahan's halls are also called *bārgāh-i chihil sutūn*.[65] Second, by the time of Shah Jahan's accession in 1628, after which the first wooden versions of the audience halls were constructed, Solomonic imagery had already made a strong impact upon the arts of the Mughal court; Jahangir had used it extensively in the decoration of his palaces.[66] Consequently, in Mughal eulogies of a building, any reference to Solomonic imagery must be taken seriously, which means that it may well have a bearing on the actual architecture. This applies in particular to the audience halls, because the gathering of Shah Jahan's courtiers in front of the emperor in the *jharōka-i khāṣṣ-o-'āmm* would evoke strong Solomonic associations among contemporaries. Qazvini, for instance, calls it *majlis-i dīwān-i Sulaymān-i zamān*, 'the court assembly of the Solomon of the Age' (Fig. 9.1).[67] True, Kanbo does not tell us what exactly he had in mind when he calls Shah Jahan's audience halls *bārgāh-i Sulaymānī* or compares them favourably to the bārgāh-i Sulaymān. However, in connection with the designation of the halls as Chihil Sutun, the name under which Persepolis was known, we are on safe ground in assuming that, in the whole chain of panegyrical comparisons, *bārgāh-i Sulaymān*[*ī*] was the one notion which advertised the symbolic and architectural programme. The Shahjahani halls would therefore have been meant as a deliberate quotation of the most famous and most ancient Chihil Sutun of Persia, the audience halls of Persepolis,[68] believed to have been founded by Solomon-Jamshid.[69] This connection was intensified by the traditional association of Persepolis with the Nawruz;[70] in a comparable way Shah Jahan's Chihil Sutuns in the courtyards of *khāṣṣ-o-'āmm* acquired their greatest splendour during the yearly Nawruz celebrations of the Mughal court.[71]

How then could the Mughals have expressed this reference architecturally over such a great distance of time and space?[72] Up to the seventeenth century, the main fact known about the great audience halls of Persepolis was that they had many columns, namely

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to the fact that in western Muslim countries throughout the medieval period the term *īwān* was used for audience halls of any type, while retaining the strong royal connotations accorded to it in early Islamic times.

[63] See n. 33 above.

[64] Already noted by Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, *Fatehpur-Sikri: A Source Book* (Cambridge, MA, 1985), p. 7. Cf. Andrews, 'Mahall', p. 1215. It is, however, sometimes also used in a more general sense of 'court', see n. 103 below.

[65] Kanbō, 1, p. 258.

[66] See n. 55 above.

[67] Qazvīnī, fol. 162^{a}, Jaffery transcript, p. 242. These Solomonic connotations were emphasized by the imagery used in the decoration of *jharōkas*. Prominent here was the motif of the peaceful assembly of beasts of prey and their natural victims to symbolize the Solomonic justice of Shah Jahan. It appears in most of the representations of Shah Jahan's *jharōkas*; see 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus', this volume, in particular pp. 126–7; see also below and Fig. 9.1. Cf. figs. 5.5, 7.

[68] On the basis of formal and functional similarities this connection has already been made by Gordon Sanderson, 'Shah Jahan's Fort, Delhi', *ARASI*, 1911–12, p. 16, n. 3: 'It does not seem improbable that the pillared Hypostyle Hall of Ancient Persia is the prototype of the 'Hall of Audience' so popular with the Mughals.' Cf. Percy Brown, 'Monuments of the Mughul Period', in *Cambridge History of India*, vol. 4: *The Mughul Period*, eds. Wolsely Haig and Richard Burn, 3rd edn. (1957; rpt. New Delhi, 1971), p. 556.

[69] That Persepolis as Chihil Sutun was as strongly connected to Solomon in the seventeenth century as in the earlier periods is reported by Engelbert Kaempfer (*Amoenitatum Exoticarum* [Lemgo, 1712], pp. 302 ff., 326) who says that it was believed to have been the seat of Solomon and the model of the Solomonic temple: *'Ejus reliqua à prisco splendore rudera hodie appellari Tsihil minar. Sedem fuisse in illo palatio priscorum Regum; credi à multis, fuisse quoque Salomonis benedicti; & ex quadam Corani paragrapho appararere, quod typum Salomonis templi expresserit'*.

[70] This is true also for the Islamic period. Davānī, (*'Arż nāma*, pp. 41–2), trans. Melikian-Chirvani, 'Royaume de Solomon', n. 53 above, p. 31, reports that it was believed that Jamshid-Solomon celebrated Nawruz at Persepolis–Chihil Sutun.

[71] See n.16 above.

[72] None of the Mughal emperors had a first-hand knowledge of Persepolis. Contrary to common belief perpetuated in the most recent literature, Humayun did not visit the site during his Persian exile. The assumption was the result of an error of Charles Stewart in his translation of Jawhar's memoirs (n. 39 above, pp. 66, 67, 71). Stewart took the Takht-i Sulayman of Jawhar's text, where Humayun hunted with Shah Tahmasp in 1544, for Persepolis, while Jawhar actually spoke of the Takht-i Sulayman southeast of Lake Urmiya in northwestern Iran. See Sukumar Ray, *Humayun in Persia* (Calcutta, 1948), p. 30, n. 3. However, the fact that Stewart identified the Takht-i Sulayman with Persepolis shows how strongly the site was still connected with Solomon in the early nineteenth century.

chihil sutūn, of which only a few were left standing (Fig. 9.8).[73] The way of referring to Persepolis with synonyms of 'many-columned' can be traced as far back as the Sasanians, who designated it as 'Sat Sutun' (of a hundred columns).[74] Muslim writers such as Davani tell us that 'in the time of the [old] Persian kings' (*mulūk-i 'Ajam*) Persepolis was called 'Hazar Sutun' (of a thousand columns).[75] The latter brings to mind the famous Hazar Sutun of Muhammad b. Tughluq, a vast hall of public audience with wooden painted pillars built in 1343 in his palace at Jahanpanah, Delhi;[76] it is likely that this already represented an allusion to Persepolis[77] and that it influenced Shah Jahan.[78]

In any case, in the seventeenth century Persepolis had Chihil Sutun as its proper name, and this 'numerical title'[79] contained the only formal information about Persepolis which the Mughal conceptualists had at their disposal when they wanted to allude architecturally to the famous site. So the Diwan-i 'Amms of Shah Jahan had to be *chihil sutūn*, like the multi-columned halls of Persepolis, but what form would that numerical concept be given?[80]

All three audience halls follow exactly the same scheme, but they are not all the same size. The biggest hall is that of Agra;[81] those of Lahore[82] and Delhi[83] are smaller and close to each other in their

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[73] The actual form of the Persian halls was only reconstructed on the basis of the excavations and archaeological research of the twentieth century; see E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 3 vols. (Chicago,1953–70); Friedrich Krefter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktionen*, *Teheraner Forschungen*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1971).

[74] Shahbazi, 'Illustrierte Beschreibung', p. 50.

[75] Davānī, *'Arz nāma*, p. 41, trans. Melikian-Chirvani, 'Royaume de Solomon', p. 29.

[76] Briefly discussed on the basis of contemporary texts by Anthony Welch and Howard Crane, 'The Tughluqs: Master Builders of the Delhi Sultanate', *Muqarnas*, I (1983), p. 148. The Hazar Sutun at Jahanpanah was, as one of the famous sites of Delhi, visited by Timur's ladies in 1398 (H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians* [rpt. Lahore, 1976], vol. 3, pp. 445, 503).

[77] In India, references to the columned halls of the Achaemenids had such early antecedents as the halls in the palaces of the Mauryans at Pataliputra (4th century BC), the Patna of today. This was already noted by Percy Brown, 'Monuments of the Mughul Period', p. 556. For a recent summary of this connection (which integrates the results of the excavations at Kumrahar, Patna, published in 1955–6), see Christopher Tadgell, *The History of Architecture in India* (London, 1990), pp. 16–18, and figs. 17, 19, p. 309, nn. 9–11. These halls were never entirely forgotten, and it seems that this memory prepared the way for the Tughluq and Shahjahani allusions to Persepolis.

[78] The fact that the Hazar Sutun of Muhammad b. Tughluq was constructed of wood and painted reminds one of the first wooden Chihil Sutuns of Shah Jahan. That the memory of the Tughluq audience hall was still alive in the Mughal period is borne out by Abu'l Fażl who, in his description of Sultanate Delhi, upgrades it to 'a lofty hall (*buland īwānī*) with a thousand columns of white marble (*hazār sutūn az sang-i rukhām*)', *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Persian text ed. H. Blochmann (Calcutta, 1872), vol. 1, p. 513; trans. vol. 2, H.S. Jarrett, 2nd rev. edn. Jadunaṭh Sarkar (1948–9; rpt. New Delhi, 1978), p. 284. The way Abu'l Fażl represented the Tughluq hall may have influenced Shah Jahan's decision to have his halls redone in stone 'made marble white with plaster'.

[79] This expression is used for the Chihil Sutun at Isfahan by George Nathaniel Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question* (1892), reprinted by Peter King as, *Curzon's Persia* (London, 1986), p. 134.

[80] This analysis was only made possible after I had prepared detailed plans and elevations of all three halls of Agra, Delhi, and Lahore. The scale drawings published here were done by Richard A. Barraud between 1982 and 1992 on the basis of measurements taken by both of us. I also thank Ikram Chaghatai for helping me measure the Lahore hall in December 1991. Before that a fairly accurate plan had only been published by Gordon Sanderson of the Lahore Diwan-i 'Amm, 'Diwan-i 'Amm, Lahore', Fig. 1. Otherwise only small, inaccurate sketch plans had been published of the halls; see, e.g., Reuther, *Indische Paläste*, pls. 40, 60, 74. For the Delhi hall there are unpublished drawings in the Safdar Jang Office, Delhi, of the Archaeological Survey of India: Red Fort, Delhi, 1/1 (plan, dated 1961), 1/2 (elevation dated 1933), 1/3 (cross section, dated 1933). No drawings were available of the Agra hall.

[81] When we convert Shah Jahan's *gaz* to 81.28 cm. or 32 inches, the measurements of the Agra hall tally almost exactly with those given in the Mughal texts (76 *gaz* × 25.5 *gaz* = 61.77 m. × 20.72 m., as against the measured 61.48m. × 20.72 m.; the height of the hall including the base is 11.55 m.). The Mughal measurements given here and in the following note are extracted from the descriptions of Shah Jahan's authors quoted in n. 1 above.

[82] The measurements of the Lahore hall are 54.05 m. × 18.32 m. × 10.57 m.; no dimensions of this hall are given in the texts. We do not know when the first wooden hall of Lahore, which was to be built 'in the same manner' (*ba hamīn ā'īn*) as the Agra hall (Lāhōrī, 1, 1, p. 223; see also the other texts cited in n. 1 above), was replaced by the permanent stone construction. In its present state the Lahore hall is the result of its reconstruction in the first decade of the twentieth century; see Sanderson, 'Diwan-i 'Amm, Lahore Fort'. Only the pillars and the *jharōka* and its flanking galleries in the back wall are original.

[83] The measurements of the Delhi hall show some deviation from the figures given in the texts (67 *gaz* × 24 *gaz* = 54.45 m. × 19.50 m. as against the measured 54.66 m. × 18.41 m.; the height of the hall is 12.66 m.); see the descriptions of Kanbō and Wārith as quoted in n. 5 above.

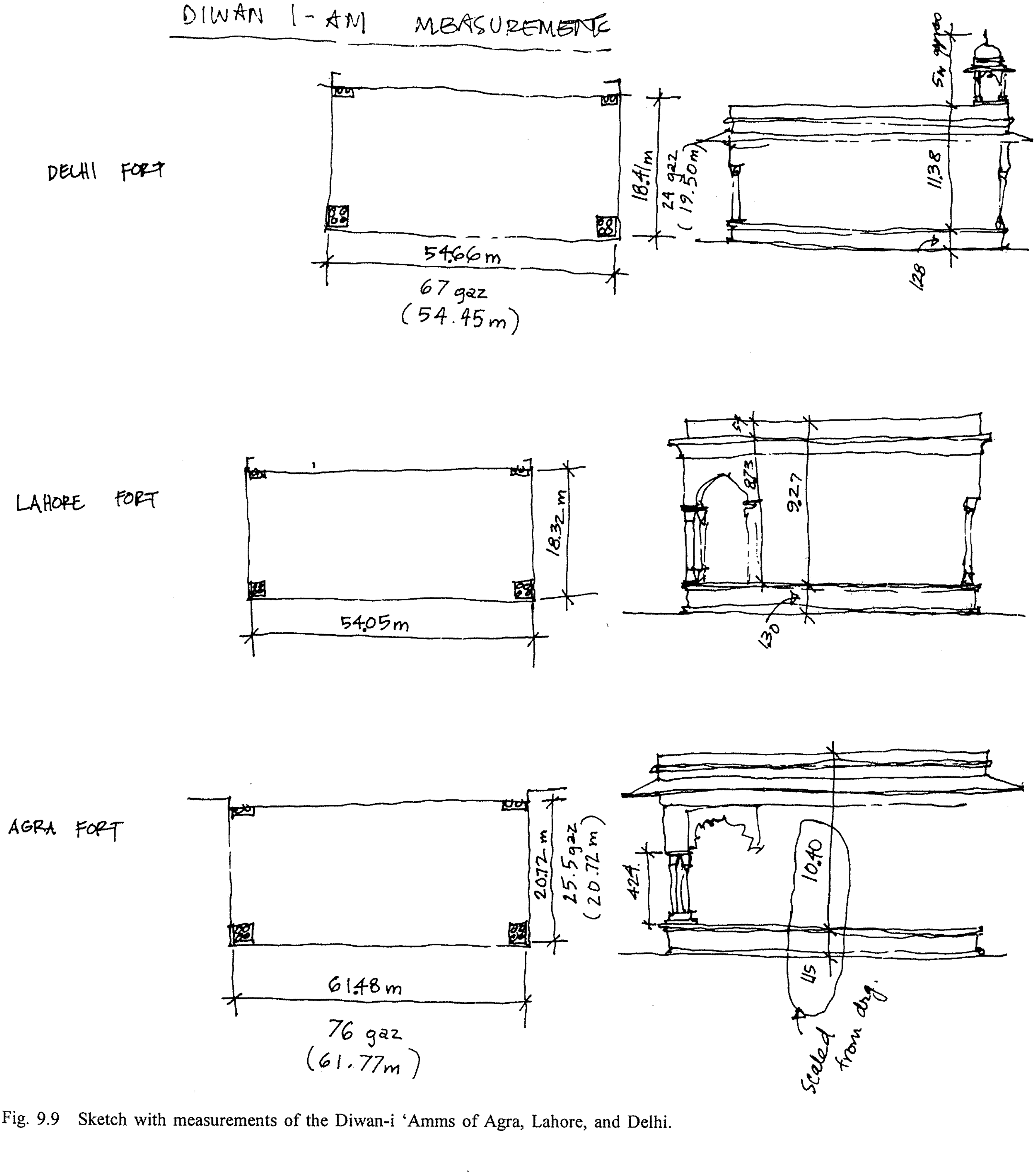

Fig. 9.9 Sketch with measurements of the Diwan-i 'Amms of Agra, Lahore, and Delhi.

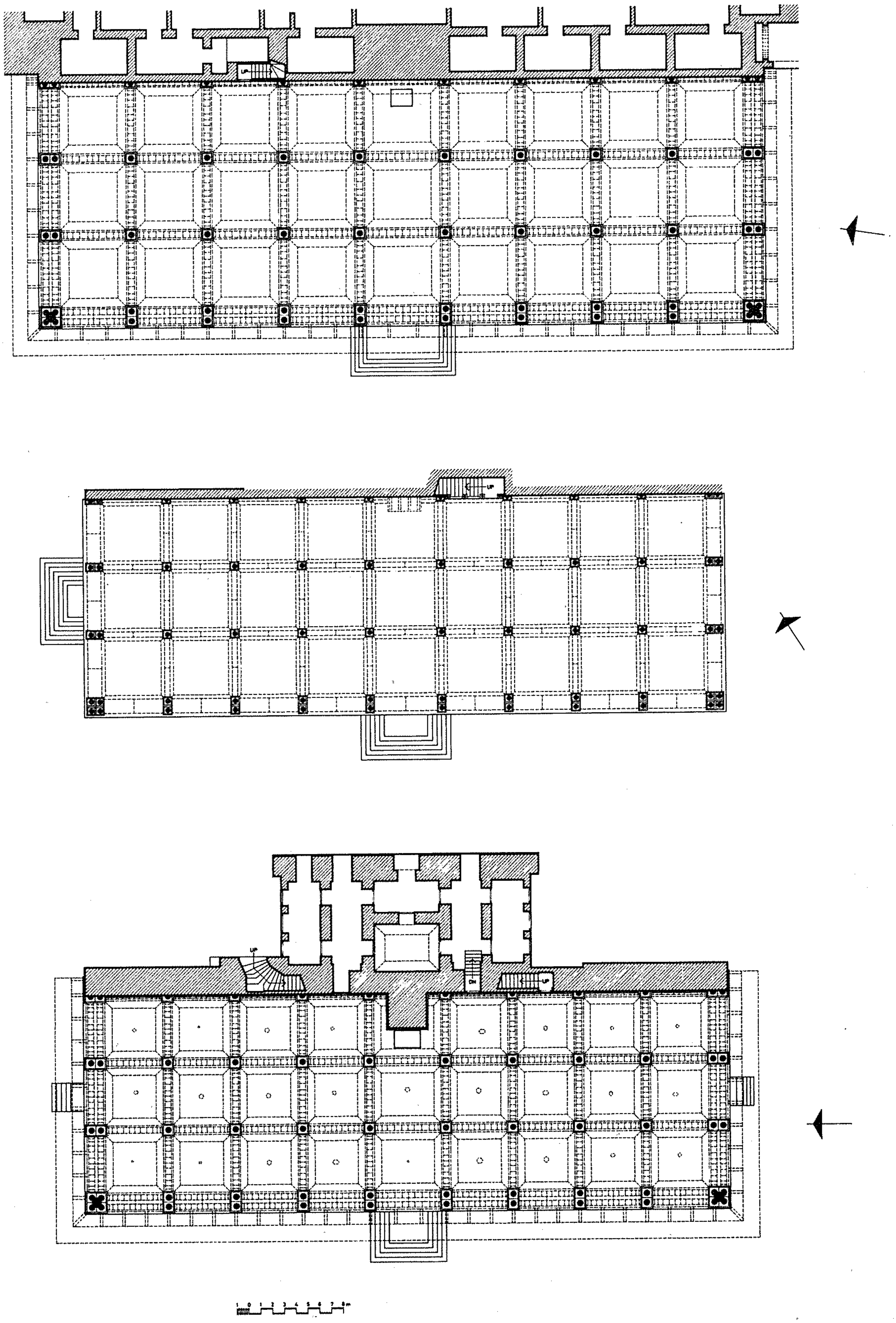

Fig. 9.10 Ground plans of the Diwan-i ʻAmms of Agra, Lahore, and Delhi.

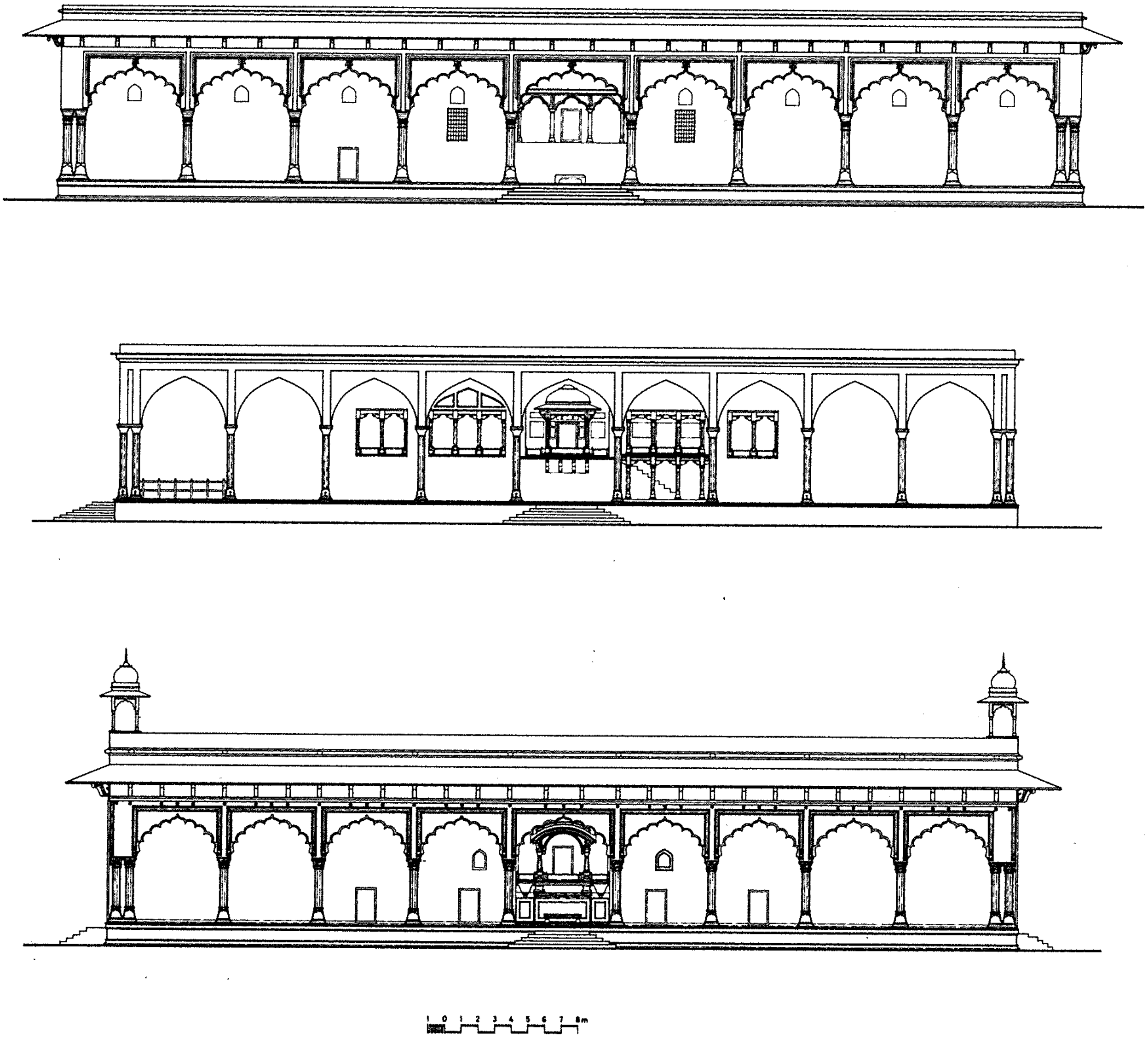

Fig. 9.11 Elevations of the Diwan-i 'Amms of Agra, Lahore, and Delhi.

dimensions (Fig. 9.9). Each of the Diwan-i-'Amms shows the same flat-roofed hypostyle construction erected on a grid pattern (Figs. 9.10, 11).[84] The twenty-seven bays are demarcated by coved ceilings (*chashma*), set off by multilobed arches (*ṭāq-i marghūldār*)[85] and large twelve-sided 'Shahjahani' columns.[86] The columns are paired on the outer sides which produces a quadruple formation in the corners. Each hall thus has forty-eight full columns and twelve half columns. If, however, each columnar unit is read as a single one, we get exactly forty supports, with ten on the longer side of the hall and four on the shorter sides. From this it becomes evident that the Mughals were careful to take the most important formal information about Perspolis they had at their disposal, namely its 'numerical title' *chihil sutūn*, as literally as possible. They interpreted it as 'forty columns'[87] and not in the Persian sense as 'multi-columned'.[88] This shows that Shah Jahan's Chihil Sutuns were not merely intended as a Mughal version of the Safavid and Timurid Chihil Sutuns, but as a direct reference to what, in the last analysis, could well be the common prototype of all, namely Chihil Sutun–Persepolis.[89] Whereas the Timurids and Safavids referred to it more loosely and perhaps less consciously with a hypostyle, columnar hall, the Mughals had the ambition to come up with what they took to be the most authentic reproduction of the original. As often happens, so here the periphery is more literal than the centre, 'more catholic than the Pope'.

In medieval architecture, numbers were among the prominent elements that would determine the relationship between copy and original, a point stressed by Krautheimer in his pivotal study on the subject.[90] He showed that medieval thinkers felt perfectly justified in relating buildings to one another so long as some of the outstanding elements seemed to be comparable. In addition to numbers, often only the name of a building was considered sufficient to arouse associations connected with the prototype. Since in the case of Chihil Sutun–Persepolis the name was actually a number, it offered itself as the determining factor for the Mughal copy.

The Lahore edn. of Kanbō, used by me, misread the length of the hall; it has 'twenty-seven' (*bīst-o-haft*) instead of 'sixty seven' (*shast-o-haft*).

[84] This grid is based on the gaz of 81.28 cm. or 32 inches. The halls were planned using *gaz* units and break ups of the *gaz*. Limitation of space forbids me to dwell on this aspect here.

[85] The terms *chashma* for 'bay' and *ṭāq-i marghūldār* ('arches with curls' or 'curled arches') for 'multi-lobed arches' are used consistently by Wārith, *Bādshāh nāma*, in his descriptions of Shahjahani buildings; see, e.g., fol. 390^b. They thus represent an important addition to the glossary of Mughal architectural terms, for which see Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, pp. 137–42.

[86] For a definition of this column type, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, p. 93.

[87] Although there is no guidance on the part of the Mughal writers, one could, of course, enter into all kinds of interesting speculations about the meaning of the figure forty in an arrangement of four times ten. For the importance of the number forty in Islamic thinking, see Annemarie Schimmel, *The Mystery of Numbers*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), in particular pp. 245–53, and p. 294 for further literature.

[88] Before I found about the correct reading of the halls I interpreted *chihil* in the sense of 'multi-columned'; see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, p. 109, n. 38.

[89] This aspect needs further investigation. The inclination is to make such a connection because all medieval Chihil Sutuns known so far were reception halls. A comparable phenomenon in European medieval architecture would be the copies engendered over the centuries by the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem (see n. 90 below). A general connection of the Safavid Chihil Sutuns or *tālār*s with the halls of Persepolis has been made repeatedly in the literature; they have been seen as belonging to 'one of the most ancient of Persian architectural traditions . . . in an indirect royal line with the Halls of a Hundred Columns of Persepolis . . . and Susa' (Pope, 'Safavid Period', n. 36 above, p. 1192); this indebtedness has, however, not been universally accepted (Hillenbrand, 'Safavid Architecture', p. 797). Perhaps the Safavid connection is also borne out by the textual sources, as I suggest it is for the Mughal halls. That the Safavids related themselves to the royal site of Persepolis is borne out by their visits to it; Shah Tahmasp left an inscription on the walls of the Tachara (see Melikian Chirvani, 'Le Royaume de Solomon', p. 38). Moreover, two column bases which had been removed from Persepolis were put up at one of the gates to the female quarters of the palace of Isfahan. See Jean Chardin, *Voyages*, 7, p. 338. The tradition was revived by the Qajars (1779–1924) who also left inscriptions at Persepolis (Melikian-Chirvani, p. 38) and consciously referred in their artistic enterprises to Achaemenid and Sasanian art. See Judith A. Lerner, 'Three Achaemenid "Fakes": A Re-evaluation in the Light of 19th-Century Iranian Architectural Sculpture', *Expedition*, 22 (1980), pp. 5–16 (I thank Lāyla Diba for referring me to this article); *idem*, 'A Rock Relief of Fath 'Ali Shah in Shiraz', *Ars Orientalis*, 21 (1991), pp. 31–40.

[90] Richard Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5 (1942), pp. 1–33, in particular pp. 10–11, 16–17. Krautheimer's model which evolved from his studies of copies of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem has enabled me to understand related phenomena in the Islamic architecture of India; see 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus' and 'The Copies of the Qutb Minar', this volume.

In any case, Persepolis could not serve as a model for the arrangement of these forty columns because of its ruined state. For models of the layout of the Diwan-i 'Amms we do not have to look to Persia; its sources can be found closer to home, namely within Mughal architecture itself. The overall scheme of a hall constructed over a grid pattern, in particular the deployment of paired pillars around the periphery closely relates the audience hall to sepulchral hypostyle halls of Jahangir's period, such as the white marble mausoleum of Mirza 'Aziz Koka (d. 1623–24), better known as Chawnsath Khamba at Nizamuddin, Delhi (Fig. 9.12). The Chawnsath Khamba, however, is square and has no fixed orientation. Shah Jahan's Diwan-i 'Amms, on the other hand, have an oblong shape that generates three aisles along the longer side and nine naves along the shorter side. This plan has its closest parallel in the mosque known as Patthar Masjid at Srinagar (Fig. 9.13), said to have been built by Jahangir's wife Nur Jahan. The traditional attribution of the mosque to this patroness of architecture is corroborated by the stylistic evidence which points to the 1620s. The prayer hall of the Patthar Masjid is built in a more massive idiom than the Diwan-i 'Amm halls, with cruciform piers instead of columns. Both buildings have a wider nave in the centre, indicating the direction in which the hall should be read. In the case of the mosque, it leads to the *miḥrāb*, the place towards which prayer is directed, in the case of the audience hall to the emperor's place of appearance, the *jharōka*.

These parallels are by no means accidental: Shah Jahan's eulogists extol the emperor as the *qibla* and the *miḥrāb* of his subjects. Here is Abu Talib Kalim:

> May his court always be revered,
> May it be like the Ka'ba a *qibla* for the seven climates![91]

And, more specifically, as if to illustrate our argument, Qazvini describes the emperor holding court in the Diwan-i 'Amm as *qibla-i ḥājāt*, the place to which people turn for the attainment of their wants.[92]

The close connection between audience hall and mosque was in the palace of Agra, which is the only place where the greater architectural context of a Diwan-i 'Amm of Shah Jahan is preserved, reinforced by an additional architectural accent. When we look at the plan of the Agra Fort, we notice that the hall sets the main accent for the eastern wing of the courtyard of public audiences (b on Fig. 9.6). Hitherto unnoticed is that the central part of the western wing of the audience courtyard—the section situated exactly opposite the audience hall—was given the shape of a mosque (c on Fig. 9.6). The raised central part, which projects slightly from the plane of the courtyard wings represents the façade of the mosque, which has five domed bays flanked on each side by stairs leading up to the roof; in the centre is a *miḥrāb* (Figs. 9.14, 15).[93] Since Shah Jahan had originally no congregational mosques built in his palaces (the Moti Masjid of the Agra Fort was not constructed until towards the end of his reign; Figs. 9.16, 17), it appears that the audience courtyard was also used as a mosque courtyard.[94] The narrow arcaded galleries surrounding

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[91] '*Hamīsha bād dargāh-ash zi ta'ẓīm, chu ka'ba qiblagāh haft iqlīm.*' Abū Ṭālib Kalīm Kāshānī, *Dīwān*, Persian text ed. Partaw Bażā'ī (Teheran, 1336 sh./1957), p. 373. Another telling example is the painting of Shah Jahan in the Victoria and Albert Museum (I.M. 14–1925), *c.* 1616–17, the inscription of which describes the future emperor as *qibla wa ṣāḥib-i 'ālamiyān* ('place to turn to and lord of mankind'). See *The Indian Heritage: Court Life and Arts under Mughal Rule*, eds. R Skelton *et al.* (London, 1982), cat. no 41. Reference to the *qibla* is, of course, not confined to Shah Jahan; it is generally used for a venerated person to whom one turns for guidance, such as one's father. Jahangir, for instance, describes Akbar 'as his *qibla* and visible deity' (*Tūzuk*, trans., 1, p. 65). For Akbar as *qibla* of the state, see Glenn D. Lowry, 'Urban Structures and Functions', in *Fatehpur-Sikri*, eds. Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry (Bombay, 1987), p. 33; cf. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, pp. 60, 76. As for '*miḥrāb*'; to mention only one example: Kalim refers to Shah Jahan's court as '*miḥrāb-i dargāh-shāh*' (*Bādshāh nāma*, Persian ms., BL, India Office Library and Records, Ethé 1570, fol. 123^{b}, unpublished transcript by Jaffery, p. 226).

[92] Qazvīnī, fol. 138^{a}, Jaffery transcript, p. 207. Similarly, Kanbo (3: 33; trans. Sanderson, 'Shah Jahan's Fort, Delhi', p. 116) describes the *jharōka* in the Diwan-i 'Amm hall of Delhi as 'place of the peoples' prostration as well as for the relief of their needs.' Similar metaphors had already been used for Akbar; see Lowry, 'Urban Structure', p. 33; they had, however, not been given such a clear architectural expression.

[93] I was only able to identify the mosque when I measured the courtyard wings. In front of it one can still make out a terrace with a sunken pool for ablutions. The mosque does not appear on any of the plans of the Agra fort published so far.

[94] It seems to have been used for prayer by *'āmm* only. Within the palace, the emperor appears to have prayed in congregation only with his *khāṣṣ-ān*, and this only in the evening; this *namāz-i shām . . . ba-jamā'at* took place in the Dawlat Khana-i Khass or the Hall of Private Audiences and its courtyard (see Lāhōrī, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 152; cf. Qazvīnī, fols. 141^{a} and ^{b}, Jaffery transcript, pp. 211–12). The use of the Diwan-i 'Amm at Fatehpur Sikri for prayer is reported for Akbar by Bada'oni; the relevant passages have been assembled by Brand and Lowry, *Fatehpur-Sikri*

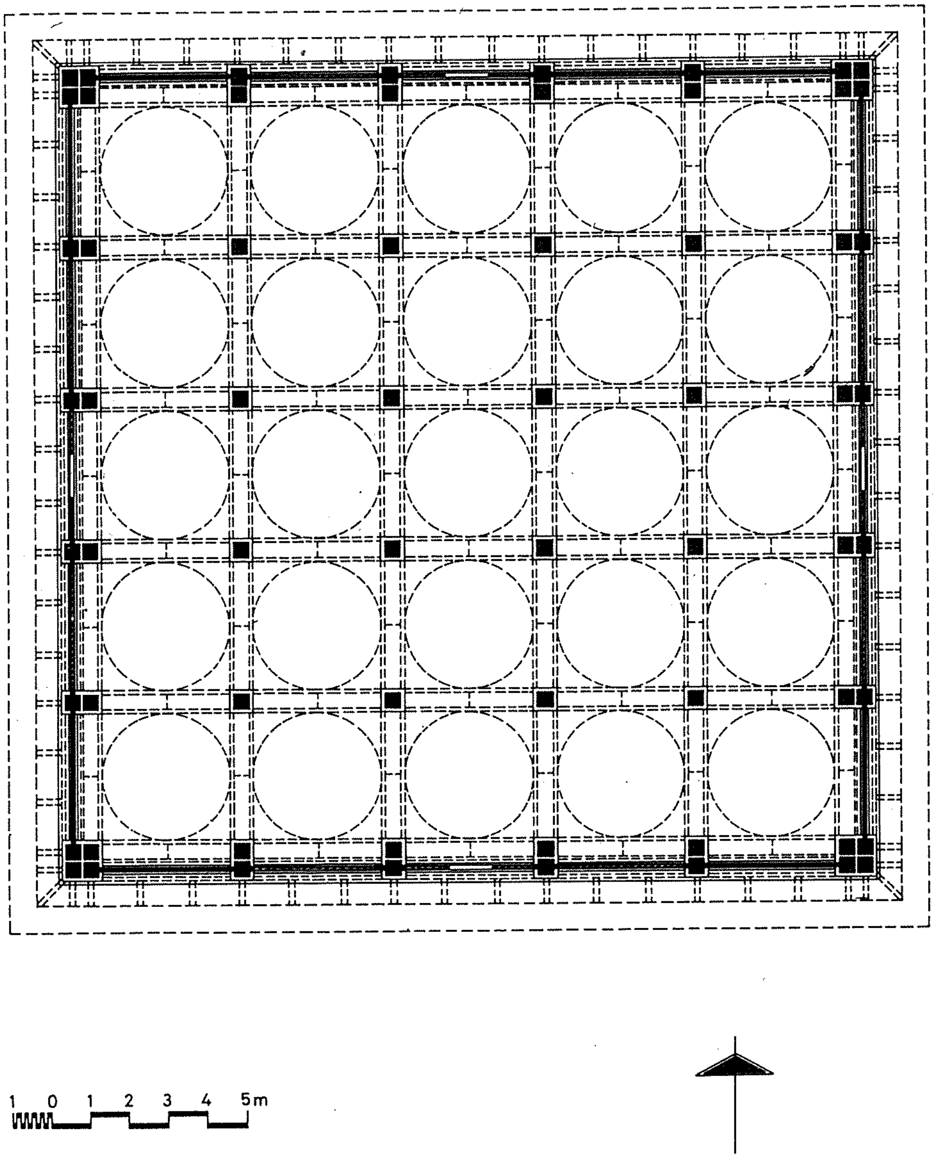

Fig. 9.12 Ground plan of the Chawnsath Khamba, the tomb of Mirza Aziz Koka (d. 1623–24), Delhi-Nizamuddin.

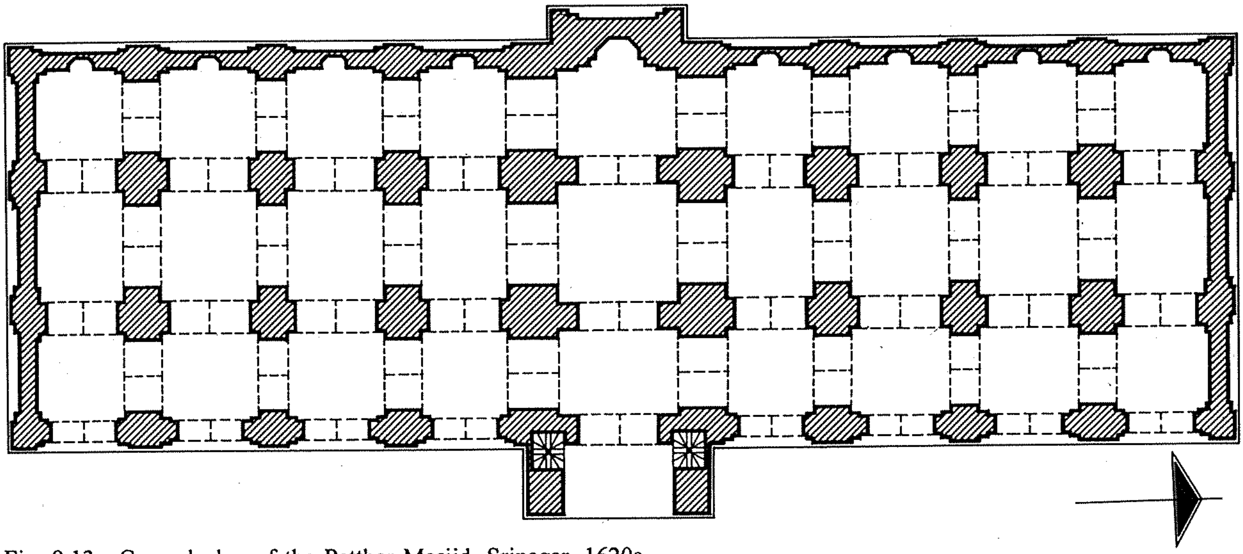

Fig. 9.13 Ground plan of the Patthar Masjid, Srinagar, 1620s.

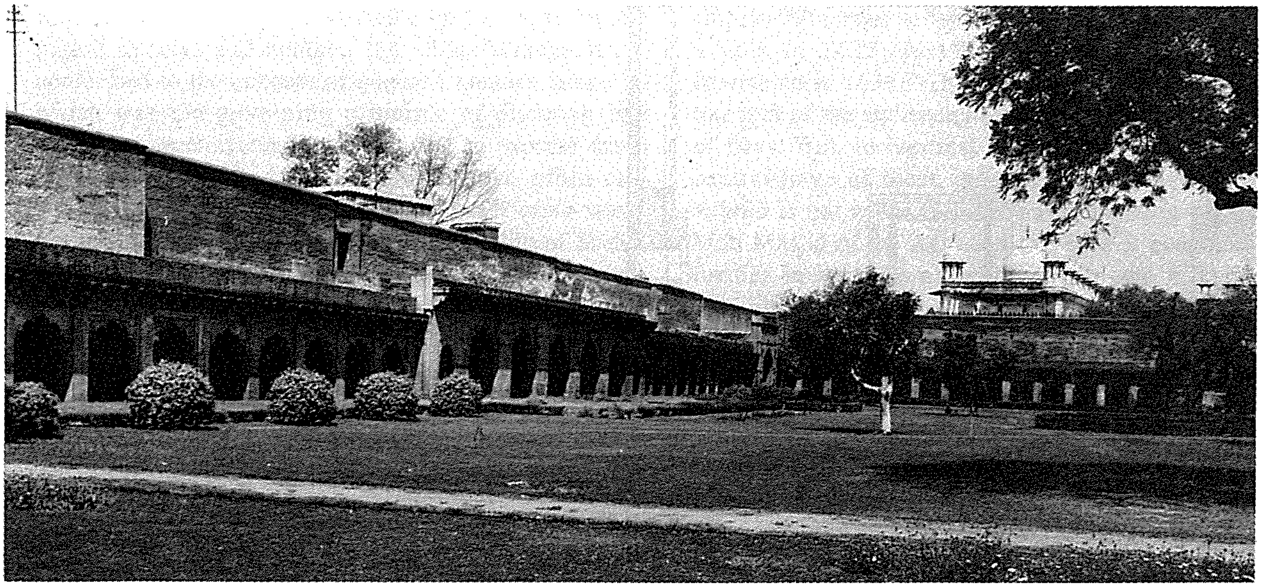

Fig. 9.14 Mosque in the centre of west wing of the courtyard of the Diwan-i 'Amm, Agra Fort, completed 1637.

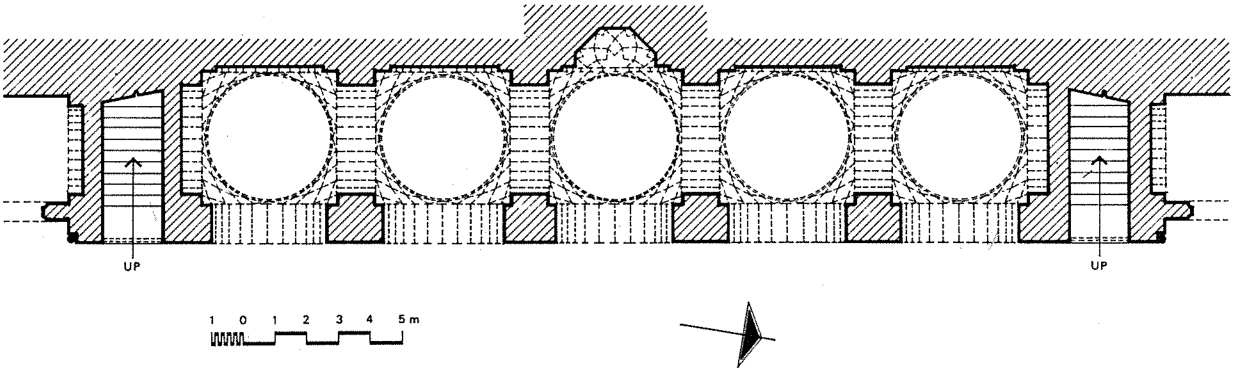

Fig. 9.15 Ground plan of the mosque in the west wing of the courtyard of Diwan-i 'Amm, Agra Fort.

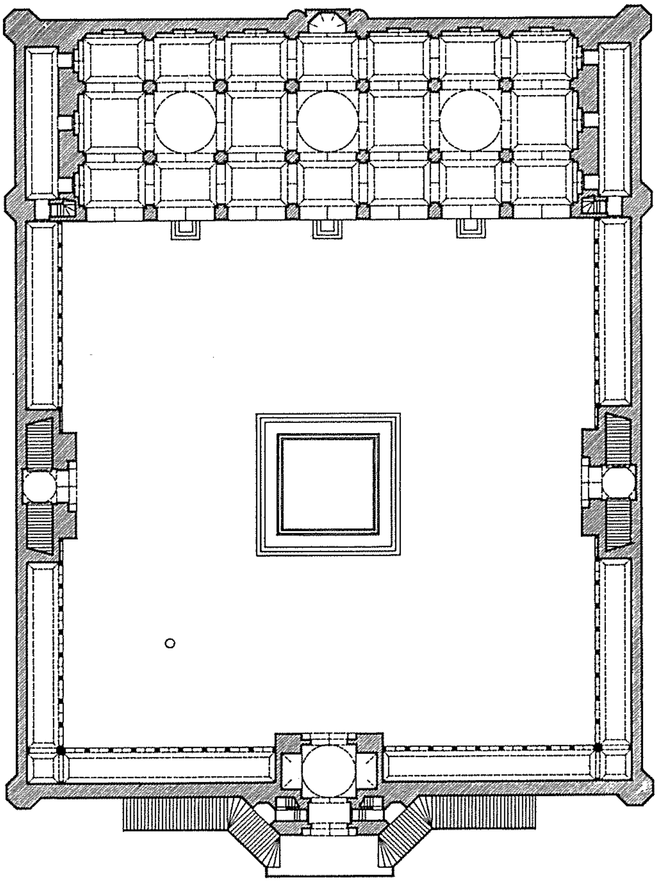

Fig. 9.16 Main-floor plan of the Moti Masjid, Agra Fort, 1647–53.

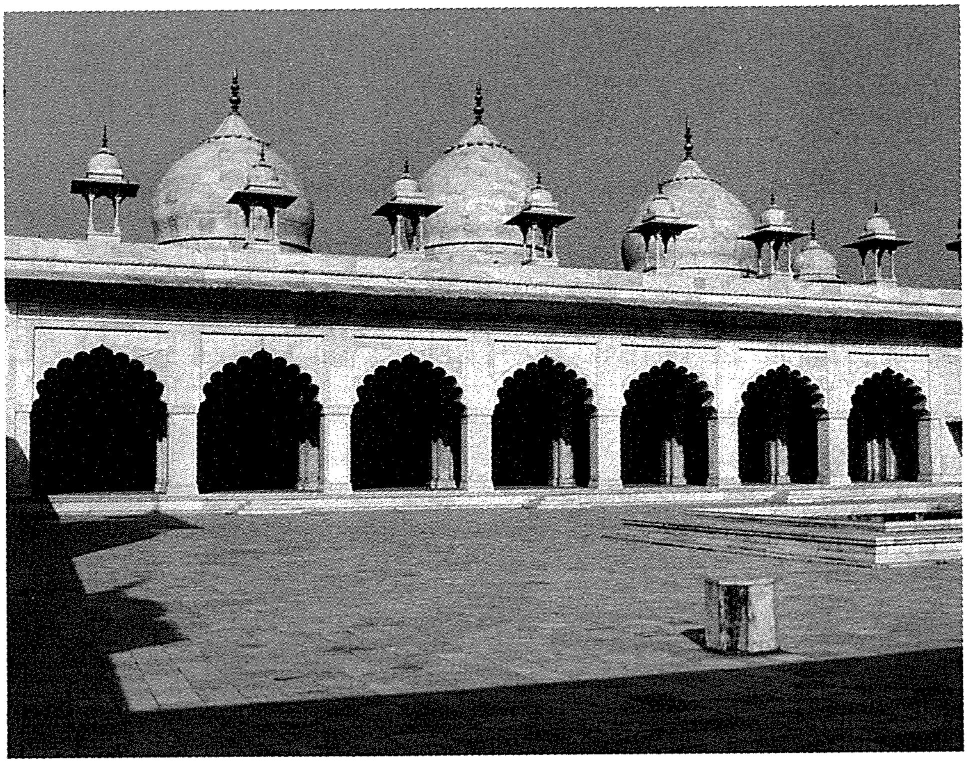

Fig. 9.17 Façade of the prayer hall, Moti Masjid, Agra Fort.

the *saḥn-i khāṣṣ-o-'āmm* corresponded in shape and designation to those of mosque courtyards of the period[95] (cf. a on Fig. 9.6 and Fig. 9.16). It is significant that the *jharōka* of the audience hall in the east and the *miḥrāb* of the prayer hall in the west were set on the same axis (b and c on Fig. 9.6). With regard to form and content, the whole arrangement conformed to the concept of *qarīna* ('counter image') which was the governing principle of planning in Shahjahani architecture.[96] Here it had to express that the *jharōka* marked the emperor's own *qibla* as opposed to that of Mecca.[97] The imperial *qibla* was the east because it related to the sun rulership of Shah Jahan; the *jharōka-i khāṣṣ-o 'āmm* where the emperor presented himself before his subjects was perceived as the 'rising place of the sun of the sky of the empire and caliphate' (*maṭla'-i khūrshīd-i āsmān-i dawlat wa khilāfat*).[98]

The parallels between the audience hall and the mosque are all the more noteworthy, since Shah Jahan originally had no congregational mosques built in his palaces; the Moti Masjid of the Agra Fort was not constructed until 1647–53 (Figs. 9.16, 17). It is of greatest interest in our context that the Moti Masjid belongs to a type reserved in Shahjahani architecture for mosques with a special imperial connotation, which can be traced back formally to the same source as the audience halls, namely, the Patthar Masjid at Srinagar (Fig. 9.13). The design appears first in the emperor's mosque at Ajmer, founded in fulfillment of a vow in 1628, just before his accession, and completed in 1636.[99] The plan of this mosque type is, like that of the audience halls, based on a grid system of bays. But, in contrast to the audience halls, the central nave of these mosques which leads to the *miḥrāb* is not wider than the naves flanking it. In the Moti Masjid of the Agra fort this idea is even pushed further in that the nave leading to the *miḥrāb* is minimized by a shift of axis. The main axis is here the one parallel to the *qibla* wall and not the one perpendicular to it. This is obvious from the treatment of the aisles. It is the central aisle parallel to the *qibla* wall which is wider and emphasized, in addition, by the insertion of three domes which alternate with the coved ceilings, used otherwise—as in the audience halls—as covering for the bays. On the outside, this orientation is highlighted by three outer domes set above the inner ones. From this it becomes evident that Shahjahani mosques with a special royal connotation had to cede their most highly charged symbolic feature, namely the wider central *miḥrāb* nave, to the palatial audience halls.

Probably unknowingly Shah Jahan's architects here reversed traditions that came from the formative period of mosque architecture. The wider *miḥrāb* nave in the earliest mosques of Islam, such as the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus (706), 'emphasize[d] the area reserved to the prince, and imitated a palace throne room.'[100] These early connections between mosque and audience halls might not have been known to the Mughal court; certainly known, however, was that the pillared audience halls of Chihil Sutun–Persepolis were also described as *masjid-i Sulaymān*.[101]

Shah Jahan's claim to unite spiritual and political authority could not have been given a clearer

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Sourcebook, pp. 95–8. Since Akbar's pavilion was placed in the centre of the courtyard on the *qibla* side, it might have suggested the metaphor of Akbar as *qibla* of the state; see, Lowry, 'Urban Structures', p. 33.

[95] Both are termed *īwān-hā* in the contemporary descriptions; see, e.g., Kanbō, 3, p. 33 (Diwan-i 'Amm, Delhi); p. 134, last line (Moti Masjid, Agra).

[96] Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, pp. 93, 141. However, Shah Jahan did not want to overdo things and refrained from extending *qarīna* to ritual comportment. In January 1637, when he inagurated the stone version of the Agra hall with the *jashn* (celebration) of his weighing for his 45th solar birthday, he abolished the *zamīn-bos* (kneeling down so as to touch the ground with the back of the hand placed on the forehead) for his courtiers because it looked almost like the *sijda* (kneeling down so as to touch the ground with the forehead), which he had already abolished at his accession and introduced the *chahār-taslīms* (four obeisances) instead; see 'Ināyat Khān, pp. 18, 203. The ceremonial gestures are explained by Ansari, *Social Life*, pp. 98–9.

[97] In this way the Shahjahani concept differed from that of Akbar (see n. 94 above).

[98] Chandar Bhān Braḥman, *Chahār Chaman*, fol. 20^{a}; cf. Wārith, fol. 390^{b}, Jaffery transcript p. 50. Similarly, the *jharōka-i darshan* was conceived as 'the rising place of the sun of the caliphate' (*maṭla 'āftāb-i khilāfat*). Here the emperor appeared as an earthly sun opposite that of the sky. I am now engaged in a study of the sun rulership of the Mughals. Brief comments on the phenomenon have been made by Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 186; and Necipoğlu, 'Framing the Gaze', pp. 311, 313, 314.

[99] For illustration and plan, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, p. 120, Figs. 143, 144.

[100] Suggested by Jean Sauvaget and discussed with further references by Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650–1250* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1987), pp. 38–40.

[101] That Muslim observers designated the hypostyle halls of Persepolis as mosques indicates that they were well aware of the formal similarities between the type of the hypostyle mosque and the Persian halls; that such an awareness existed in the formative period of mosque architecture is questioned by Grabar, *Art and Architecture of Islam*, p. 36.

architectural expression. The Mughal emperor, as heir to the Persian kings and second Solomon, gave audiences in a pillared hall where he appeared (like a Hindu idol) in a *jharōka*, positioned in the hall like a *miḥrāb*, to symbolize that he was the *qibla* of his subjects and *al-ẓil Allāh*, or the Shadow of God on Earth. In his last audience hall at Delhi, Shah Jahan's claim was reinforced in that the *jharōka*, which formally stands for the *miḥrāb*, was given the shape of a Solomonic throne, with a niche showing birds and lions in Florentine and Mughal *pietre dure*, topped by the image of the beast-charming Orpheus, who symbolizes the justice of Shah Jahan (Fig. 4.1).[102]

In conclusion, we can state that the audience halls of Shah Jahan are particularly well suited to show that we can only arrive at a full understanding of a work of art or architecture when we not only juxtapose the textual with the archaelogical evidence, but make one bear upon the other. The literary sources must not be taken at face value, but have to be interpreted in the light of the architectural evidence; the formal analysis, on the other hand, can only produce a satisfying result when it integrates the information provided by the texts. In this particular case, the critical approach of the art historian, in treatments of the Islamic architecture of the Indian subcontinent, traditionally less often adopted than that of the linguist or that of the archaeologist, is for once fully vindicated. It is the discipline's specific methods, such as formal analysis and comparison, that provide the key to the appreciation of Shah Jahan's Chihil Sutuns as an ingenious and creative historical reconstruction which transforms a vague numerical concept into the purposeful logic of a building, planned perfectly as a manifesto of the emperor's rule. But then, who after all would have ever believed in the first place that Shah Jahan's audience halls were merely constructed as a shelter against sun and rain?[103]

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[102] Discussed in detail in 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus', this volume, in particular pp. 127–9.

[103] Even the court historians who had to voice this official view circumvented imperial censorship by adding that the halls were also built to increase 'the grandeur of the glorious court (*shukōh-i bārgāh-i jalāl*)' (Qazvīnī, fol. 162^a, Jaffery transcript, p. 242), and that through them 'the face of the heavenly court also gained an immeasurable ornament' (Lāhōrī, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 222).

10

The Lost Colonnade of Shah Jahan's Bath in the Red Fort of Agra*

An imposing structure in the landscape of Agra, other than the Taj Mahal, is the Red Fort of the Mughal emperors, refounded by Akbar in about 1565, and altered by Shah Jahan from about 1628 onwards.[1] The attentive visitor to the palace buildings of the Red Fort—the world traveller, to use a Mughal expression[2] that anticipates with much foresight the status of many a modern beholder of Mughal buildings—will not fail to wonder what may have been the original shape of the plain brick wall, obviously damaged, facing the perfectly preserved Diwan-i Khass (hall of private audiences) built in 1046 AH/1636–37 AD (Fig. 10.1). The wall, with traces of stucco coating in its lower part and two brick pilasters of irregular shape on each side, forms today the south front of the bath of Shah Jahan. Behind the wall is the bath itself, a suite of vaulted rooms, constructed in brick and stripped of their former revetment and paving.

This bath represents today the only instance of a spoliated building in the otherwise remarkably well preserved (restored) ensemble of Shah Jahan's contribution to the Agra Fort. Besides the compound of the Moti Masjid (completed in 1063 AH/1653 AD) and some subsidiary structures, the nucleus of Shah Jahan's construction consists of a complex of three courts completed in 1637:[3] the great courtyard of the Diwan-i Khass o'Amm (for the private and public audiences); its eastern wing forms the western portion of two smaller courts both facing the river Jamuna, the Anguri Bagh (residential quarters) and the Machchhi Bhawan (offices and treasure rooms) (Fig. 9.6). All three courts are organized in a similar way. Three of their sides are formed by narrow wings of one or two storeys. On the fourth side—in all cases the eastern side—individual structures of white marble (or sandstone coated with a marble-like stucco) are arranged on terraces. These buildings served partly for the main ceremonial functions of the court and partly for the personal use of the emperor Shah Jahan and his daughter Jahanara.

The now spoliated brick wall of the bath originally must have formed the back of a pillared hall, for 'Abd

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*Reprinted from *The Burlington Magazine*, Volume CXXIV, Number 951, June 1982.

[1] Among the scarce literature on the Red Fort of Agra, see, in particular, Nur Bakhsh: 'The Agra Fort and Its Buildings', *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* (henceforth *ASI, Ann. Rep.*), 1903–4, pp. 164–93; Muhammad Ashraf Husain, *An Historical Guide to the Agra Fort* (Delhi, 1937).

[2] Certainly from Jahangir's reign (1605–27) onwards, one of the required qualities of a building was 'to astonish the travellers of the world' (*jahanwardan, rawandaha-i-'alam*, etc.). See for instance *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, trans. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge, 2nd edn. (1909–14; reprint, two vols. in one, Delhi, 1968), I, pp. 92, 136, 152, and 269, and with particular regard to Shah Jahan's buildings in the Agra Fort, see 'Abd al-Hamid Lahauri, *Badshah Nama*, Persian text (Calcutta, 1867), I, 1, p. 155.

[3] These buildings are described by Lahauri, I, 2, pp. 235 ff., on the occasion of the weighing ceremony of the forty-fifth solar birthday of the emperor on Friday, 19th of Sha'ban 1046 AH (16th January, 1637), as structures of Shah Jahan.

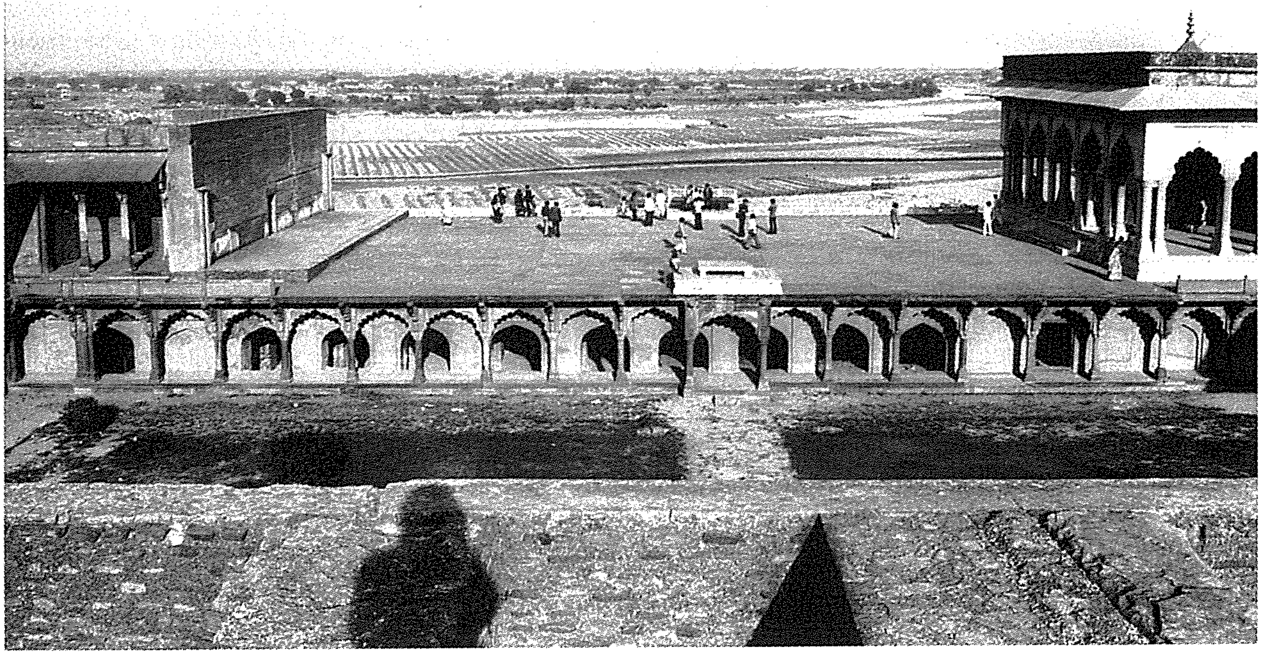
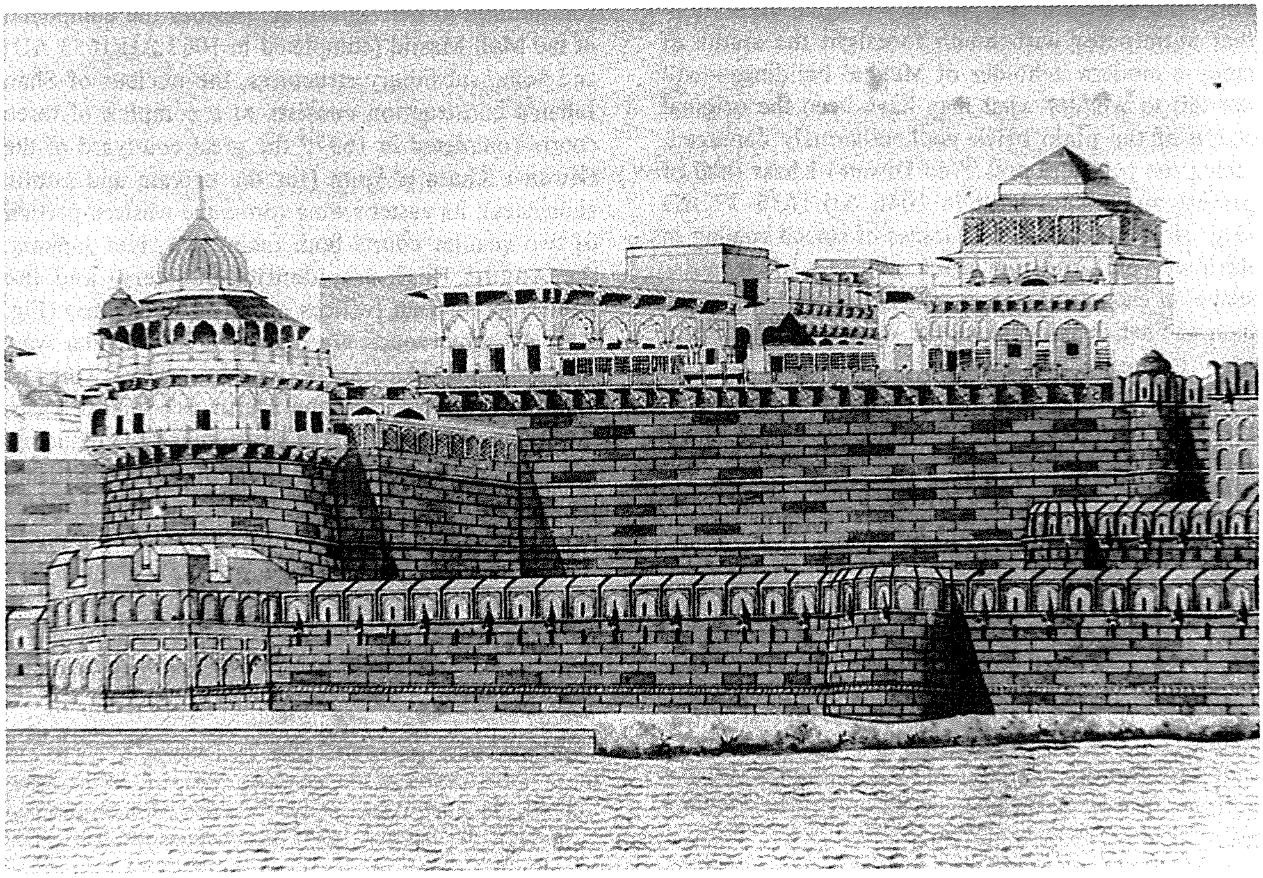


Fig. 10.1 Terrace east of the Machchhi Bhawan with the Diwan-i Khass to the right and the bath of Shah Jahan to the left, seen from the roof of the west wing of the Machchhi Bhawan, Agra Fort.

Fig. 10.2 Riverfront of the Red Fort, Agra, showing from left to right the Shah Burj, the Diwan-i Khass and the bath of Shah Jahan. C. 1808. British Library, London.



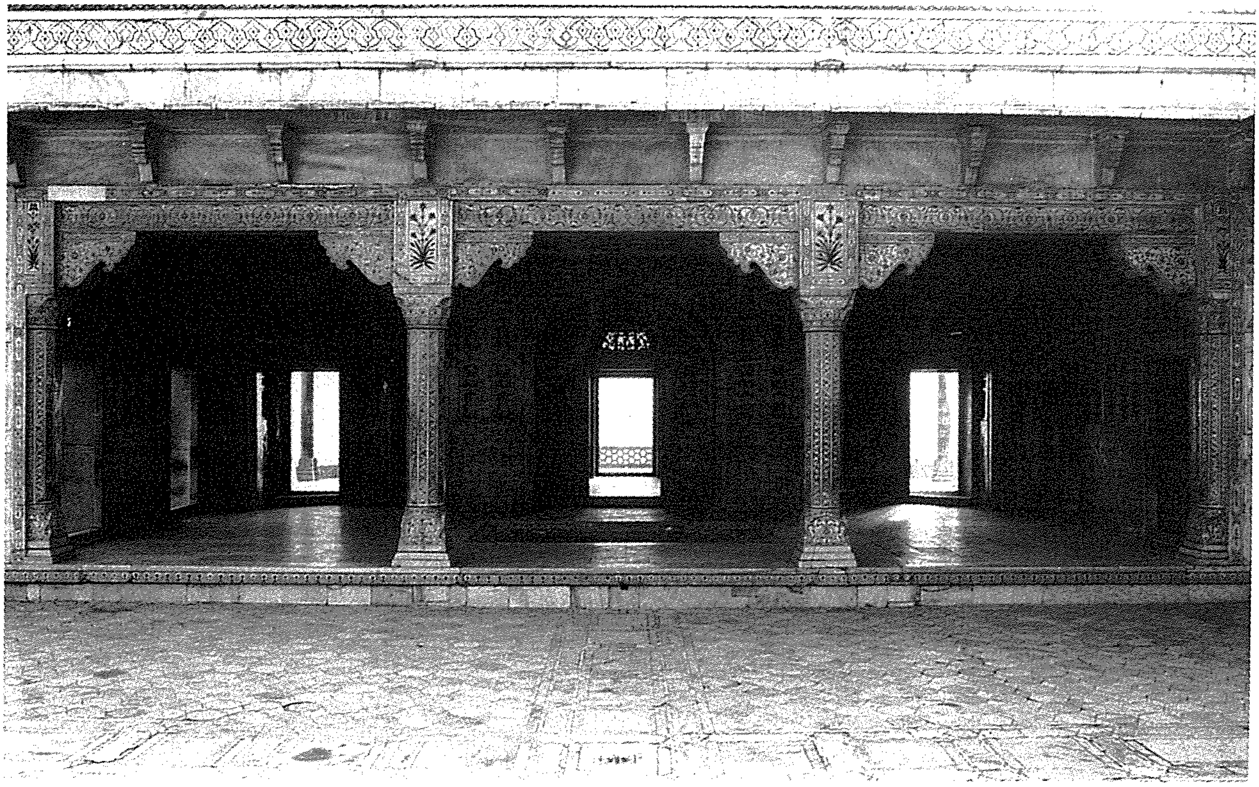
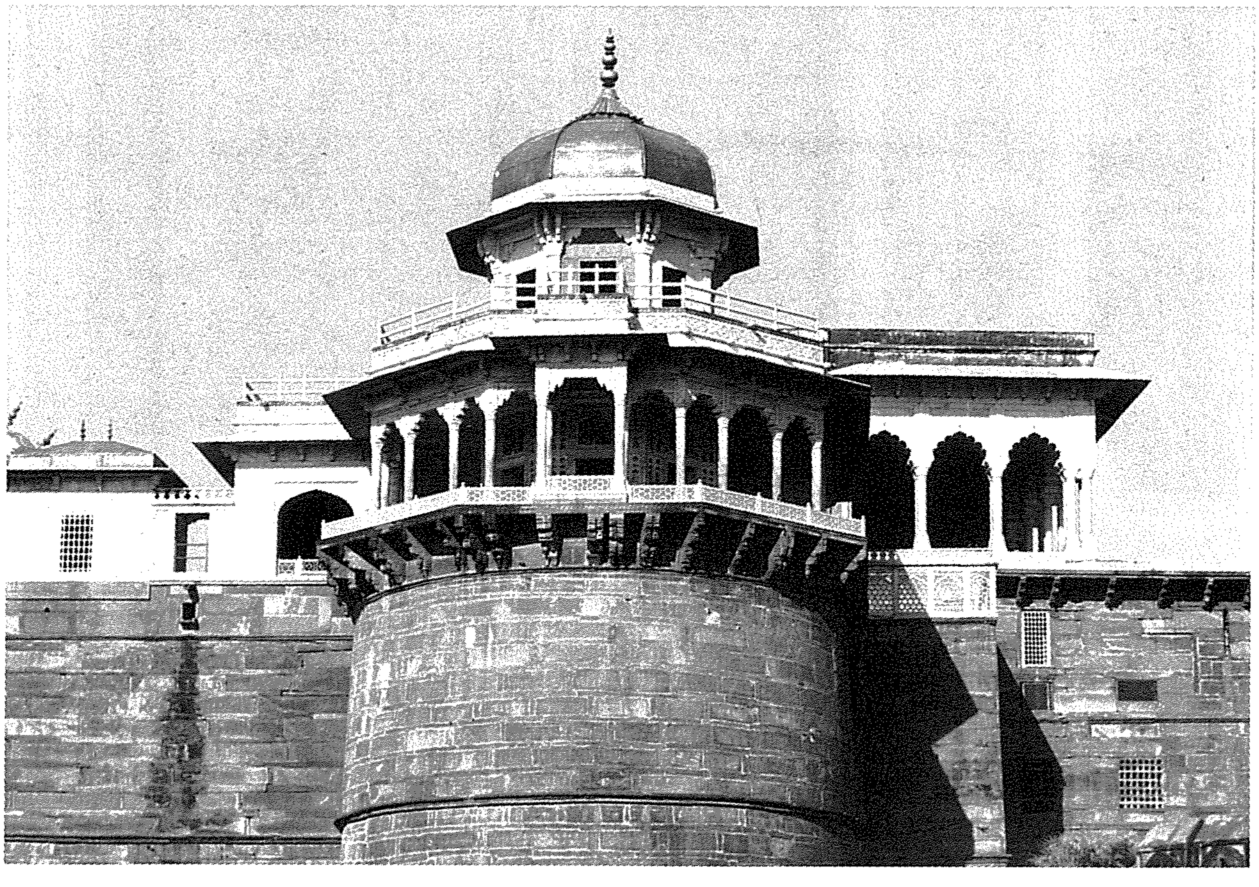


Fig. 10.3 Interior hall of the Shah Burj, Agra Fort, completed 1637.

Fig. 10.4 The Shah Burj of the Agra Fort, seen from the river side.



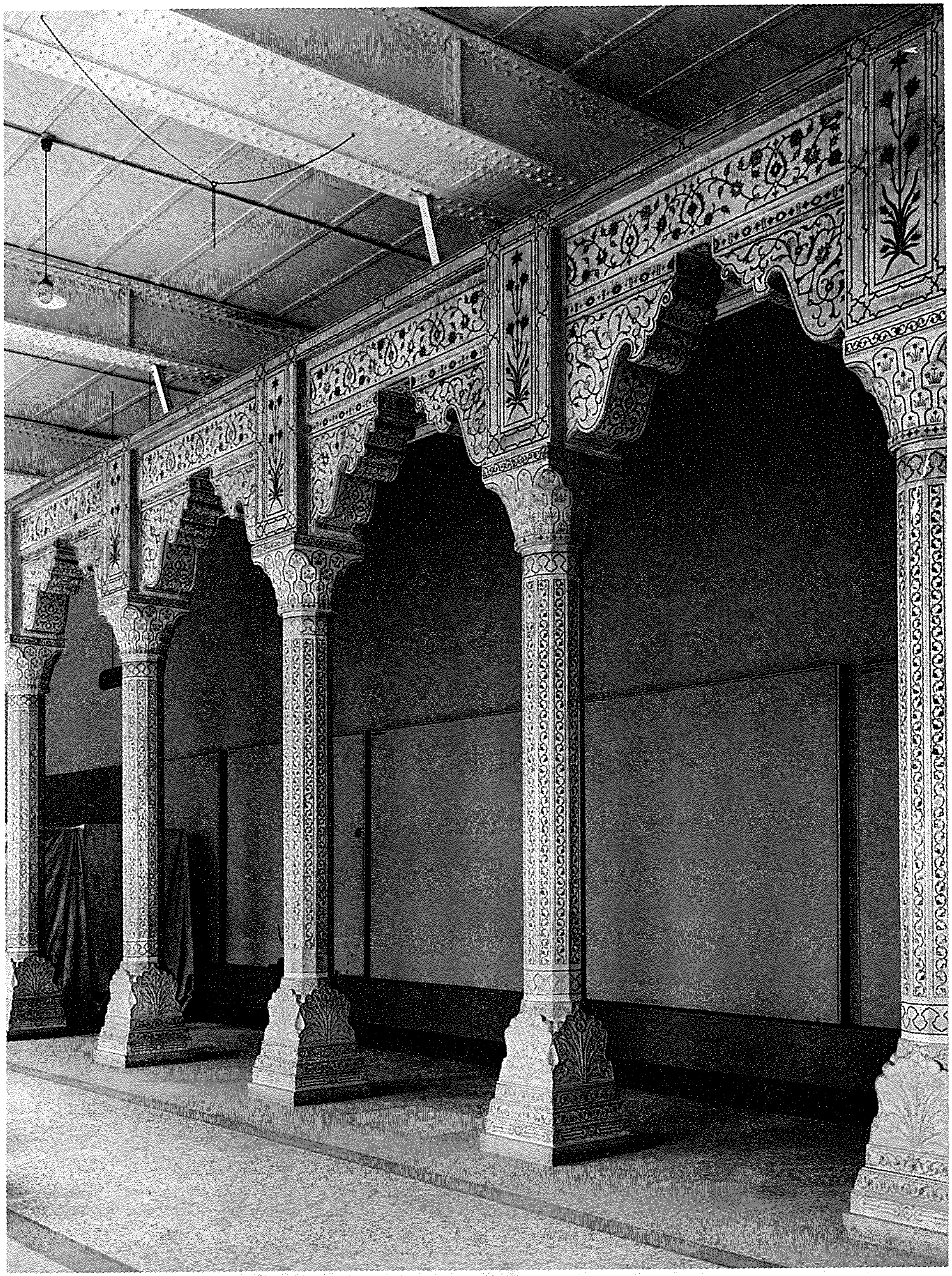


Fig. 10.5 Colonnade from the bath of Shah Jahan. Photograph taken in 1956 in the old Indian Museum, before demolition of the building. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

al-Hamid Lahauri, the official historian of the first twenty years of Shah Jahan's reign tells us, clearly referring to the bath with the damaged wall: 'Opposite to the *iwan* [pillared hall][4] of the *daulat khana-i khass* [Diwan-i Khass] there is an *iwan*, 25 *gaz* by 5½ *gaz*, adjacent to which is a *hammam* [bath]'.[5] If we adopt W.H. Moreland's suggestion for the length of Shah Jahan's *gaz* as thirtytwo inches (81.28 cm),[6] these measurements coincide in width with those of a low podium (21.3 m by 4.5 m) in front of the wall. In length, however, they differ by approximately one metre. The podium seems to be a more reliable indication of the dimensions of the original hall, especially since it corresponds in length to the podium of the Diwan-i Khass which was symmetrical with the hall described by Lahauri; between them on the central axis are the thrones of Shah Jahan and his predecessor Jahangir (1605–27).

Further evidence for the original appearance of this hall is provided by Keene and Md. Ashraf Husain who point to old drawings in the museum of the Taj Mahal and quote Colonel Sleeman for the circumstances of this hall's demolition.[7]

The drawings in the Taj Museum represent the riverside of the Agra Fort, a favourite subject of the so-called Company drawings from about 1808 onwards, of which more detailed examples are found in the India Office Library, for instance Add. Or. 929 (1803 watermark), dated around 1808[8] (Fig. 10.2). This representation shows the shorter side of a portico, only one arch wide, corresponding to the south front of the *hammam* about which Lahauri writes. The longer side is not visible due to the angle of the representation. As in most other halls represented on the drawing, the arch of the portico is closed by screens, all later additions to the architecture.

The disappearance of the missing elements of the *hammam* is connected by Sleeman in his *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official* with the British administration:

> The Marquis of Hastings, when Governor General of India [1813–23], broke up one of the most beautiful marble baths of this palace to send home to George IV of England, then Prince Regent, and the rest of the marble of the suite of apartments from which it had been taken, with all its exquisite fretwork and mosaic, was afterwards sold by auction, on account of our government, by the order of the then Governor General of India, Lord W. Bentinck [1828–35]. Had these things fetched the price expected, it is probable that the whole of the palace, and even the Taj itself, would have been pulled down and sold in the same manner.[9]

Sleeman's description was almost invariably quoted, although sometimes in distorted form, in the later descriptions of the Agra Fort. It was even cited by Lord Curzon in his speech at the annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on 7th February 1900, from which we can deduce further that the demolished bath was never presented to George IV: 'The same Governor General [Lord William Bentinck] sold by auction the marble bath in Shah Jahan's palace at Agra which had been torn up by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV, but had somehow never been despatched.'[10] The first of the Governors General accused, Lord Hastings, took care to explain the incident in his journal. There he notes that during his first formal inspection of the monuments of Agra in February 1815,

> The bath-chambers of the palace, lined and paved with marble, inlaid in the same fashion as at the

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[4] Contrary to the established use in the terminology of Islamic Architecture, Shah Jahan's writers use *iwan* not for the monumental vaulted niche (which can take hall-like dimensions) in an architectural frame but solely for pillared constructions of any dimension and plan. See, for instance, Lahauri, I, 1, p. 221; I, 2, p. 235 (for the hall of the Diwan-i 'Amm, Agra Fort); Lahauri, I, 2, p. 237 f. (Diwan-i Khas, Agra Fort); p. 239 (Shah Burj, Agra Fort); Muhammad Salih Kambo, *'Amal-i Salih* (*Shah Jahan Nama*), Persian text, III, second edn. (Lahore, 1972), pp. 26 f. (*ghusl khana* = Diwan-i Khass, Delhi Fort); p. 33 (Diwan-i 'Amm, Delhi Fort). A similar use of the term *iwan* can be observed in Central Asia, where it designates 'a Central Asian version of the loggia, with the roof supported by wooden columns', B. Fabritsky, I. Shmeliov, *Khiva* (Leningrad, 1973), p. 6; cf. K. Gombos and K.Gink, *The Pearls of Uzbekistan (Bukhara, Samarkand, Khiva)* (Corvina, 1973), p. 11.

[5] Lahauri, I, 2, p. 238; cf. Nur Bakhsh, 'Agra Fort', p. 179.

[6] W.H. Moreland, 'The Mogul Unit of Measurement', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (henceforth quoted as *JRAS*) (1927), pp. 102 f.; cf. Col. J.A. Hodgson: 'Memoir on the Length of the Illahee Guz, or Imperial Land Measure of Hindostan', *JRAS* (1843), pp. 42–63, who in spite of his painstaking research does not arrive at a clear result.

[7] *Keene's Handbook for Visitors to Agra and Its Neighbourhood*, rewritten and brought up to date by E.A. Duncan, 7th edn. (Calcutta, 1909), p. 119; Husain, *An Historical Guide . . .*, p. 29.

[8] Mildred Archer, *Company Drawings in the India Office Library* (London, 1972), pp. 166 ff., nos. 131, ix; 135, i; 136, i. For illus. of the whole riverfront, see Stuart Cary Welch, *Room for Wonder, Indian Painting during the British Period 1760–1880* (New York, 1978), pl. 49.

[9] Ed. V.A. Smith, (London, 1843), vol. I, p. 388.

[10] *Lord Curzon in India—Being a Selection from His Speeches as Viceroy & Governor-General of India 1898–1905*, intr. Sir Thomas Raleigh (London, 1906), p. 189.

> Taj, are in a ruinous condition. The dome of one of them is incapable of being repaired without an expense which cannot be incurred; and whensoever it shall fall, which must happen soon, it will infallibly destroy all the beautiful workmanship beneath it. Anxious to rescue so delicate a specimen of art, I asked the collector and the magistrate, who accompanied me, whether it could be reconciled to the inhabitants to let that marble be transported to Calcutta. Those gentlemen assured me there were not ten persons in the city who knew of the existence of those baths and certainly not one who had the slightest feeling respecting them. . . I consequently directed the marble of this chamber, . . . to be raised and shipped for Calcutta, where they may be somehow or other employed as ornaments to the city.[11]

Therefore we can deduce from Lord Hastings' own statement that he ordered the removal of only part of the revetments and pavements of the *hammam*. He does not mention the pillared hall in this context. The cause of the second Governor General involved in this matter was taken up by no less a scholar than Percival Spear, who tried to free him from the charge of the projected sale of the Taj. He admits, however, that portions of the bath were sold:

> It would therefore appear that Bentinck's action in selling the bathroom offended nothing but the romantic sentiment which demands that all ruins, in whatever condition they may be, should be left to continue their decay in peace. This particular ruin could not even have been picturesque.[12]

We learn from Marcus Beresford, who belonged to the apparently not so small number of shocked contemporary 'romantics', that

> a great deal [of the marble] was purchased by the men who make paperweights and such trifles for the Sahib Loge (the English are so called) and the rich red stone made curry stones. I hear that the sum realized by the destruction of these fine apartments, did not exceed five hundred pounds.[13]

The pillared hall seemed to have suffered a similar fate, though part of it survives at some distance from Agra, in fact outside India.

In June 1979, Robert Skelton mentioned to me the existence of a marble colonnade with stone inlay, apparently from the bath of the Agra Fort, in the depots of the Victoria and Albert Museum. I was provided with photographs, taken on 2nd June 1956 in the Indian Museum just before the colonnade was dismantled in connection with the demolition of the old Museum building (Figs. 10.5 and 11).[14] In May 1981, I was given the opportunity to examine and measure the dismantled pieces then lying in the depot of the Victoria and Albert Museum in Battersea. The colonnade is registered under No. 167 (I.S.) 1886 with the following entry: 'Colonnade of white marble inlaid with various coloured stones from the uncompleted royal baths in the palace of Agra, 17th cent. - date of receipt: Jan.1887 - from: Sir A.C. Lyall K.C.B. CJE Lieutenant Governor North West Provinces—price: presented - restored at Agra by a native craftsman Nathuram Mistri.' It had been sent by Sir Alfred Lyall in his function as a committee member to the Royal Colonial and Indian Exhibition held in 1886 in London. The colonnade was exhibited in the court of the North-Western Provinces (Fig. 10.9) under the condition that, at the close of the exhibition, it should be presented to the South Kensington Museum.[15] In the official description of the exhibition, the provenance of this colonnade was not connected with Shah Jahan's bath. It was described as having been taken 'from a large number of pillars of similar design now lying in the Fort of Agra,' and it was supposed

> that they were constructed in view of extending the buildings known as the Diwan-i Khass. However, before the pillars could be erected, Agra was taken and held for a time by Suraj Mal, the neighbouring Raja of Bharatpur, by whom the pillars were apparently buried . . . Quite recently, during the progress of excavating foundations for a guard house, the pillars were accidentally discovered and unearthed . . .[16]

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[11] *The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings*, ed. Marchioness of Bute, (London, 1858), vol. II, pp. 19 f; cf. C.W.G., 'Lord Hastings and the Monuments of Agra', *Bengal, Past and Present*, XXVII (1924), p. 150.

[12] Percival Spear: 'Bentink and the Taj', *JRAS* (1949), p. 185.

[13] Lord Marcus Beresford, *Journal of My Life in India, from 28th August, 1836, up to My Arrival in England, 30th June, 1841*, Commonwealth Relations Office Library, Eur. Mss. c. 70, f. 98, quoted after Spear, p. 181 f.

[14] Kind information from Miss V. Murphy of 21st May, 1981; her assistance in assembling the related documents from the Indian Museum Files is gratefully acknowledged.

[15] Letter from Col. A.M. Lang, R.E., Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Public Works Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department, 14th January 1886; V. & A., File 47 (R.P. 4339/1886). Cf. Report on the Indian Section of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 1886.

[16] Extract from the description of the Ornamental Screen for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Court at the

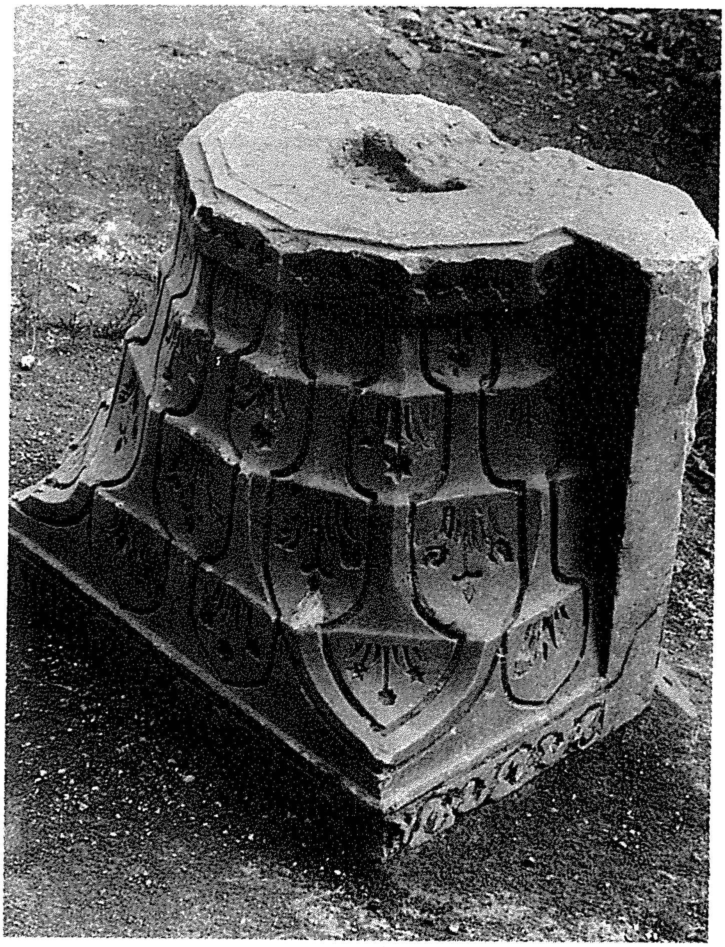
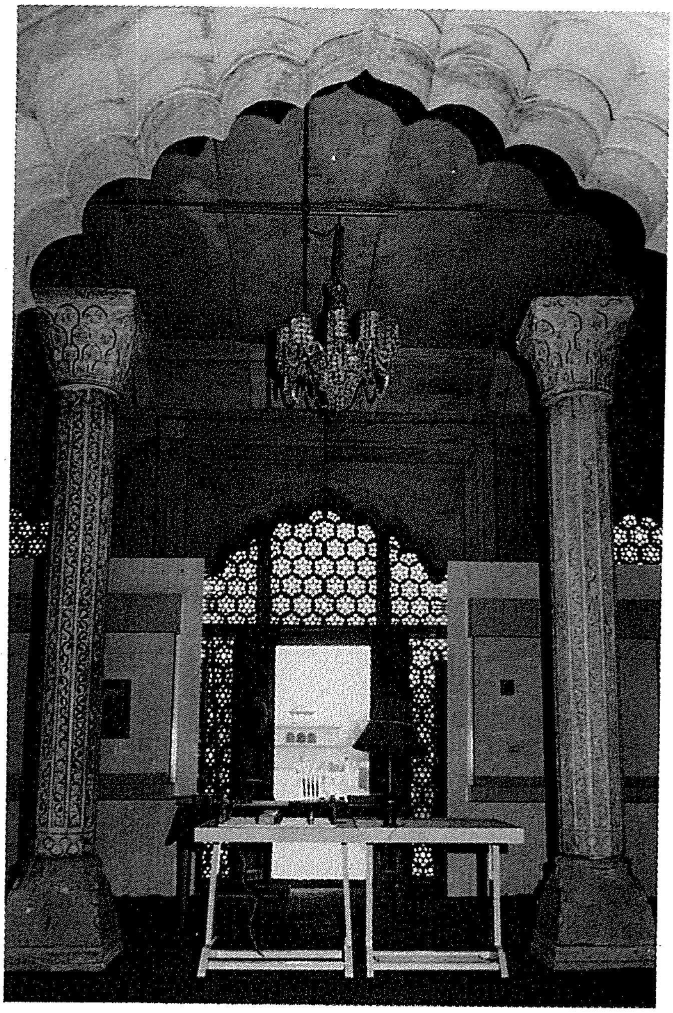


Fig. 10.6 Half capital lying in south-west corner of the court of the Diwan-i 'Amm, Agra Fort.

Fig. 10.7 Two columns from the portico of Shah Jahan's bath. Height of column shafts, which are slightly broken off at the ends and set deeper in the new bases 2.63 m. Taj Museum, Agra.



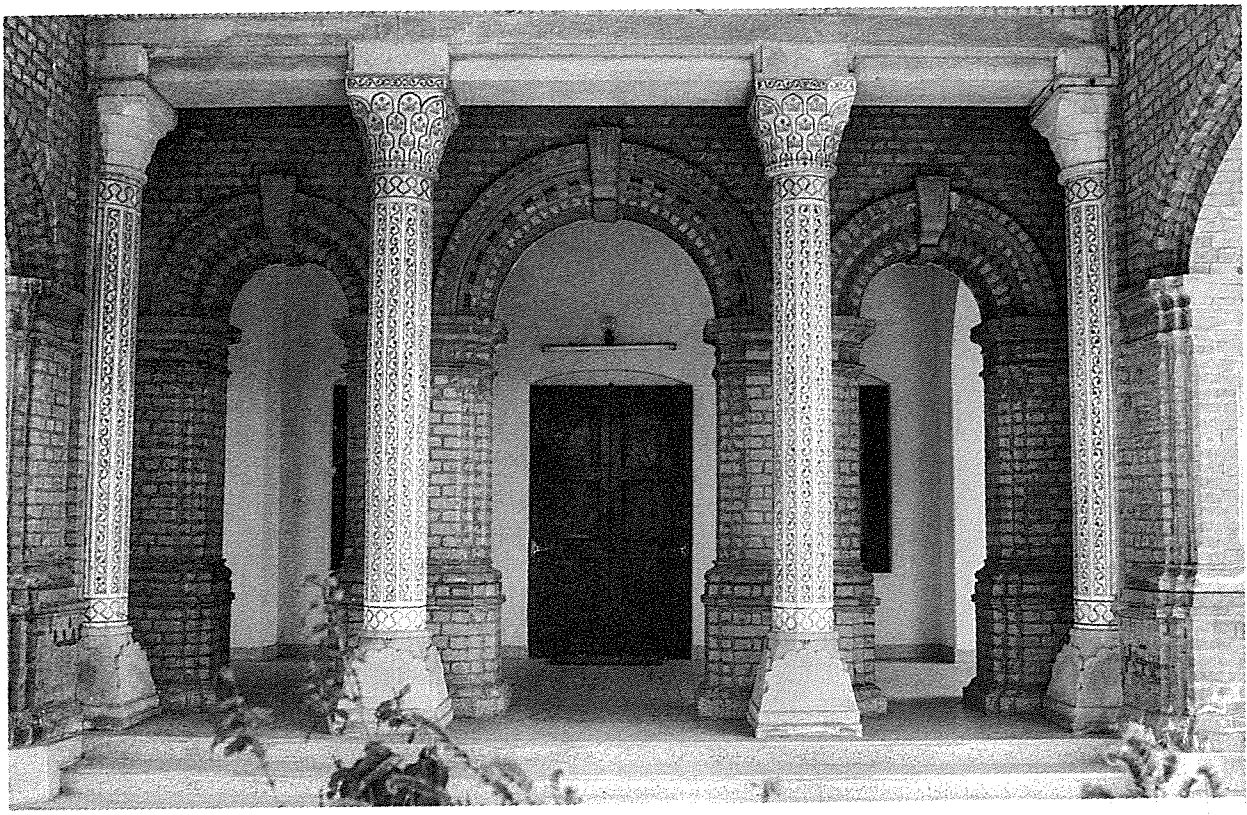


Fig. 10.8 Porch of the Circuit House of Agra, c. 1900. Height of column shafts, which are slightly broken off at the ends and set deeper in new bases 2.65 m.

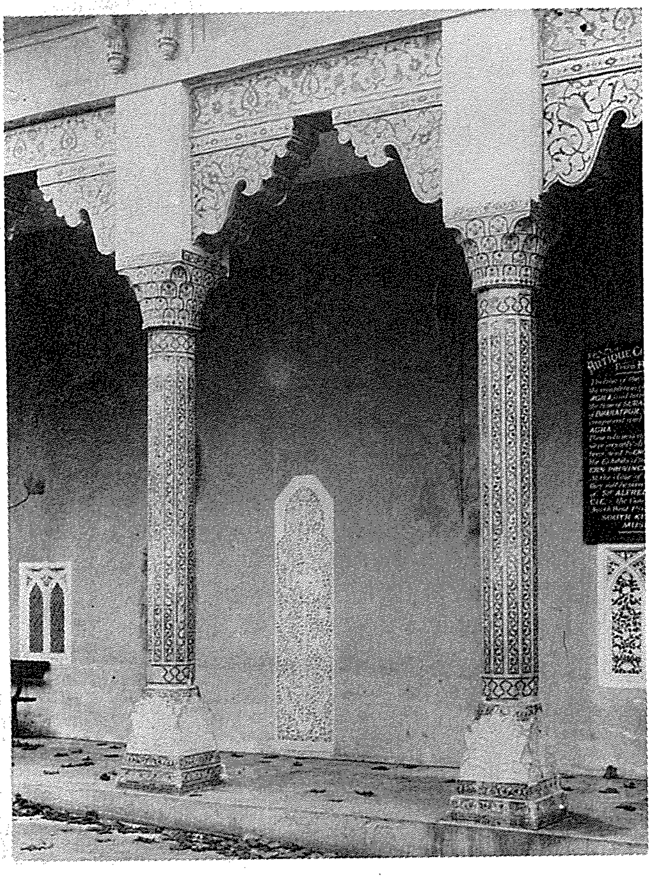


Fig. 10.9 The colonnade as exhibited in the North-Western Provinces Court of the Royal Colonial and Indian Exhibition, held in London in 1886. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

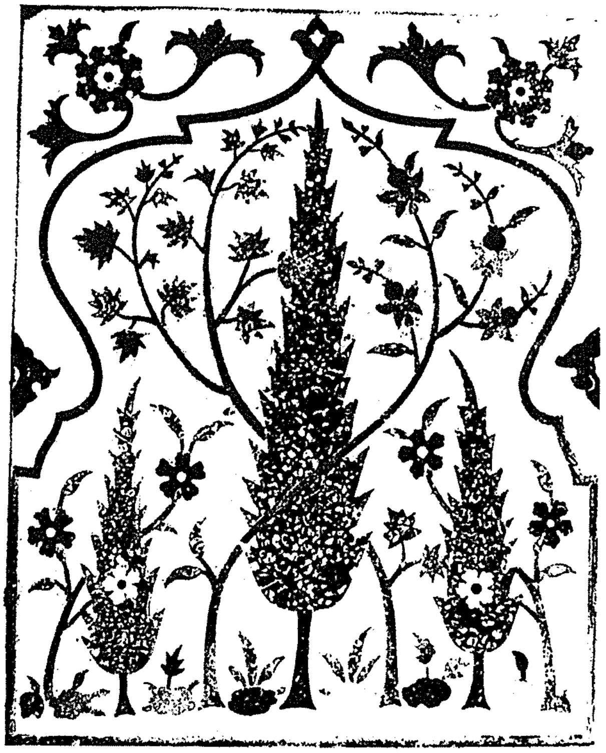


Fig. 10.10 Panel with cypresses entwined with flowering trees, from I'timad al-Daulat's tomb, 1036–37 AH/1626–27 AD.

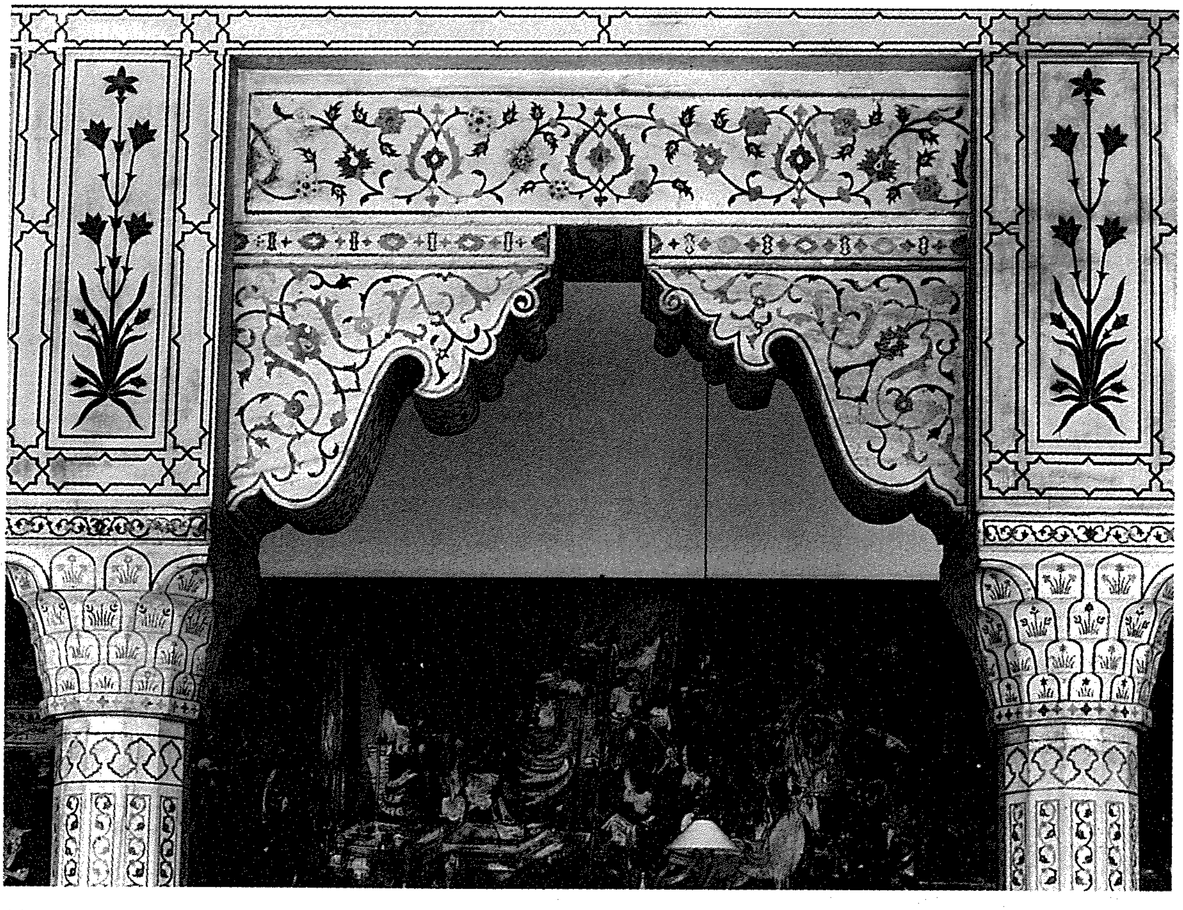


Fig. 10.11 Detail of the colonnade.

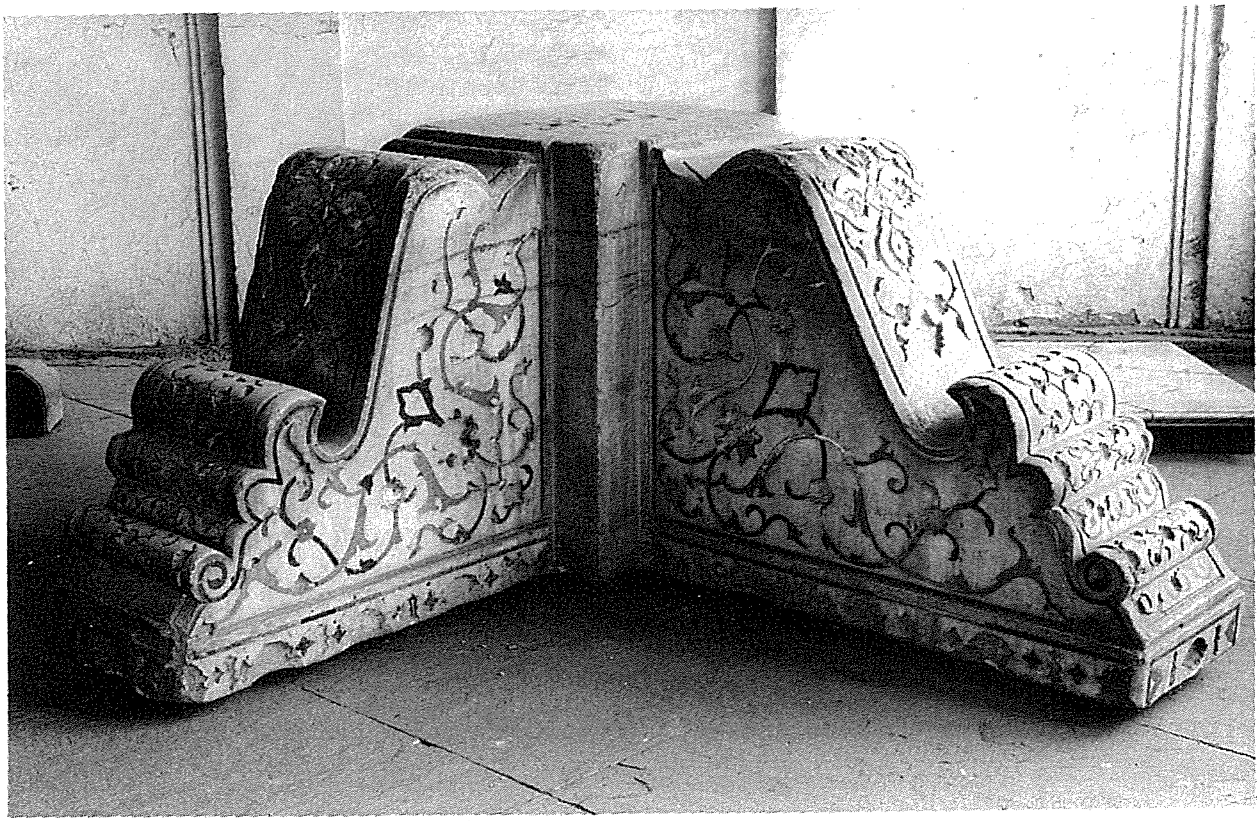
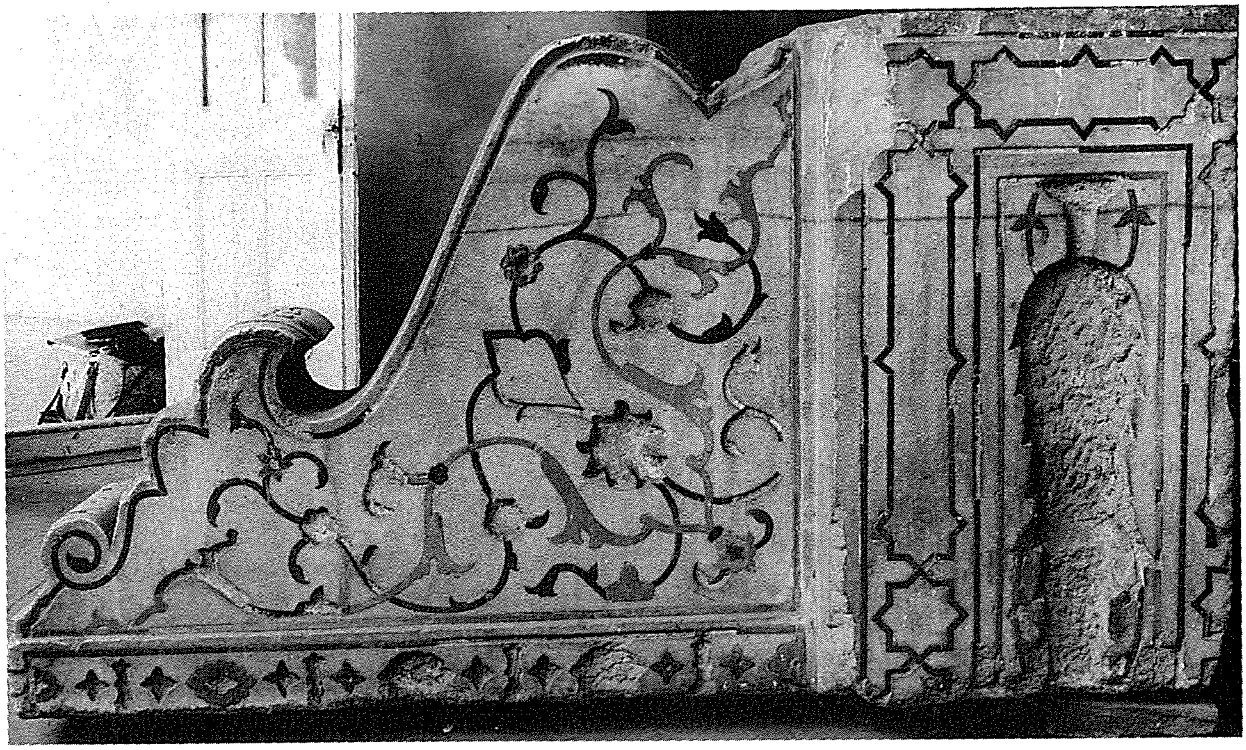


Fig. 10.12 Corner headpiece of a capital with two brackets, now in Jahanara's quarters, Agra Fort.

Fig. 10.13 Outer side of corner headpiece of Fig 10.12.



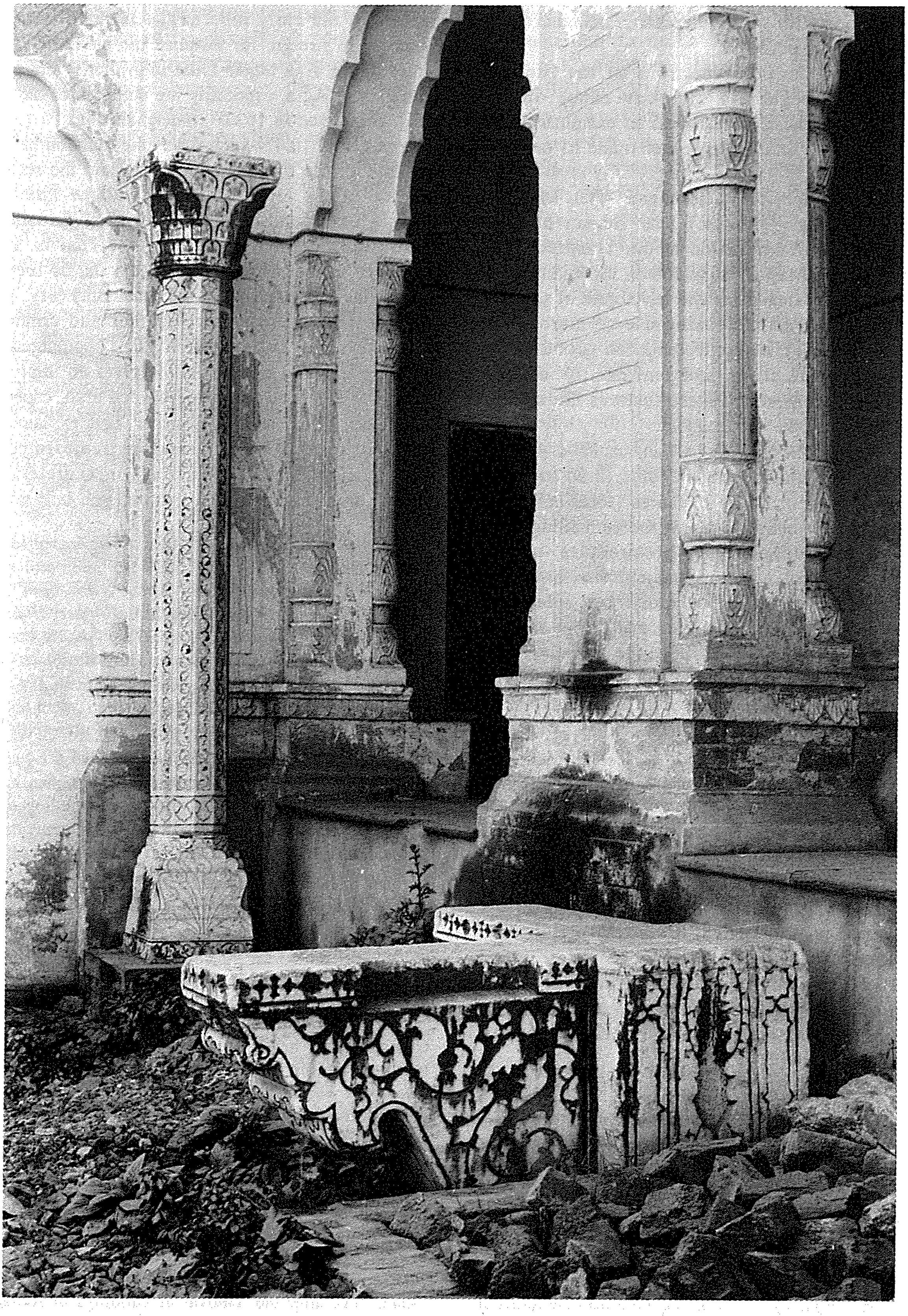


Fig. 10.14 Column and corner headpiece of a capital with two brackets, now in the Lucknow State Museum.

The role Suraj Mal is assigned to play in this venture quite possibly was intended to maintain Lord Bentinck's reputation.

In spite of the contradictions of the literary documents in regard to the provenance of the colonnade, a stylistic analysis and an examination of its measurements enables us to determine its original location.

The colonnade of the Victoria and Albert Museum represents the early phase of Shah Jahan's pillared architecture. In continuation of one constructional mode of earlier Mughal architecture, especially seen in palaces, it imitates forms and techniques of wooden constructions. The increasing use of marble for buildings directly related to the emperor, goes together with a simplification and uniformity of the architectural elements.[17] These features are clearly demonstrated by the colonnade.

Five columns (height with base and capital c. 4.20 m) form four intercolumniations (of *c.* 2.60 m) with architraves supported by consoles (total height *c.* 5.2 m). The columns represent the prevailing type seen in Shah Jahan's early architecture, with a polygonal shaft, *muqarnas* capital and base formed by receding slabs on which four polylobed sides of a marble block seem to form a container for the shaft of the column. The columns appear to carry vertical marble blocks in which are set horizontal beams. The angles are filled with brackets of an undulated outline consisting of an S-shaped volute which opens in three differently shaped lobes.

My examination of the dismantled pieces of the colonnade, however, showed that each pair of brackets is worked out of one piece of marble. This architectural element is set on the capital of each column. It carries the architraves, the joint of which is concealed by a vertical panel. According to the photograph of the Royal Colonial and Indian Exhibition, the original panels were not preserved (Fig. 10.9). They were substituted by painted wooden dummies when the colonnade was put up in the Indian Museum (Figs. 10.5, 11). The combination of this type of brackets, columns and lintels is a typical feature of the early pillared (*iwan*) architecture of Shah Jahan's reign, for instance the pavilions on the shore of the Ana Sagar Lake in Ajmer,[18] and in the Red Fort of Agra, especially the complex of the Shah Burj, completed in 1637[19] (inner hall, Fig. 10.3, outer galleries, Fig. 10.4) which forms the junction between the east terrace of the Anguri Bagh and the receding terrace of the Diwan-i Khass and the *hammam*. Although essentially a post-and-lintel construction, it shows the potential for arcuation. That is, if the columns are set at narrower intervals, as they are around the outer gallery of the Shah Burj (Fig. 10.4), the consoles move closer together and create the impression of a 'trabeated arch'. This shouldered arch with a compound curved outline gives an impression similar to the later prevailing cusped arch, especially when seen from a certain distance. This explains why the artist of the Company drawing represented this type of arch in all the buildings inaccurately as a cusped arch (Fig. 10.2). A comparision between the

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Colonial and Indian Exhibition July 10th 1886; V. & A. File 47 (R.P. 4339/1886). In this context, I would like to point out that a find of wrought marble apparently of Shah Jahan's time buried in the ground of the South-West corner of the Diwan-i 'Amm of the Agra Fort was reported as such in the *Annual Progress Report of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1904–5*, pp. 26, 36. From the description and the photograph it is not possible to tell whether the material is related to the V. & A. colonnade.

[17] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period) (1956), (rpt., Bombay, 1975) p. 102, considers the forms of this style as 'essential marble forms'.

[18] By tradition, all these pavilions are attributed to Shah Jahan's reign and dated 1637 AD. See *inter alia* A.L.P. Tucker, 'Restoration Work in Ajmer', *ASI, Ann. Rep.*, 1902–3, pp. 81 ff; or Har Bilas Sarda, *Ajmer, Historical and Descriptive* (Ajmer, 1911), pp. 37 and 40. This assumption is, however, only partly supported by the contemporary sources. Thus Kambo (I, 2nd edn. Lahore [1967], p. 183), on the occasion of the visit of the emperor when about to succeed to the throne shortly after his thirty-sixth solar birthday, mentions already existing buildings:

> On the 17th Jammadi al-awwal (fifth Behman month) 1037 (24th January, 1628), the land of the holy region of Ajmer became illuminated by his auspicious halting. Heartpleasing buildings (*'imarat*) and mansions (*manzil*) in a fresh style on the bank of the *tal* Rana Sagar by the alighting suddenly drew a veil before the palaces of paradise.

According to Lahauri (I, 2, 224) who mentions the buildings on the occasion of the visit of the emperor on the seventh of the month of Rajab 1046 (5th December, 1636), '*Hazrat Jannat Makani* [Jahangir] on the embankment (*band*) of this heartattracting *talab* had constructed a marble building (*'imarati*)' and Shah Jahan added a *'jharoka-i daulat khana-i khass-o-'amm'* (balcony for ceremonial appearances in the hall of public audiences). We cannot discuss this problem at length, but it should be noted that according to the sources, the buildings are of a date earlier than 1637. They were partly constructed by Jahangir and thus represent a transition phase in the architecture of the two rulers.

[19] These buildings feature in the description of Lahauri (I, 2, p. 239 f.) referred to in note 3, as structures of Shah Jahan, built after the removal of buildings of Akbar and Jahangir.

Company artist's representation of the Shah Burj (Fig. 10.2) and the surviving monument itself (Fig. 10.4) shows this characteristic misunderstanding. That is why I have little hesitation identifying the Victoria and Albert Museum colonnade with the one illustrated in the Company drawings.

The elements of the colonnade of the Victoria and Albert Museum are covered with a floral decoration of two types. The polylobed 'slabs' of the bases are carved with flower bunches in subtle relief, which are related, for instance, to similar representations on the column bases of the Diwan-i Khass in the Agra Fort.[20] The lower part of the bases, the shafts, capitals, brackets and lintels are covered with stylized flowers, flower arabesques and scrolls in polychrome stone *intarsia*. The even distribution of the inlaid patterns on the marble ground creates a flickering surface. A closer look, however, reveals that each pattern is very aptly chosen to underline the geometry of each element of the construction: creepers with leaves and flowers run along the narrow facets of the shafts of the twelve-sided columns. They are set in a framework formed of the edgelines of the columns and horizontal bands with a corresponding pattern at the bottom and the top of the shafts. The *muqarnas* of the capitals are accentuated by a reciprocal *muqarnas* pattern which encloses minute grass plots with flowers. The brackets are filled with arabesques which follow their wavy movement. The lintels are covered with a scroll pattern developed from a central axis which forms, so to speak, the ideal apex of the trabeated arch, as illustrated especially in Fig. 10.11. Thus, as is typical in early Mughal architecture, the decorative scheme separately defines each architectural element which plays its part in an additive composition.

The character of the decoration, its technique and motifs again have their closest parallel in the decoration of the colonnades in front of and around the already mentioned Shah Burj of the Agra Fort[21] (Figs. 10.3, 4), which in turn is derived from the tomb of I'timad al-Daulat, also at Agra, dated by inscription to 1036–37 AH/1626–27 AD (Fig. 10.10). The stone *intarsia* of this tomb represents the paradigm of the earlier phase of the Mughal stone inlay technique, which is followed in Shah Jahan's time by the more refined and complicated *pietra dura* technique.[22]

The similarity in construction and decoration between the colonnade in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the hall of the Shah Burj was already recognized at the time when the colonnade was put up in the Indian Museum. The painted wooden *sopra-colonne* (panels above columns) were made in clear imitation of the vertical marble panels with *pietra dura* flowers above the columns of the front hall of the Shah Burj (cf. Figs. 10.5, 11 and 3). The stylistic evidence, therefore, shows that the colonnade of the Victoria and Albert Museum fits perfectly well in the building phase of the mid-thirties of the seventeenth century in the Red Fort of Agra, the time when the *hammam* was also erected. However, its four intercolumniations—each of about 2.60 m—cover only about half the length of its original podium in front of the *hammam*. Here we have to remember two statements which agree in the basic fact that the colonnade of the Victoria and Albert Museum formed only a part of a larger ensemble. One is the already quoted official description of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, where it is hoped that, 'It may be possible some day to restore and erect those [pillars] left, in some suitable locality.[23] The other is the statement of Keene that five fragments of the marble gallery were still in front of the *hammam* in September 1892, 'being sent, it is believed, to various Indian museums'.[24]

During my field research in Agra in the winters of 1980 and 1981, it was possible to locate most of the missing elements of the colonnade. First of all, in the south-east corner of the arcades of the courtyard of the Diwan-i 'Amm in the Agra Fort I found the shaft and capital of a column identical to the Victoria and Albert Museum pieces in dimension and decoration. These pieces were put up in the newly arranged Taj Museum in 1980, in the pavilion in the centre of the western enclosure wall of the tomb garden, together with two identical pieces which had come from the open air museum of the office of the director-general of the Archaeological Survey of India in New Delhi (Fig. 10.7). Both columns are set on reconstructed bases. Most of the original stone inlay of these pieces is missing. Two shafts of identical columns with capitals and two shafts of half columns in a slightly better state of preservation were found built in on reconstructed bases and with reconstructed half capitals in the porch of the Circuit House in Agra,[25] according to Nevill constructed around the turn of the century (Fig. 10.8).[26] One half capital which must have belonged originally to one of these half columns was lying in the south-west corner of the Diwan-i 'Amm of the Agra Fort (Fig. 10.6). A monolithic marble corner headpiece of a capital with two brackets of uneven length arranged at an angle of ninety degrees is kept today with the Ghazni Gates in the now closed room, west of the great open hall of Jahanara's quarters (Fig. 10.12). The uneven length of the two brackets suggests that this element must have formed the top of the south-east corner column. The measurements of the shorter brackets (nearly 90 cm long) coincide with the measurements of the brackets of the Victoria and Albert Museum colonnade; hence, this bracket must have formed part of the front line of the building. From this we can deduce that the brackets of the shorter sides of the hall were a little longer (by about 10 cm).

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[20] Oscar Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser* (Berlin, 1925), pl. 54.

[21] Ibid. pl. 56 for a more detailed illustration of the outer galleries.

[22] E.W. Smith, *Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra* (Allahabad, 1901), Ch. III. Koch, 'Shah Jahan and Orpheus', this volume, n. 32.

[23] See note 16 above.

[24] Keene, p. 119.

[25] I thank Mr. H.K. Kaul from the Archaeological Survey of India for this important information.

According to the Company drawing, two of them must have formed one 'trabeated' arch which, therefore, had to cover a span as great as four metres if the narrow sides of the hall corresponded fully to the dimensions of the podium. The corner headpiece provides us also with the only indication so far discovered for the original appearance of the *sopracolonne*, (Fig. 10.13). It is a panel framed by a favourite Mughal border motif, with star cartouches of alternating size. It contains the conventional Persian and Timurid motif of the cypress entwined by two trees, often flowering, as it appears in a nearly identical form on the walls of the tomb of I'timad al-Daulat (Fig. 10.10). The organization of the panel—though not the motifs—is very close to the *sopracolonne* of the outer galleries of the Shah Burj.[27]

These findings provide us with sufficient means to reconstruct the *iwan* of the *hammam* of the Agra Fort and to confirm the supposed origin of the colonnade of the Victoria and Albert Museum. It was a hall with 'trabeated arcades' on its three outer sides. Its shorter sides had only one arcade which perhaps did not cover the whole length of the podium *in situ*. Irregular intervals between columns or pillars of a hall are characteristic of Shah Jahan's architecture. On the side of the *hammam* wall the hall had one half column at each end, as the two pillared halls of the nearly contemporary black marble pavilion in the centre of the upper garden of the Shalimar Bagh in Kashmir.[28] The unshapely double half brick supports which are seen today must be a later *ersatz*[29] for the originals now in the porch of the Circuit House. According to the Company drawing, the architraves carried a cornice with brackets as support for the *chajja* (small slanting roof protecting against the rain) and the flat roof, which was higher than the roof of the *hammam*.

In conclusion, we can therefore state firmly: The lost portico of Shah Jahan's bath in Agra has been found and the colonnade of the Victoria and Albert Museum has regained its identity. As for the rest of the missing elements of the *hammam*, we can only suggest a careful search of Calcutta and a survey of Colonial paper weights in India, England and beyond.

Postscriptum: Since I published this essay in 1982, I found in 1985 two more pieces of the 'Lost Colonnade' in the Lucknow State Museum, namely a column and a corner headpiece of a capital with two brackets (Fig. 10.14). According to the *Annual Report on the Working of the Lucknow Provincial Museum For the Year Ending 31st March 1899* (Allahabad, 1899), p. 4, these pieces were 'found lying in the courtyard of the Khas Mahal within the Agra Fort' and were forwarded to the Lucknow Museum in 1899. These new findings will neccessitate a revision of my reconstruction of the colonnade; it seems that its longer front included one more column and that the intervals between the columns were not regular.

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[26] H.R. Nevill, *Agra, A Gazetteer* (Allahabad, 1905), p. 199.

[27] Reuther, pl. 56.

[28] According to Lahauri, I, 2, p. 24 ff., this pavilion was constructed in about 1043 AH/1633 AD. For illustration, see Sylvia Crowe *et al.*, *The Gardens of Mughul India* (London, 1972), p. 99.

[29] The brick of these pilasters could not possibly have been faced with marble, for in all Mughal architecture I know no instance in which columns or half-columns are made of brick faced with any kind of stone. When brick was used for these architectural elements it was invariably faced with stucco or plaster. The substitution occurred sometime after the colonnade was removed.

11

The Copies of the Qutb Minar[1]*

In 1942, in his article on the iconography of medieval architecture, Richard Krautheimer brilliantly defined the nature of medieval architectural copies. He established that such copies intended to evoke the meaning of a prototype by using selected outstanding elements rather than faithfully reproducing its physical appearance.[2] Krautheimer limited the scope of his investigations to the European religious architecture of the Middle Ages. As a response to Oleg Grabar's 'fundamental question . . . whether any culture can be meaningfully understood through the applications of techniques developed outside it',[3] I propose to show, that a related phenomenon of the architecture of southern Asia, a series of architectural copies originating from one prototype, can only be explained meaninfully by Krautheimer's theory.

The prototype which inspired these architectural copies is the famous Qutb Minar at Delhi, built at the end of the twelfth and during the early part of the thirteenth century as a visible sign of the establishment of Muslim rule in northern India[4] (Fig. 11.1). It has been shown that the Qutb Minar itself was no free invention but that it depended on designs of minarets which the Ghurid conquerors had brought on to Indian soil from present-day Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia. The minaret at Khwaja Siyah Push at Sistan (probably twelfth century) is particularly suitable as an illustration of this connection[5] (Fig. 11.2), since its surface is moulded with rounded flanging alternating

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*Reprinted from *Cultural Interaction in South Asia: A Historical Perspective*, edited by S.A.I. Tirmizi (New Delhi, 1993).

[1] I have presented the arguments of this paper in an earlier version in an article which appeared under the same title in *Iran*, 29 (1991), pp. 95–107. I have now emphasized the chronological development and to this end also added further material to illustrate the more recent phases. Due to requirements of space notes are kept to a minimum; for fuller bibliographical references and illustrations the reader is referred to the earlier version of the article, henceforth quoted as Koch (1991b).

[2] R. Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (henceforth cited as *JWCI*), 5 (1942), pp. 1–33.

[3] O. Graber, 'Reflections on the Study of Islamic Art', *Muqarnas*, I (1983), p. 2.The danger of misunderstanding or misrepresenting a phenomenon of the humanities lies not so much in attempting to grasp it with a method developed in a different cultural context as in not taking into consideration the cultural and historical connotations attached to such a method. Grabar's argument has to be applied with the same validity, for instance, to a twentieth century German art historian trying to understand his own country's medieval history.

[4] For a detailed description of the Qutb Minar, see J.A. Page, *An Historical Memoir on the Qutb: Delhi*, in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (henceforth quoted as *ASI*), 22 (1926; rpt. New Delhi, 1970); and more recently A.B.M. Husain, *The Manara in Indo-Muslim Architecture*, (Dacca, 1970), pp. 27–49, 201–13, pls. 1–4; see also T.W. Arnold and K. Fischer, 'Kutb Minar' in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn. (henceforth quoted as *EI*^{2}).

[5] K. Fischer, 'Interrelations of Islamic Architecture in Afghanistan: The Remains of Afghan Seistan: Notes on the Evolution of Islamic Architecture inTuran, Iran and India', *Marg*, 24/1 (1970), p. 56; Husain, pp. 41–9, gives a useful summary of the older arguments of the sources and meaning of the Qutb Minar. The formal forerunners of the Qutb Minar are briefly discussed in the light of recent

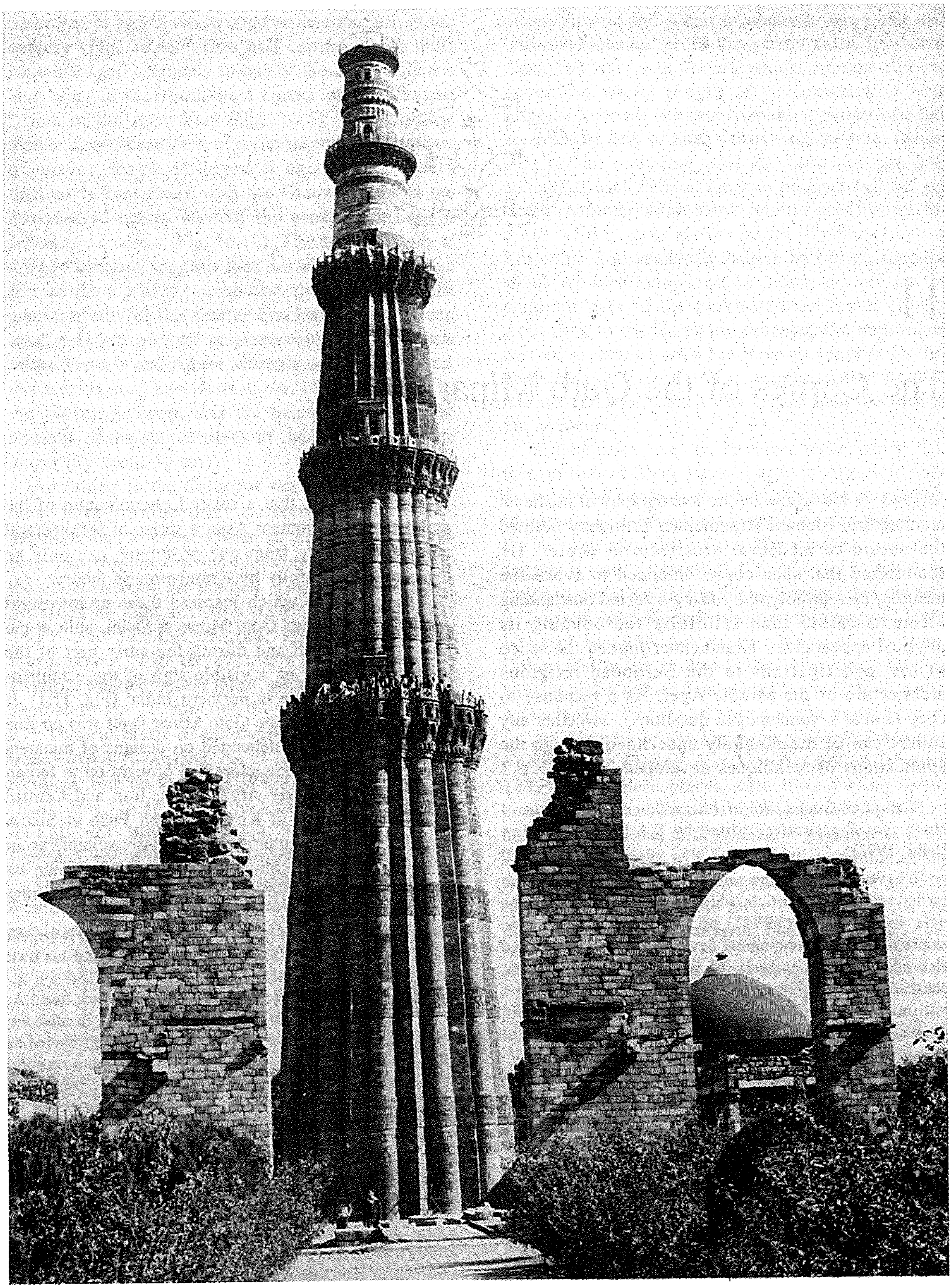

Fig. 11.1 Qutb Minar, Delhi, begun in 1199.

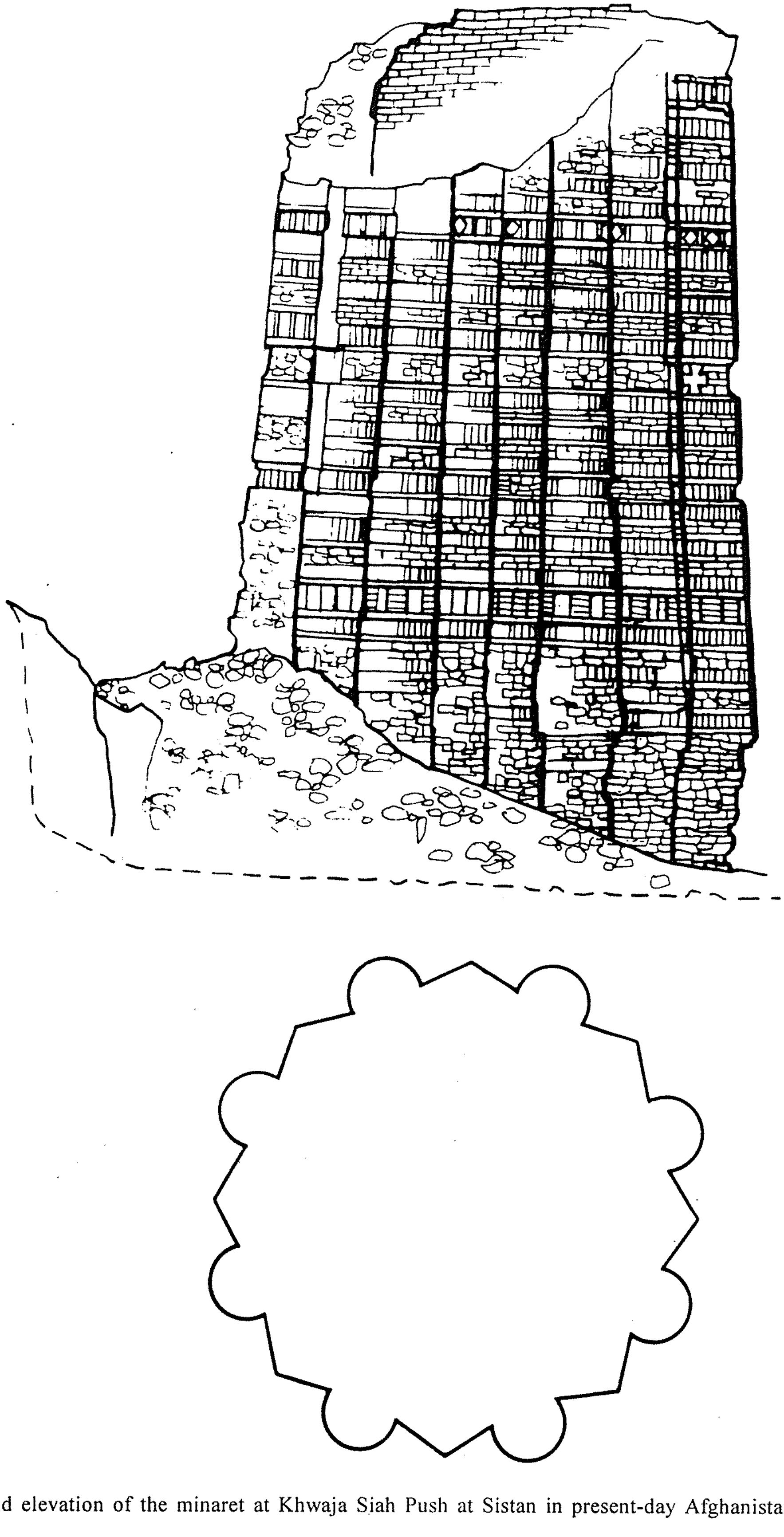

Fig. 11.2 Plan and elevation of the minaret at Khwaja Siah Push at Sistan in present-day Afghanistan, probably 12th century.

with angular pleating similar to that which gives the lowest storey of the Qutb Minar its characteristic appearance. To this first storey of the Qutb Minar constructed by Qutb ud-Din Aybak in 596/1199, his successor Iltutmish added another three storeys, each of a different shape. The second storey is moulded with rounded flanges like the tower of Jar Qurghan in Uzbekistan (502/1108–09),[6] the third storey shows angular pleating and the fourth storey is round. The fifth storey, which was rebuilt by Firuz Shah Tughluq in 770–01/1368–69, is partially decorated with rounded flanges. Because of its unmistakable shape, the lowest storey was to become synonymous with the Qutb Minar, and, as such, it was to acquire a particular significance for the architecture of southern Asia.

The first reference to the Qutb Minar occurred already during the time of its construction in the paired dwarf minarets surmounting the central arch of the Arha'i-din-ka-jompra mosque at Ajmer (Fig. 11.3). Today, only stumps of them survive which reproduce in a diminutive form the characteristic pattern of round flanges alternating with angular elements.[7]

The reign of Ala ud-Din Khalji (r. 1296–1316)—whose committed patronage gave new and far-reaching impulses to the development of the Islamic architecture of India—brought about a new interest in the recreations of the Qutb Minar. The most ambitious of Ala ud-Din's building projects were his additions to the Qubbat ul-Islam mosque at Delhi, which were to include also a tower (begun in *c.* 1311) modelled on the Qutb Minar but intended to surpass the original in size. It however, remained unfinished.[8]

After Ala ud-Din's attempt to outdo the Qutb Minar, the form of these architectural copies underwent a significant change which was to have a long-lasting effect. From the last years of the Khalji rule onwards, allusions to the Qutb Minar were no longer made by imitating the original in the form of a freestanding minaret (by either diminishing or enlarging it) but were confined to displaying the characteristic pattern on a band or blind storey inserted in the engaged minarets or buttresses, which accentuate corners or which flank gateways, the central arch of the façade and the (external) *mihrab*-projection of *qibla* walls.[9] In this form the Qutb motif appears on the buttresses in the shape of half towers of the *qibla* wall of the *'idgah* at Jalor (718/1318–19),[10] a place which had been brought under Khalji rule in 1311.[11]

This particular practice of linking a building to the Qutb Minar continued during the Tughluq, Sayyid and Lodi periods. The most prominent Tughluq example is the Khirki Masjid at Delhi (1351–88), where the Qutb motif appears inserted in the engaged minarets accentuating the corners of the principal gate on the level of the main floor (Fig. 11.4).

Judging from the preserved evidence, such references to the Qutb Minar became more frequent in the Lodi period. The Bara Gumbad mosque at Delhi (900/1494) has bands with the characteristic pattern inserted not only in the engaged minarets at the corners of the *qibla* wall, but also in those framing the *mihrab* projection. The motif, likewise, appears on the engaged minarets flanking the *mihrab* projection of the Moth ki Masjid, Delhi, or, to name a further early sixteenth-century Lodi example, on the corner towers of the Jahaz Mahal at Mehrauli, Delhi.[12]

From the end of the fifteenth century onwards, we find the motif also on decorative pinnacles (*guldastas*) set independently atop buildings (on the *qibla* side of the Bara Gumbad at Delhi 900/1494, on Ibrahim Sur's tomb at Narnaul 949/1542–43; on the Hathi Pol of the Agra Fort, 976/1568–69[13]), or serving as finials of engaged shafts above the parapet of a building (Fig. 11.5). A noteworthy example of this is Akbar's tomb at Sikandra (dated 1022/1613) where the shafts flanking the great *pishtaqs* (monumental enframed arched niches) terminate in freestanding *guldastas* in which the Qutb motif is expressed in the two favourite materials of imperial Mughal buildings, namely red sandstone for the round flanges and white marble for the angular pleats.[14]

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research by J. Burton-Page, in the article 'Manara. 2. In India', *EI*^{2}.

[6] A.P. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, 2 (London and New York, 1939), p. 1027, fig. 363.

[7] Husain, pp. 78–9, pl. 11 (erroneously labelled as gateway of the mosque); cf. also R. Nath, *A History of Sultanate Architecture* (New Delhi, 1978), pp. 15–18, pls. 19, 20, 23. For illus. see also Koch (1991b), pl. 12b.

[8] See Page (n. 4 above), p. 16; and Husain, pp. 51–3.

[9] Brief comments upon this phenomenon have also been made *inter alia* by R. Nath (1978), p. 27; and, over the years, by Burton-Page in his articles 'Dihli', 'Hind', and 'Manara' in the *EI*^{2}.

[10] Z.A. Desai, 'The Jalor 'Idgah Inscription of Qutbu'd-Din Mubarak Shah Khalji', *Epigraphia Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1972), p. 13.

[11] See also n. 22 below.

[12] For overall views of these buildings, see Y.D. Sharma, *Delhi and Its Neighbourhood* (Delhi, 1974), pls. 17, 19b, 20a, on which the Qutb motif can be made out, albeit with some difficulty.

[13] Koch (1991b), pl. 13a.

[14] Reproduced in G. Hambly, *Cities of Mughul India* (NewYork, 1968), pl. 41.

Although in early Mughal and Suri architecture the Qutb motif may at times still appear in the bolder Sultanate fashion (corner towers of Islam Shah Sur's unfinished tomb at Sasaram, 1554),[15] its predominant use throughout the sixteenth century was that of the modelling of engaged shafts which took the place of the earlier bolder minarets.[16] Except for the crowning finials, these vertical elements show no tapering. What is also new is that they are usually fashioned throughout with the Qutb pattern which—since as time went on these shafts became more and more slender—was gradually transformed from a more monumental feature into a decorative roll and edge moulding. At the same time, its proportions underwent a change in favour of the round flanging with the effect that the angular element was reduced to a narrow-edged reed. This transformation can be well observed when we compare the engaged shafts flanking the *pishtaq* of the Jamali Kamali Masjid, Delhi (early part of the sixteenth century) (Fig. 11.6), which still retain the character of the earlier minarets, with the narrow engaged marble shafts accentuating the *pishtaq*s and corners of Humayun's tomb, Delhi (1562–71), which are so minutely articulated that one has to take a close look to be able to make out the Qutb motif.[17]

In several instances, however, these engaged shafts are not fashioned throughout with the Qutb pattern but the use of the motif is confined—as a reformulation of the Sultanate practice—to bands inserted into their (polygonal) sections. Examples of this are found in the Jami' Masjid and its Buland Darwaza at Fatehpur Sikri (*c.* 1568–78).[18] Another variant of great importance for our understanding of these architectural references is one where the inserted parts may also take over the pattern of the upper storeys of the Qutb Minar. In the mosque of the Purana Qila' (early 1540s), the engaged shafts which flank the *pishtaq* of the prayer hall are fashioned with three different superimposed patterns. The lowest section is polygonal, then follow two bands with a roll and edge moulding and two bands with a roll moulding only, thus alluding to the first and second storeys of the Qutb Minar respectively (Fig. 11.7).[19] Such allusions to its upper storeys had already appeared in the same architectural context in Lodi architecture; the engaged turrets flanking the projection in the centre of each side of the tomb called Dadi ka Gumbad, Delhi, show superimposed bands copying the round flanging and the pleating of the second and third storeys respectively of the Qutb Minar.[20] These references make it clear that despite the decorative form into which such allusions had developed, they still carried the full connotation of the monumental prototype.

The incomplete and decorative character of these references must thus not induce us to underrate their significance and to read them as mere ornaments without any particular meaning or symbolic function.[21] As pointed out earlier, the phenomenon of partial copying in Indo-Muslim architecture can be explained by what Krautheimer has described as the principle *per se* of copying in medieval European architecture, namely the fact that the prototype was never imitated in its entirety. The medieval beholder expected to find in a copy only some elements of the model but by no means all of them. A particular feature stood for a whole building as a stimulus to arouse all the associations connected with the original.

In the absence of any specific written records telling us about the meaning of such architectural mimesis in medieval India, Krautheimer's hypothesis is particularly helpful in explaining the persistent use of the characteristic Qutb motif of round flanges alternating with angular pleating. The fact that Muslim builders, in particular the rulers who succeeded Qutb ud-Din Aybak as sultans of Delhi had worked this very motif into their own buildings can only mean that they wanted to transfer the significance of the prototype, which had become the landmark of the establishment of Muslim rule in Hindustan, on to their own architecture. This is particularly evident from the very early references to the Qutb Minar such as the Khalji *'idgah* at Jalor which, as pointed out above, was built after this Rajput territory had been brought under Khalji rule.[22] The persistent use of the Qutb motif throughout the centuries tempts us into regarding it as

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[15] See R. Nath, *History of Sultanate of Architecture*, p. 27, 94, pls. 105–7.

[16] Husain, *The Manara*, p. 154.

[17] Illus. in G.D. Lowry, 'Humayun's Tomb: Form, Function, and Meaning in Early Mughal Architecture', *Muqarnas*, 4 (1987), fig. 18.

[18] Illus. in *Fatehpur Sikri*, eds. M. Brand and G.D. Lowry (Bombay, 1987), pls. 4.4, 5.2 *et passim.*

[19] Illus. in R. Nath, *History of Mughal Architecture* I, (New Delhi, 1982), pls. 122–5.

[20] For illus., see T. Yamamoto, M. Ara, and T. Tsukinowa, *Delhi: Architectural Remains of the Sultanate Period. I. General List* (in Japanese) (Tokyo, 1967), pl. 90c.

[21] R. Nath, *History of Sultanate of Architecture*, p. 27.

[22] Kishori Saran Lal, *History of the Khaljis: AD 1290–1320*, 2nd edn. (1920; Asia Publishing House, 1967), pp. 116–19, 293–4. The flanged bastions of the *qibla* wall of the Jami' Masjid at Daulatabad built in 1318, the year of the reconquest of the famous fortress by Qutb ud-Din Mubarak Shah Khalji (r. 1316–20) also seem to refer to the Qutb Minar. Reported by J. Burton-Page, in 'Daulatabad', *Islamic Heritage of the Deccan*, ed. G. Michell (Bombay, 1986), p. 25.

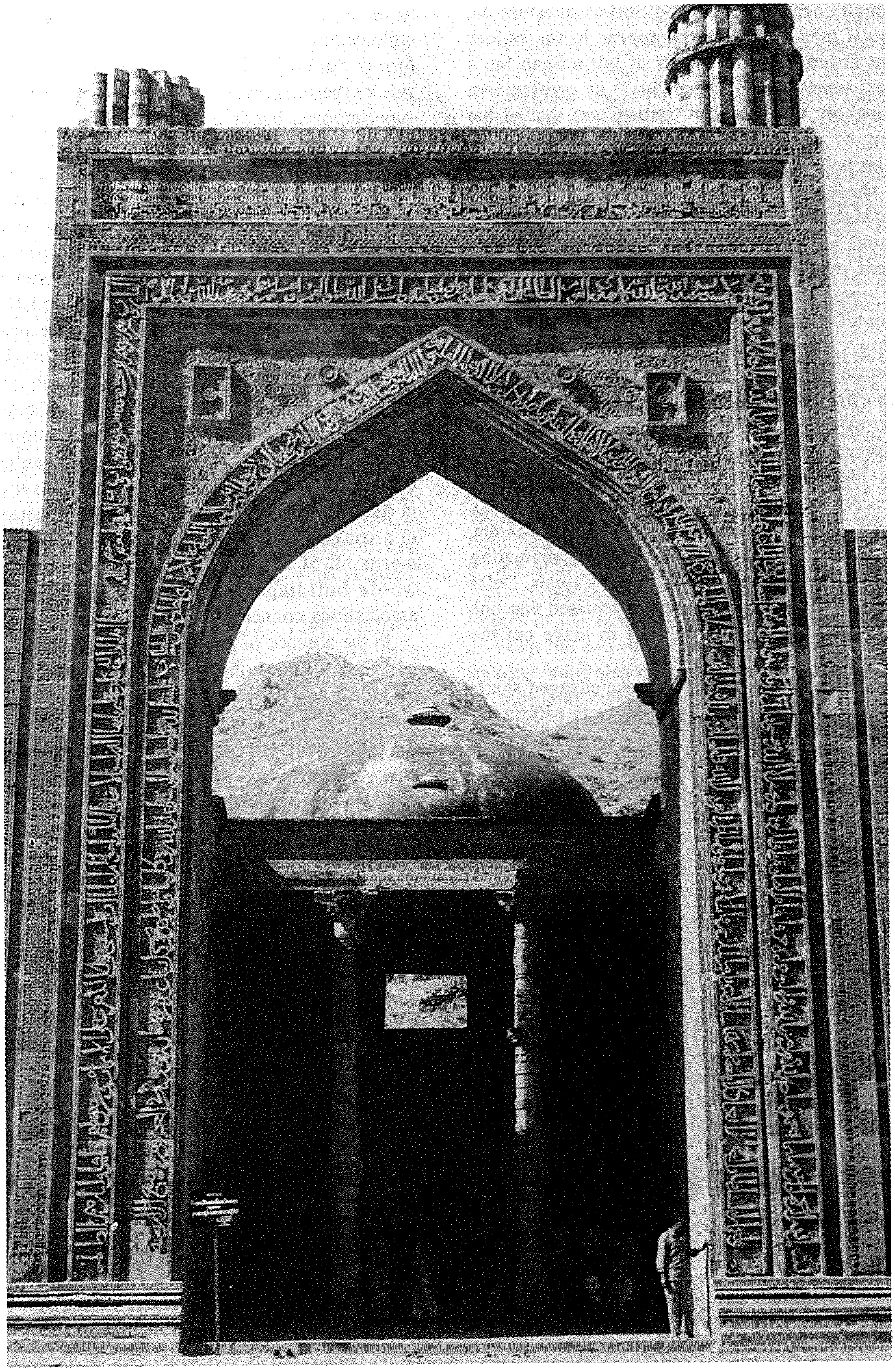

Fig. 11.3 Arha'i-din-ka-jompra Masjid, Ajmer, end of the twelfth to early thirteenth centuries. The central archway of the prayer hall topped by stumps of paired dwarf minarets.

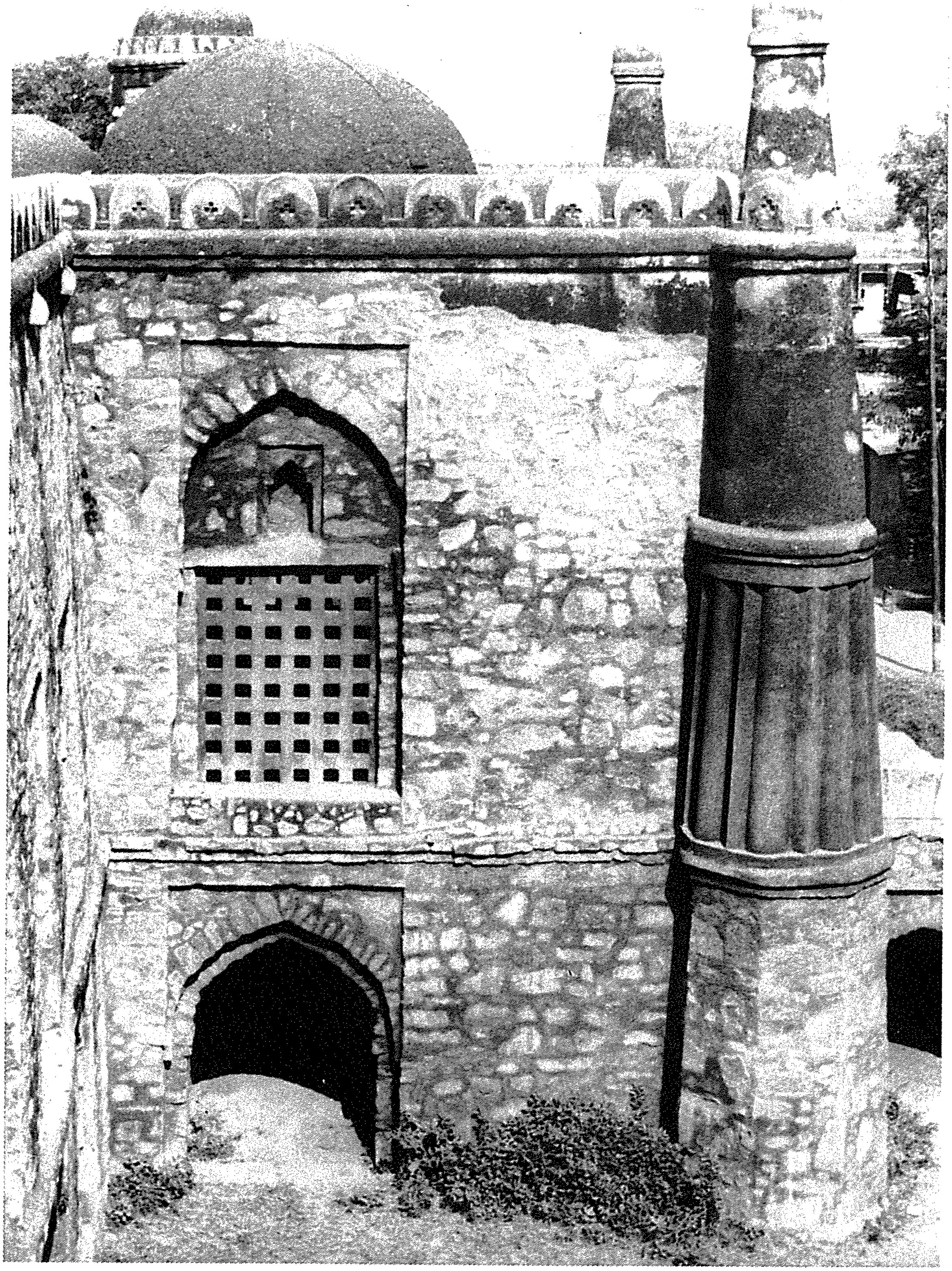

Fig. 11.4 The main (eastern) porch of the Khirki Masjid, Delhi, reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq (1351–88).

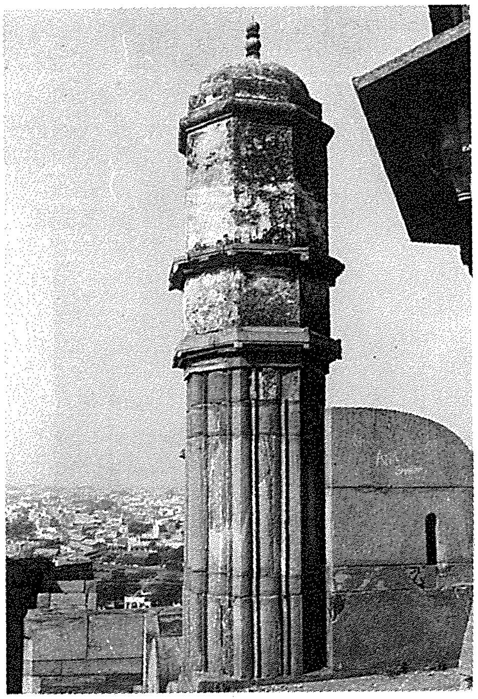

Fig. 11.5 An ornamental pinnacle (*guldasta*) on the roof level of the Hathi Pol, Agra Fort, completed in 1568–69.

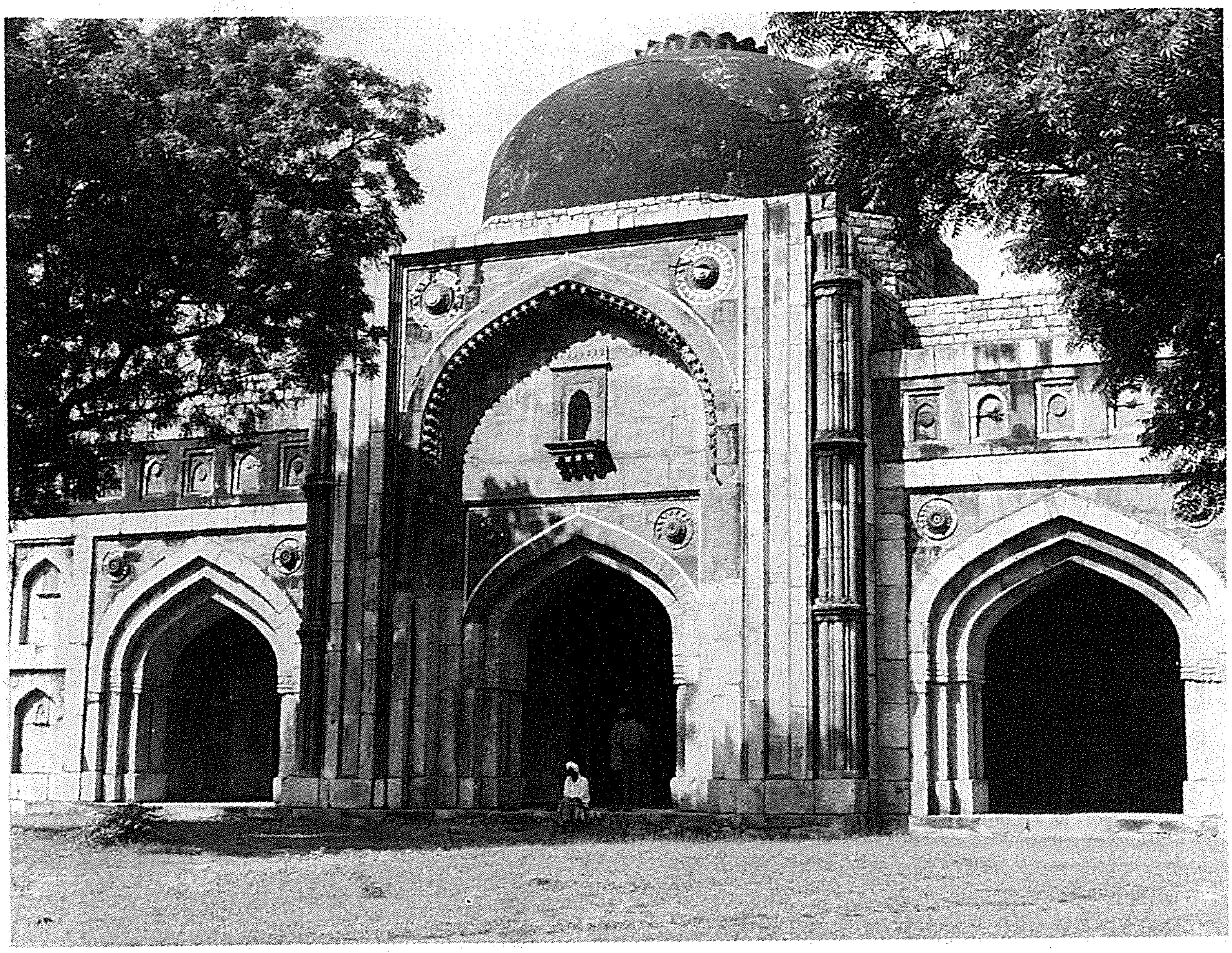

Fig. 11.6 The *pishtaq* of the prayer hall of the Jamali Kamali mosque, Delhi-Mehrauli, early part of the sixteenth century.

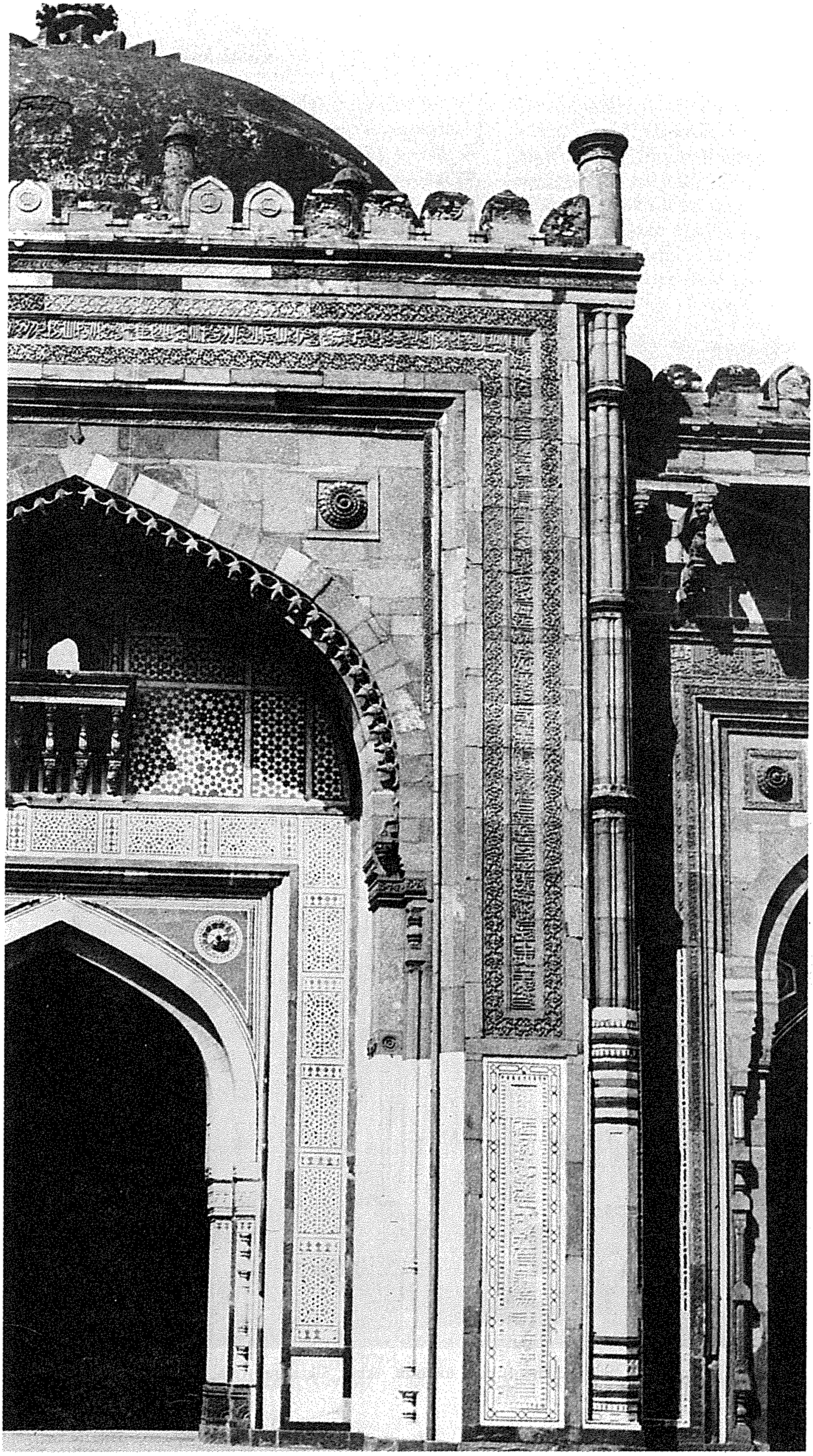

Fig. 11.7 Mosque of the Purana Qila, Delhi, early 1540s.

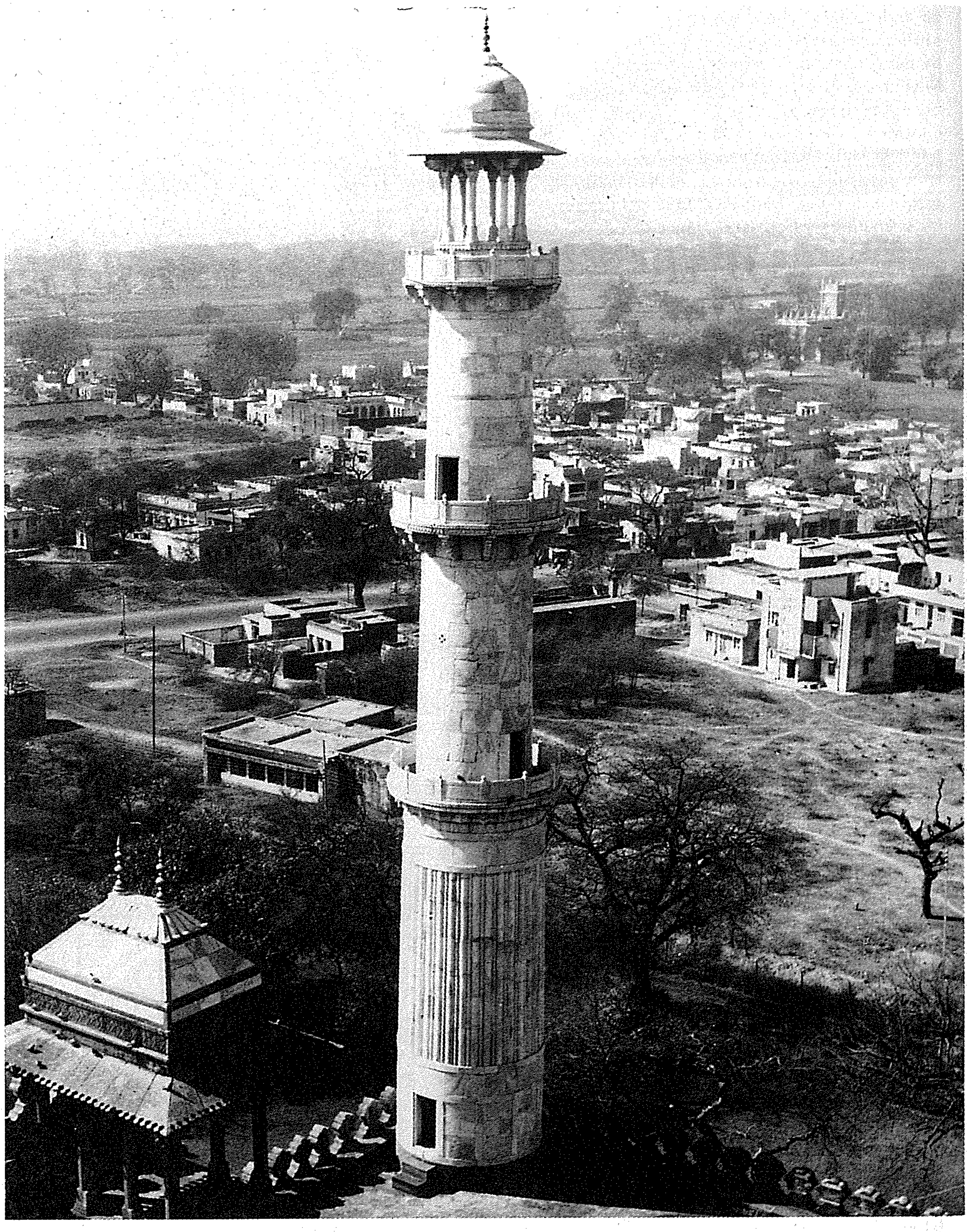

Fig. 11.8 One of the minarets on top of the main (southern) gate, tomb of Akbar, Sikandra, Agra, dated 1613.

an architectural confirmation of the continuity of Muslim presence in India. Our hypothesis is supported by the observation that in the whole history of Indo-Muslim architecture the Qutb Minar seems to have been the only building which inspired such a continuous series of architectural copies. That a political and religious meaning was attached to the Qutb motif is also borne out by the fact that it was particularly used to emphasize those parts of a building or an architectural complex which were in the public eye—such as the main entrance or the main gate—or which had a special religious significance such as *qibla* walls of mosques or *'idgah*s. The Khirki Masjid and Bara Gumbad illustrate this point very clearly. The Khirki Masjid has three identical gates but only the main gate is emphasized with a reference to the Qutb Minar (Fig. 11.4). The dome of the Bara Gumbad is surrounded on all four sides by freestandinng *guldastas* but only those of the *qibla* side are fashioned with the significant pattern. This phenomenon falls well in line with what J. Bloom has described recently as 'hierarchization'of various types and forms in Islamic architecture as a means of advertising religious policies and/or sovereignty.[23] Here it is also significant that at least up to the nineteenth century the Qutb motif was not used by Hindu patrons who in other respects adopted Muslim ways of building.

From the evidence we have just cited it becomes clear that up to the early seventeenth century references to the Qutb Minar consisted mainly in enhancing important parts of a building with the characteristic pattern of the lowest storey. With the exception of Ala ud-Din Khalji's incompleted 'Ala'i Minar there are only two instances extant of the Qutb motif being used on freestanding minarets. The first, we remember, occurred in the dwarf minarets of the Arha'i-din-ka-jonpra mosque at Ajmer (Fig. 11.3). The second instance is seen early in the reign of Jahangir (r. 1605–27). A wide band of finely articulated fluting with the characteristic Qutb pattern is inserted in the marble facing of the lowest storey of the four minarets set on top of the gate of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra (Fig. 11.8).[24] In both cases, however, we are not dealing with independent towers: instead, they still form part of another building.

During the reign of Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58)—a period of great architectural awareness—we witness a fresh interest in architectural copies of the Qutb Minar. On the one hand, the Qutb motif continues to appear in a conventional way as the fluting of engaged (corner) shafts terminating in *guldastas* (gates of Diwan-i 'Amm, Agra Fort, completed in 1637; gate of Moti Masjid, Agra Fort, 1057–63/1647–53; façade of Jami' Masjid, Delhi, 1060–66/1650–56[25]) and of independent *guldastas* (Nagina Masjid, Agra Fort, 1630s). On the other hand, Shah Jahan's architects further explored the potential of the Qutb motif for fluting. Dwarfed and twisted into a spiral pattern as a reformulation of the Timurid rope moulding for lining arches, it became—together with the latter—a distinctive feature of Shah Jahani buildings at Agra (the pavilions of the emperor in the Red Fort, 1630s; Jami' Masjid, 1053–58/1643–48;[26] and Moti Masjid in the Red Fort, completed in 1063/1653).

The Qutb motif was at this time also employed for the fluting of freestanding functional pillars. Here it appeared first on the great columnar invention of this period, namely the Shahjahani baluster column.[27] (Fig. 3.2)

These applications of the Qutb motif still belong to the time-honoured convention of quoting *pars pro toto*, and one might question with some justification whether, at this time, such ornamental reductions still carried a symbolic meaning. There is, however, a monument which proves that centuries of decorative use had not worn out the symbolic power of the Qutb motif. The structure in question is a hunting tower built by Shah Jahan before 1634 for his hunting palace in the *pargana* of Palam in the western outskirts of Delhi (Figs. 11.9–11). Today called Hashtsal Minar, it can be found as the main surviving relic of the palace in the middle of the village of Hashtsal near Uttam Nagar on the Delhi–Najafgarh road. As the most distinct and elaborate copy of the Qutb Minar, the Hashtsal Minar deserves our special attention.[28]

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[23] J. Bloom, *Minaret, Symbol of Islam* (Oxford, 1989).

[24] While the upper part of the minarets was reconstructed in 1905, the fluting is original. See W.H. Nicholls, 'Restoration of the Minarets on the South Gateway of Akbar's Tomb at Sikandarah', *ASI, Ann. Rep.*, 1905–6, pp. 28–9, pls. 7–9. For illus. see also Koch (1991b) , pl. 13d.

[25] The Qutb motif is here expressed in sandstone (flanges) and white marble (edged reeds) similar to the *guldastas* of Akbar's tomb; cf. n. 14 above. For illus. see Koch(1991b), pl. 14c. The vertical striping of the free-standing minarets of the mosque could accordingly be read as a translation of the three-dimensional Qutb motif into a two-dimensional design. For illus. see Husain pl. 33.

[26] For illus. see Koch (1991b), pl. 14d.

[27] The tapering shaft of the baluster column seems to have invited this association with the Qutb Minar. Cf. E. Koch. 'The Baluster-Column: A European Motif in Mughal Architecture and Its Meaning', this volume, p. 52.

[28] For a detailed discussion of the Hashtsal Minar see Koch (1991b), in particular pp. 95–102, pl. 11b.

The *minar* is tapering and today consists of three storeys of which the topmost is only partly preserved. Above a dodeconal base with blind trefoil arches, all storeys are modelled throughout with convex rounded flanges alternating with angular pleats in clear imitation of the characteristic outline of the lowest storey of the Qutb Minar. While the fluting of this storey of the Qutb Minar consists of twelve rounded and twelve angular sections, the Hashtsal Minar shows a finer articulation with exactly twice the number of these elements. The finer structuring of the surface of the Hashtsal Minar is a result of its smaller size. In its present state it has a height of *c.* seventeen metres while the Qutb Minar has a height of *c.* 71.4 metres. The fact that the Hashtsal Minar was fashioned throughout solely with the pattern of the Qutb Minar's lowest storey proves that the latter's symbolic power had not at all faded away. On the one hand, the tower is the first unambiguous reproduction of the Qutb Minar in its entirety as an independent tower; on the other hand, however, the model is not copied in the true appearance of its different storeys but preference is given to the sole use of the unmistakable and meaningful pattern of the lowest storey rather than to historical faithfulness. However, there is no doubt that by copying the Qutb Minar for the purpose of a hunting tower Shah Jahan wanted to say more than merely continuing the time honoured tradition of confirming architecturally Muslim rule at Delhi. Evidence suggests that the tower was intended to demonstrate that the emperor's hunting served no frivolous purpose but that he performed here the duties of a just Muslim king. According to the Mughal theory of kingship—patterned here on ancient Persian models—the hunt of the ruler symbolized in a general sense his power to overcome the forces of evil, often meant in a political sense. In a more specific argument the hunt was defended as a means of finding out the condition of the subjects and of administering justice on the spot without any intermediaries. In other words, hunting made it possible to win over the subjects by peaceful means. The hunting tower in the form of the Qutb Minar—the symbol of the establishment of Muslim rule at Delhi—was thus meant to demonstrate that as a just Muslim king Shah Jahan also conquered his subjects, yet not by physical force—as his forerunners. the first sultans of Delhi. had done—but by actions of good government.

Shah Jahan's hunting tower seems to have kindled a fresh interest in conscious allusions to the Qutb Minar on a monumental scale. The Mughal Serai at Gharaunda, situated (*c.* 100 kilometres north of Delhi between Panipat and Karnal) on the Grand Trunk Road, has been dated to the reign of Shah Jahan, an attribution which is at least not contradicted by the stylistic evidence.[29] Today, only the northern and southern gates of the Serai are preserved, albeit in a somewhat ruined state (Figs. 11.12, 13). Their outer facades are accentuated by corner towers that exhibit a delibrate playing with the different patterns of the two lowest storeys of the Qutb Minar (although the actual shape of the moulding bears a close resemblance to the Hashtsal Minar). Despite being double-storeyed, the towers do not show the two patterns superimposed upon one another like the prototype but juxtaposed in such a way that both storeys of the corner tower of the southern gate are fashioned with the typical motif of the first storey of the Qutb Minar, while the corner towers of the northern gate show in both storeys the flanging of the second storey. In this way the towers of the Gharaunda Serai reverse the construction process of the Qutb Minar, at least as it has been reconstructed, given the present state of our knowledge of preserved monuments; the Qutb Minar seems to have been pieced together from different minarets while the corner towers of the Gharaunda Serai disassemble the model into its constituent parts.

The surface moulding in the less specific form of rounded flanging found in the towers of the northern Gharaunda gate can be identified as a clear reference to the Qutb Minar because it appears in the context of the Serai together with the unambiguous pattern of the lowest storey of the Qutb Minar. That the case is more difficult to decide when the flanging appears by itself can be seen in the architecture of Muslim Bengal. Here corner quoins, half turrets flanking doorways, pillars and even a freestanding minaret, namely the minaret at Chota Pandua (dated variously to the fourteenth or to the fifteenth century, Fig. 11.14) are articulated by means of vertical flanging or reeding only.[30] We are thus left to wonder whether we meet here with deliberate allusions to the Qutb Minar by imitating the shape of its second storey or whether this architectural feature was inspired by some other source. The same is true of several Deccani and Gujarati minarets which show either round flanging or angular pleating. The Chand Minar at Daulatabad (849/1445), for instance, has a section with flanging.[31] The dwarf minarets of the mosque of Hilal Khan Qazi at Dholka, Gujarat, built in 1333, show a surface pattern of angular pleating.[32]

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[29] The remarkable architectural features of the Gharaunda Serai led to its early archaeological documentation in 1889. C.J. Rodgers, *Reports of the Punjab Circle of the Archaeological Survey for 1888–89* (Calcutta, 1891), p. 44; cf. his *Revised List of Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab* (Lahore, 1895), p. 58. For a recent brief discussion of the serai, see S. Parihar, *Mughal Monuments in the Punjab and Haryana* (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 20–1. For illus. see Koch (1991b), pls. 15a and b.

[30] See, for instance, S.M. Hasan, *Mosque Architecture of Pre-Mughal Bengal*, 2nd rev. edn. (1971; Dacca, 1979), p. 84, fig. 10, pls. 6, 19, 20. The *minar* is discussed more fully by Husain, *The Manara*, pp. 61–3, pl. 6, who dates it 882/1477. For illus., see also Koch (1991b), pls. 15c, 16b.

From the later seventeenth century onwards, we witness in northern India the development of an architectural style which, although derived from Mughal architecture, became more and more independent of the patronage of the Great Mughals. Typical of this style is a florid ornamental mode with a preference for bulbous shapes. The decorative version of the Qutb motif appearing in a vegetal context, together with leaf ornaments which had been created during Shah Jahan's time, continued to play an important role here as a decoration of baluster columns, engaged shafts, corner elements, *guldasta*s and bulbous domes which were the popular architectural elements of this style.

It is worth noting in this context that the decorative adaptations of the Qutb motif as they had appeared in Shah Jahan's architecture were now again blown up to a monumental scale and were as such even introduced into the serious context of fortification architecture. An example are the towers of Aurangzeb's gate of the Lahore Fort (built probably in 1084/1673–74) (Fig. 11.15).[33] In this ornamental way tne Qutb motif came to be employed so widely that one might have assumed that its origin had been forgotten, were it not for the twin towers which the Maharaja of Patiala, Narinder Singh, had constructed in the artificial lake of his garden palace, Moti Bagh, in 1847.[34] These three-storied towers translate the concept of the Hashtsal Minar into the florid idiom of this period (compare Pl. 11.9 with Pl. 11.16) and appear thus as a deliberate imitation of the common prototype—the Qutb Minar.

References to the Qutb Minar continued also during the British period. The High Court of Lahore was built in 1866[35] in the so-called Indo-Saracenic style advocated by the British as an appropriate medium for official and representational buildings. The characteristic pattern appears on the short towers topped by *chhatri*s which flank the large pediments emphasizing the three main blocks of the façade (Fig. 11.17).

Copies of the Qutb Minar were built even in the twentieth century. The modern mausoleum over Qutb ud-Din Aybak's tomb at Lahore is surrounded on three of its sides by a wall which boasts half towers in the form of exact miniature replicas of the Qutb Minar (Fig. 11.18), thus commemorating the first sultan of Delhi as the initiator of the most influential building ever erected in the subcontinent.

The most recent copy of the Qutb Minar can be found in the Dargah of Qutb Sahib at Mehrauli, Delhi. Designated as Nur Manara, it was still under construction in December 1991 (Fig. 11.19). The concrete mouldings which were applied to its surface made it obvious that the tower will become the first freestanding copy of the Qutb Minar which would show the varying profile of its storeys superimposed upon one another.[36]

These twentieth century attempts at a truer representation of the prototype in an entirely different historical situation bring us close to Krautheimer's conclusion that 'the modern copy . . . with its striving towards absolute faithfulness, definitely omits the elements which were important to the Middle Ages: the content and the significance of the building.'[37]

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[31] See Husain, *The Manara*, pp. 74–6, pl. 9. See also n. 22 above. Examples of the Bahmani period in the Deccan can be found in K. Fischer, 'Firozabad on the Bhima and Its Environs', *Islamic Culture*, 29/4 (1955), pl. opposite p. 250.

[32] See J. Burgess, *On the Muhammadan Architecture of Bharoch, Cambay, Dholka, Champanir, and Mahmudabad in Gujarat, ASI, New Imperial Series*, 23 (Calcutta, 1876), pls. 25, 27.

[33] Illus. in Koch (1991b), pl. 17b.

[34] *Punjab State Gazetteers*, 17A: *Phulkian States, Patiala, Jind and Nabha. 1904* (Lahore, 1901) reprinted in *Extracts from the District & States Gazetteers of the Punjab (India)*, 4 (Lahore, 1979), pp. 202, 261. The *Gazetteer* mentions the tank and the bridge but not the towers. We may, however, assume that they were constructed at the same time.

[35] Rustam Sohrabi Sidhwa, *The Lahore High Court and Its Principal Bar: 1866–1988*, 1966; 2nd edn. (Lahore 1989), pp. 5–6, pl. between Preface and Contents.

[36] For illus., see Koch (1991b), pl. 17c.

[37] Krautheimer, p. 20.

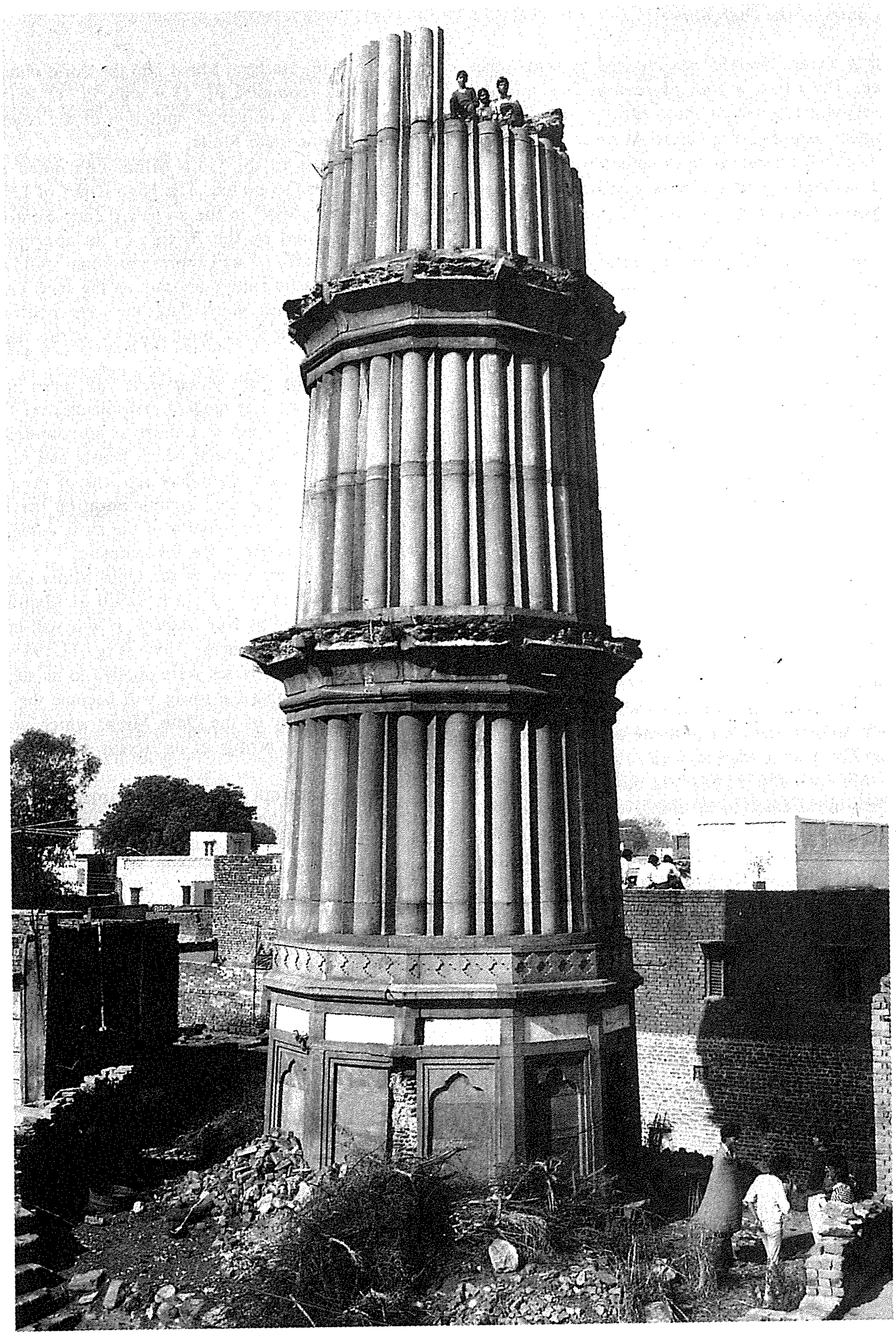

Fig. 11.9 Hashtsal Minar, Delhi, completed in 1634.

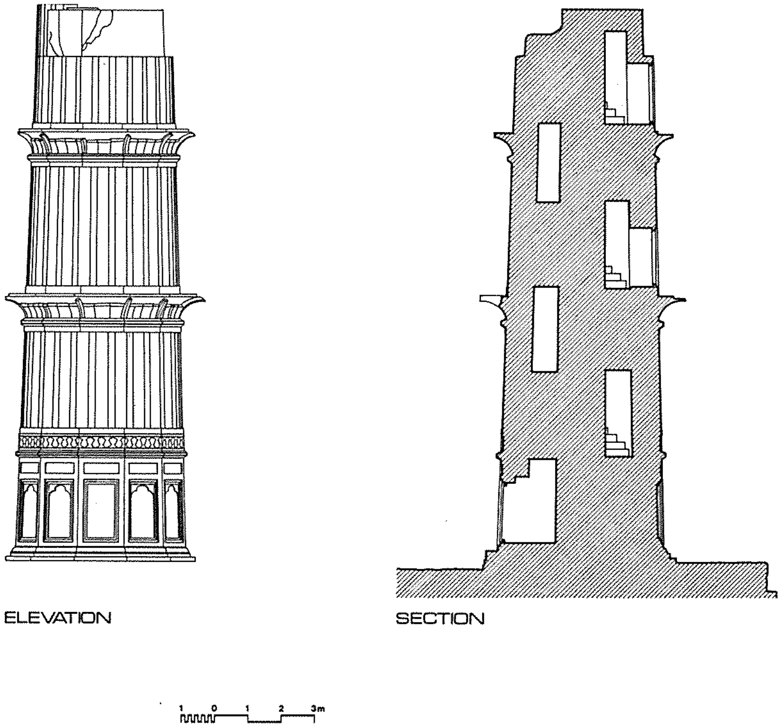

Fig. 11.10 Elevation and section of the Hashtsal Minar, Delhi.

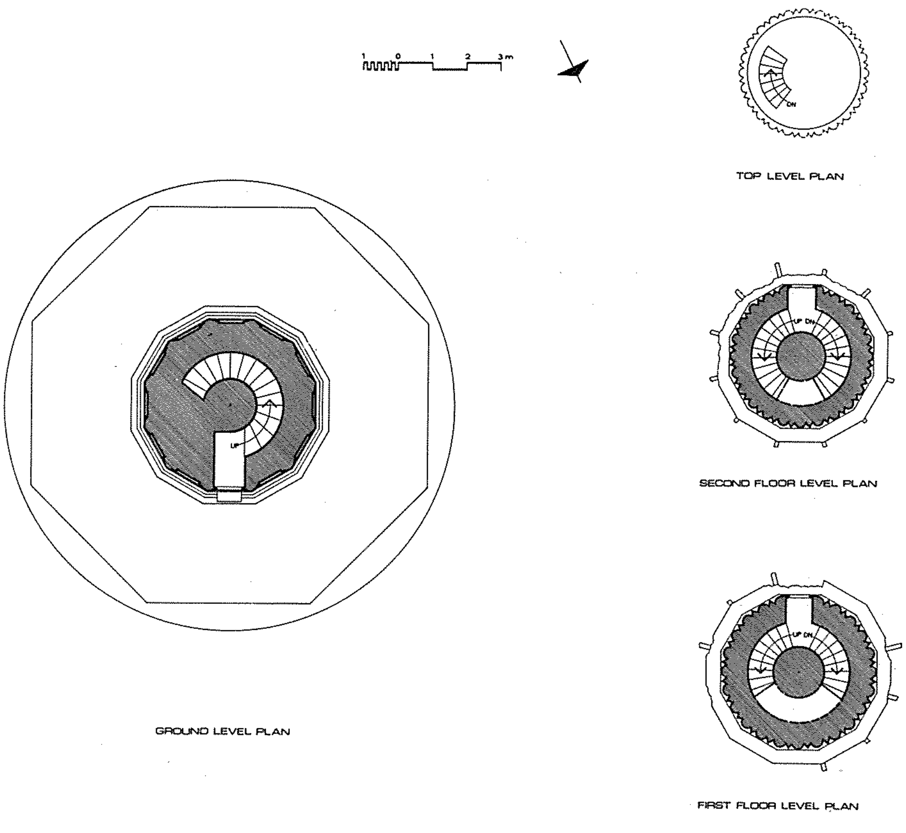

Fig. 11.11 Plans of storeys of the Hashtsal Minar, Delhi.

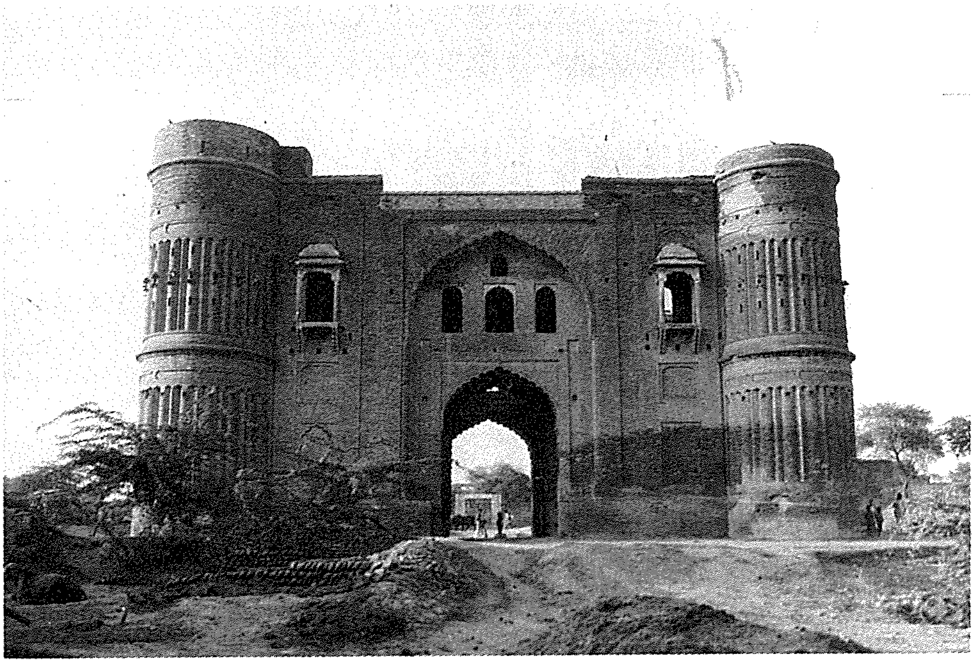

Fig. 11.12 Mughal Serai at Gharaunda. c. middle of the seventeenth century. View of the outer façade of the southern gate from the south.

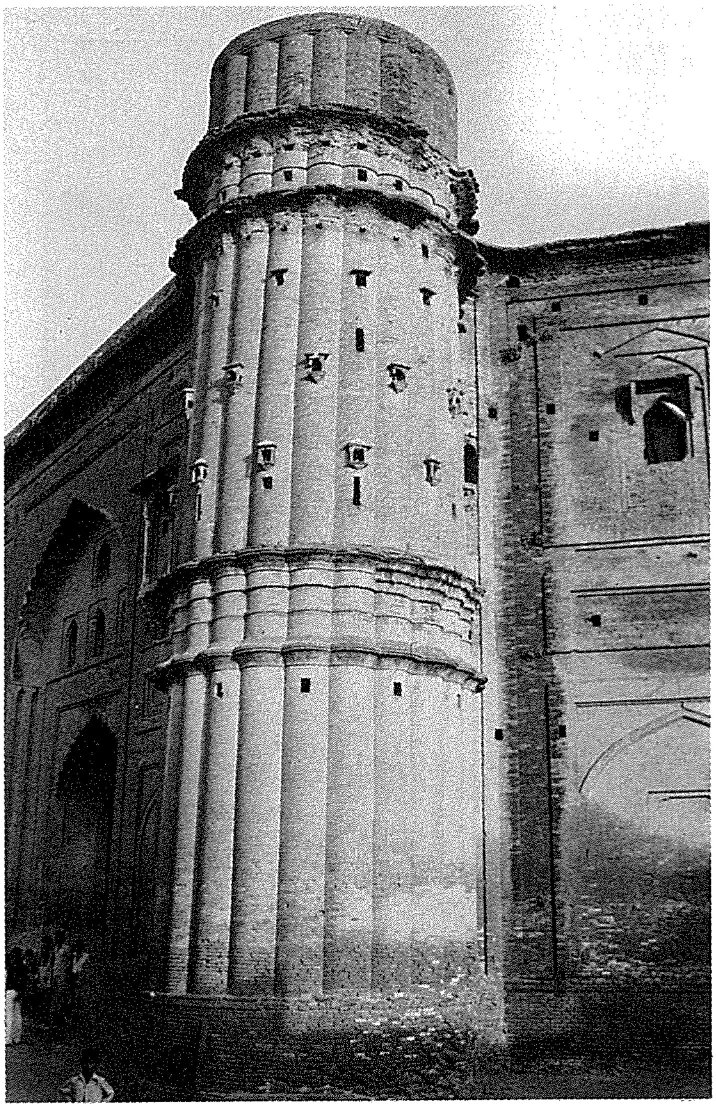

Fig. 11.13 Northern gate of the Mughal Serai at Gharaunda. One of the corner towers of the northern (outer) façade.

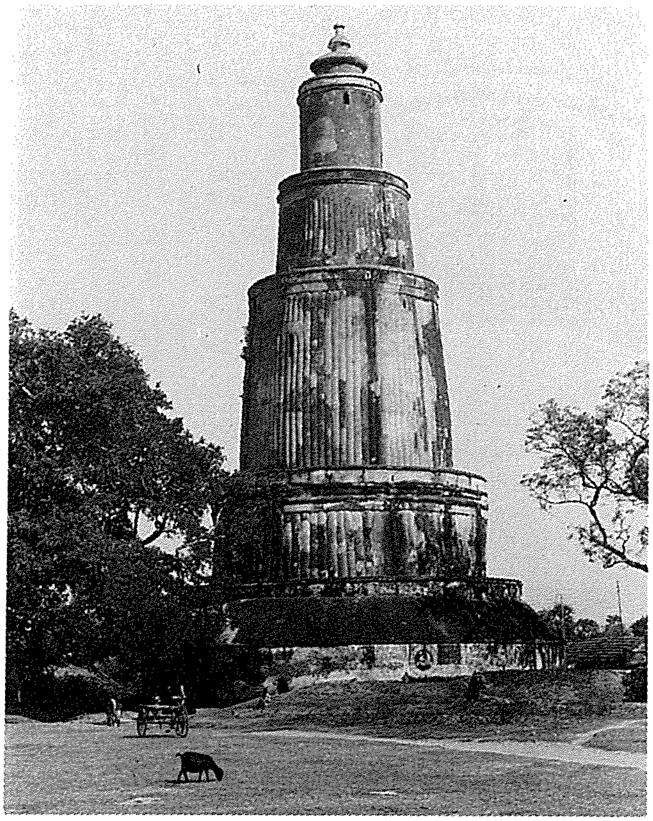

Fig. 11.14 Minaret at Chota Pandua, c. 1300.

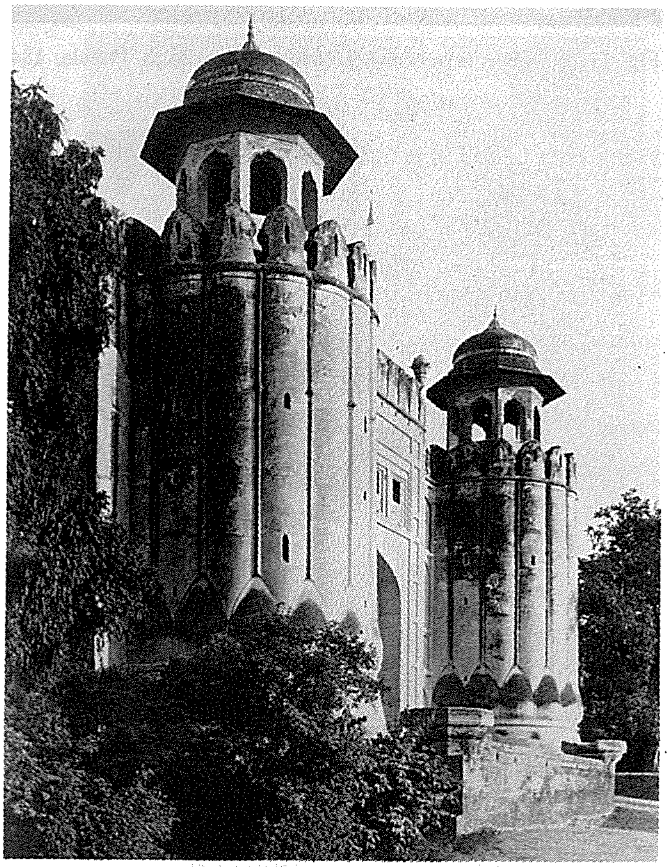

Fig. 11.15 Alamgiri Gate, Lahore Fort, c. 1673–74.

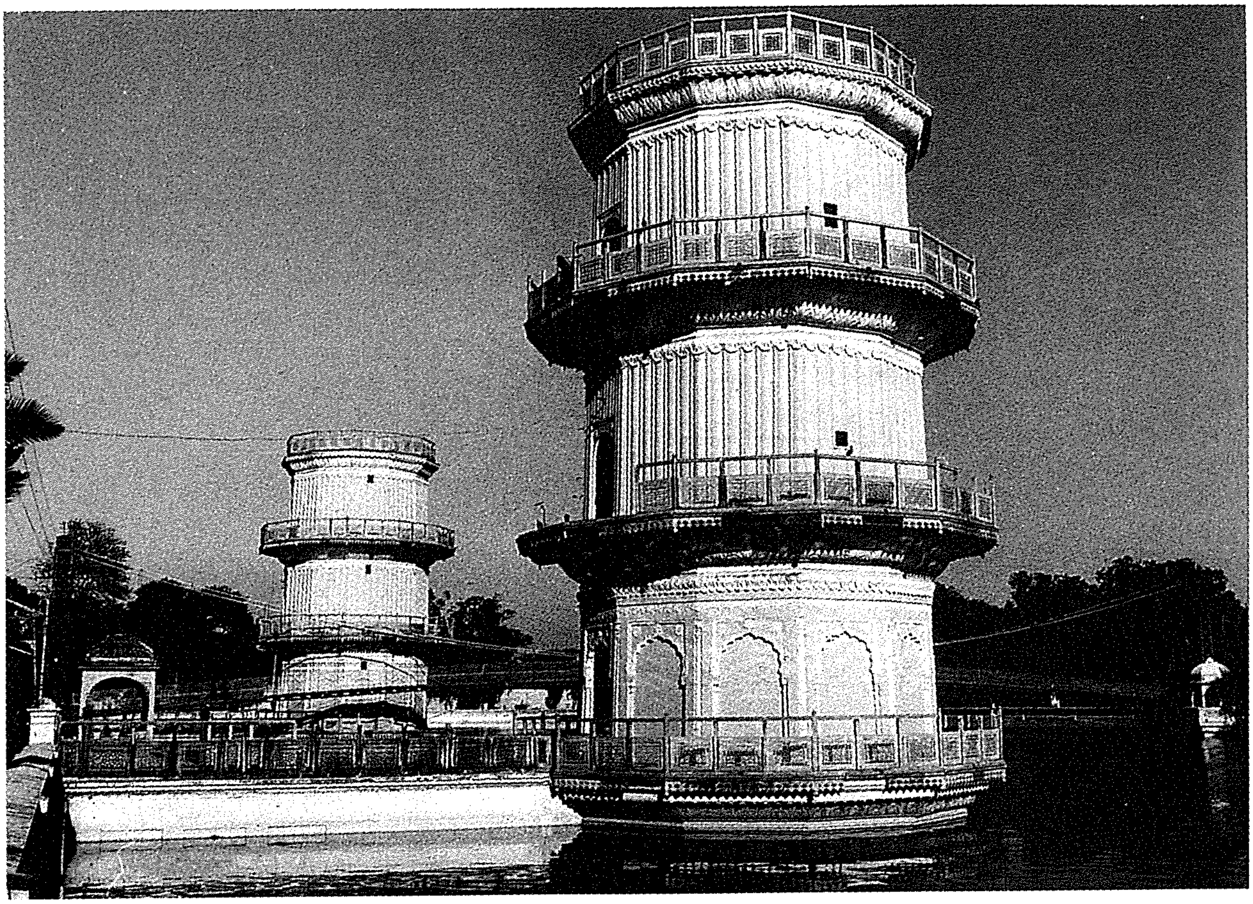

Fig. 11.16 Twin towers in the tank of Moti Bagh, Patiala, 1847.

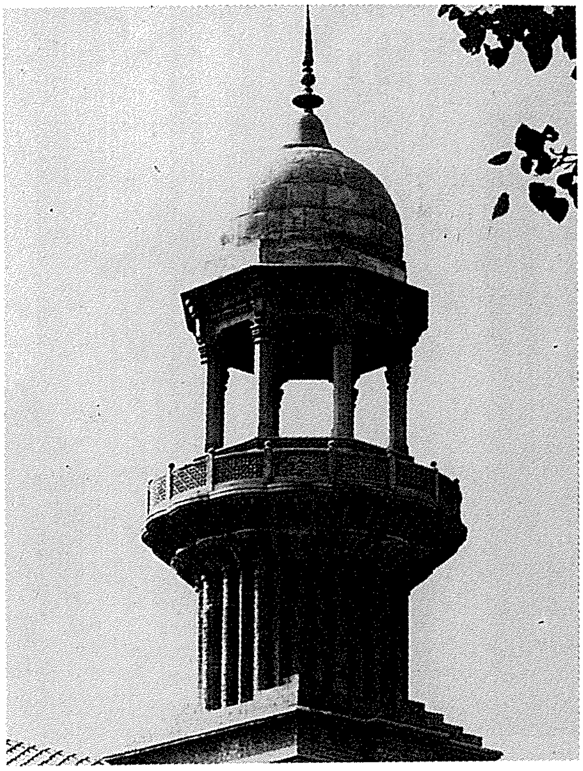

Fig. 11.17 Turrets of the High Court, Lahore, 1866.

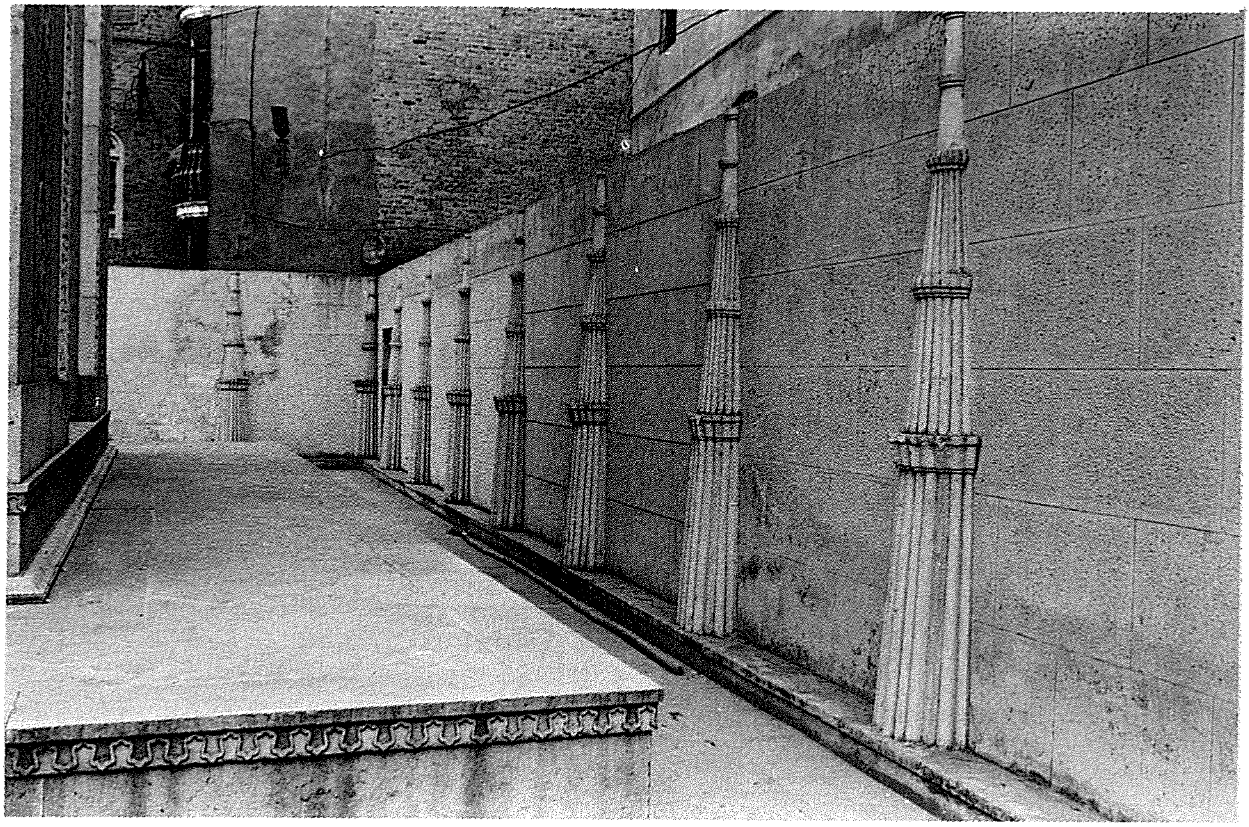

Fig. 11.18 Enclosure wall of the tomb of Qutb ud-Din Aybak, Lahore, 1970s.

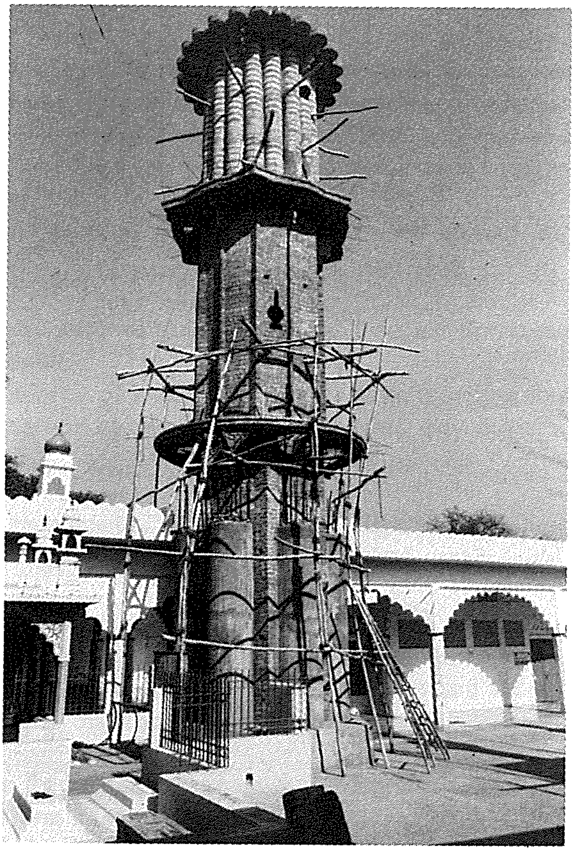

Fig. 11.19 Minaret under construction in 1989, Dargah of Qutb Sahib, Delhi, Mehrauli.

Glossary

adab	Propriety of conduct.
amīr	Commander; highly ranked person in the Mughal administrative system.
auqāf	See *waqf.*
bādshāh, *pādshāh*	Emperor.
bādshāh nāma, *pādshāh nāma*	Imperial history.
baluster column	Column with tapering shaft forming a bulb at its foot. The Mughals called it *sarw-andām sutūn*, 'cypress-bodied column'.
bangla, *bangala*	Curved-up roof or vault derived from the Bengali hut, hence the name. There are two types of *bangla*, the *do-chala* with a pronounced oblong plan and eaves curved on the longer sides, and the *chār-chala* or *chau-chala* with eaves curved on both axes. The term was also applied to pavilions with a *bangla* roof. From the later seventeenth century the term was applied in an even more general way to residential buildings and eventually gave rise to the English word bungalow.
bangla-i darshan	*Jharōka-i darshan* [q.v.] of Shah Jahan in the shape of a pavilion with curved up roof.
bargāh	Audience tent or audience hall, also court.
bhoga maṇḍapa.	Hall of offerings in a temple.
burj	Tower, usually in a fortificatory context; also tower of garden enclosure; its upper stories may be given the shape of an open pillared pavilion.
caravanserai	Inn for travellers and merchants and their beast of burden. In Mughal India usually a four-sided enclosure with fortified comers and one or two gates; the courtyard may contain a mosque, wells, and open bazaar streets.
chahār bāgh or chār bāgh	Walled-in garden divided into several compartments. In its canonical Mughal form it has a square plan subdivided into four quarters by paved walkways (*khiyābān*) and canals (*nahr*).
chār bāgh	See *chahār bāgh.*
chhatrī, *chhattrī*	Small (domed) kiosk, usually an open pillared construction; also, a baldachin.
chihil sutūn	'Forty-pillared hall', also multi-pillared hall. See also *daulat khāna-i-khāṣṣ-o-'āmm.*
chīnī khāna	'China room', applied to small wall-niches in which were placed bottles, vases and the like; the motif also appears in relief or inlay work. See also *ṭāqcha.*
commesso di pietre dure	The literal translation of this Italian term for Florentine mosaic is 'placing together of hard stones'; it refers to a highly specialised form of stone intarsia. Compositions of thin slices

	of stones of extreme hardness (e.g. jasper, chalcedony, agate) are fitted together and fastened in the hollowed-our depressions of the (marble) ground so that the colours and natural marking of the stone form the desired image. Ideally, after the composition of stone pieces has been polished, the joints are not visible in the final design. The Mughals called it *parchīn kārī*.
dad-o-dām	Wild and tame beasts; rapacious animals and their prey.
darbār, *durbār*	Reception, audience, court assembly.
dargāh	In India, a place or complex where the shrine of a Muslim (Sufi) saint is situated. The Mughals used the term also to designate the imperial court.
dars̲h̲an	Appearance for viewing
daulat k̲h̲āna, *dawlat k̲h̲āna*	Imperial palace.
daulat k̲h̲āna-i k̲h̲āṣṣ, *dawlat k̲h̲āna-i k̲h̲āṣṣ*	See *dīwān-i k̲h̲āṣṣ*.
daulat k̲h̲āna-i k̲h̲āṣṣ-o-'āmm, *dawlat k̲h̲āna-i k̲h̲āṣṣ-o-'āmm*	See *dīwān-i 'āmm*.
dēw, *dīw*	Demon, evil spirit, see also *jinn*.
dhirā', *z̲irā*	See *gaz*.
dīwān	Term of various applications, for which see *dīwān-i 'āmm*, *dīwān khāna*, *dīwān-i k̲h̲āṣṣ*, *wazīr*. Also used for the collected works of a poet.
dīwān-i 'āmm	Hall of public audiences.
dīwān k̲h̲āna, *dīwān k̲h̲ānah*	Reception hall, audience hall.
dīwān-i k̲h̲āṣṣ	Hall of private audiences.
firang, *farang*	Europe.
firangī, *farangī*	European.
gaz	The Mughal linear yard. Also called *z̲irā'*. The prevailing *gaz* for architecture was the *gaz-i Illāhī* introduced under Akbar; its length was 81–2 cm. In Shah Jahan's time its length was 80–2 cm.
guldasta	'Bunch of flowers', ornamental pinnacle usually terminating in a flower motif, hence the name.
ḥammām	Bath, bath-house.
haqīqī	True meaning.
ḥawīlī, *havēlī*	Residential building complex with one or more open courts, often multi-storeyed. The term is used to designate non imperial residences.
hudhud	Hoopoe, bird associated with mysticism and Solomon.
'īdgāh	Open-air place of prayer for Islamic festivals; structure erected there.
īwān	A term of various applications. Art historians and archaeologists use it generally to refer to a single vaulted hall walled on three sides and opening directly to the outside on the fourth. In the Mughal context the term referred to a pillared construction of any dimension and plan.
jālī	Perforated stone screen with ornamental design.
jāma, *jāmah*	Robe, gown.
jharōka	Viewing window. Architectural frame for official appearances of the Mughal emperor; its conventional shape is that of an overhanging oriel window supported by brackets. Shah Jahan introduced a new form for which see *bangla*. See also *jharōka-i dars̲h̲an* and *jharōka-i k̲h̲āss-o-'āmm*.
jharōka-i dars̲h̲an	Viewing window for appearances on the outer front of the palace.
jharōka-i k̲h̲āss-o-'āmm	Viewing window or throne baldachine in the back wall of the *daulat k̲h̲āna -i k̲h̲āss-o-'āmm*, later called *dīwān-i 'āmm*, the hall of private and public audiences.

jilau khāna, jilaw khāna	Fore court. Assembly place in front of a palace, a mausoleum or a mosque.
jinn	See *dēw*.
karōh	A measure of length equal to about two English miles. Also called *kōs*. In Shah Jahan's time it was about 2.5 miles or 4 km.
khānaqāh	Residence for Sufis.
khiyābān	Avenue, paved raised walkway in a garden.
khutba	Sermon in Islamic ritual.
khwābgāh	'House of dreams', Bed chamber or sleeping pavilion of the Mughal emperor.
kōs	See *karōh*.
kullīyāt	The whole work of an author.
madrasa	College of religious education.
majāzī	Metaphoric meaning.
manṣab	Rank in Mughal bureaucratic system represented by numbers, determining status, pay and size of military contingent required of holder.
manṣabdār	Holder of *manṣab*.
masjid	Mosque.
mathnawī, masnawī	Heroic, romantic or didactic poem composed of distichs corresponding in measure, each consisting of a pair of rhymes.
Midrash	Ancient rabbinical commentary on a Biblical text.
miḥrāb	Arched niche in *qibla* [q.v.] wall of a mosque.
muqarnas	Concave element in vaults, usually arched, but other forms are also possible. In a dwarf form it may also be used in other architectural contexts, e.g. for capitals of columns.
muraqqa'	Album; in Mughal India it contained typically paintings and calligraphic sheets, painted or pasted alternately on its pages, which were then surrounded by ornamental margins.
nāma	History.
nasta'līq	A form of Perso-Arabic script.
parchīn kārī	Inlay with stone. See also *commesso di pietre dure.*
pargana	Territory delimited by Mughal administration for revenue and administrative purposes.
parī or perī	A good genius or fairy, often represented with wings.
pietre dure, also *pietra dura*	See *commesso di pietre dure.*
pīshṭāq	High portal, 'facade-gateway' (O. Grabar), usually associated with the *īwān*. In its ripe Mughal form it consists of a monumental arched niche (usually covered by a half-dome) enclosed by a rectangular frame in the shape of an inverted U. Its longer vertical sides are accentuated by engaged polygonal shafts terminating above the parapet in free standing ornamental pinnacles or *guldastas*.
pūrṇa kalaśa' or *pūrṇa ghaṭa*	Auspicious symbol in Hindu and Buddhist architecture in the form of a pot with overflowing foliage.
putto	Child, often winged, frequent motif of art in classical antiquity, Renaissance and Baroque.
qarīna	Counter-image. Favourite compositional scheme of Shah Jahan's architecture and art consisting of two equal features arranged symmetrically on both sides of a central axis.
qaṣīda, qaṣīdah	Long poem in mono rhyme, usually including encomium of the patron.
qibla	Direction of Mecca.
rubā'ī	Quatrain, four line verse.
ṣāḥib qirān	Lord of the auspicious conjunction (of the planets Jupiter and Venus). Title assumed by Timur, after his death also by other rulers, in particular Shah Jahan who styled himself *ṣāḥib qirān-i thānī* or Second Lord of the Auspicious Conjunction.
ṣaḥn	Courtyard.
sāqī	Cup bearer.
sarā'ī, serai	See caravanserai.

s͟hāh burj	'Royal tower' Ceremonial building type in Shah Jahan's palaces, reserved for the emperor, his sons and the highest courtiers.
sīmurgh	Mythical bird with a royal connotation.
ṣūba ṣūbah	Province.
Ṣūfī	Islamic mystic.
tālār	Term of various applications. In Safawid Iran a hypostyle wooden hall with tall columns and open on three sides, preceding the vaulted masonry part of a building. Corresponds to a form of the Mughal *īwān*.
ṭāq	Arch.
ṭāq-i marg͟hūldār	"Curled Arch". Engrailed or cusped arch.
ṭāqcha	Cluster of small arched niches in a wall. See also *chīnī khāna*.
tūzuq, *tūzak*	Institution, Regulation.
ustād	A master in any art or profession.
waqf	Plural *auqāf*, trust for religious purposes.
wazīr	Minister in charge of imperial finace and revenue collection. Also called *dīwān*.
zanāna, *zanānah*	Female quarters.

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